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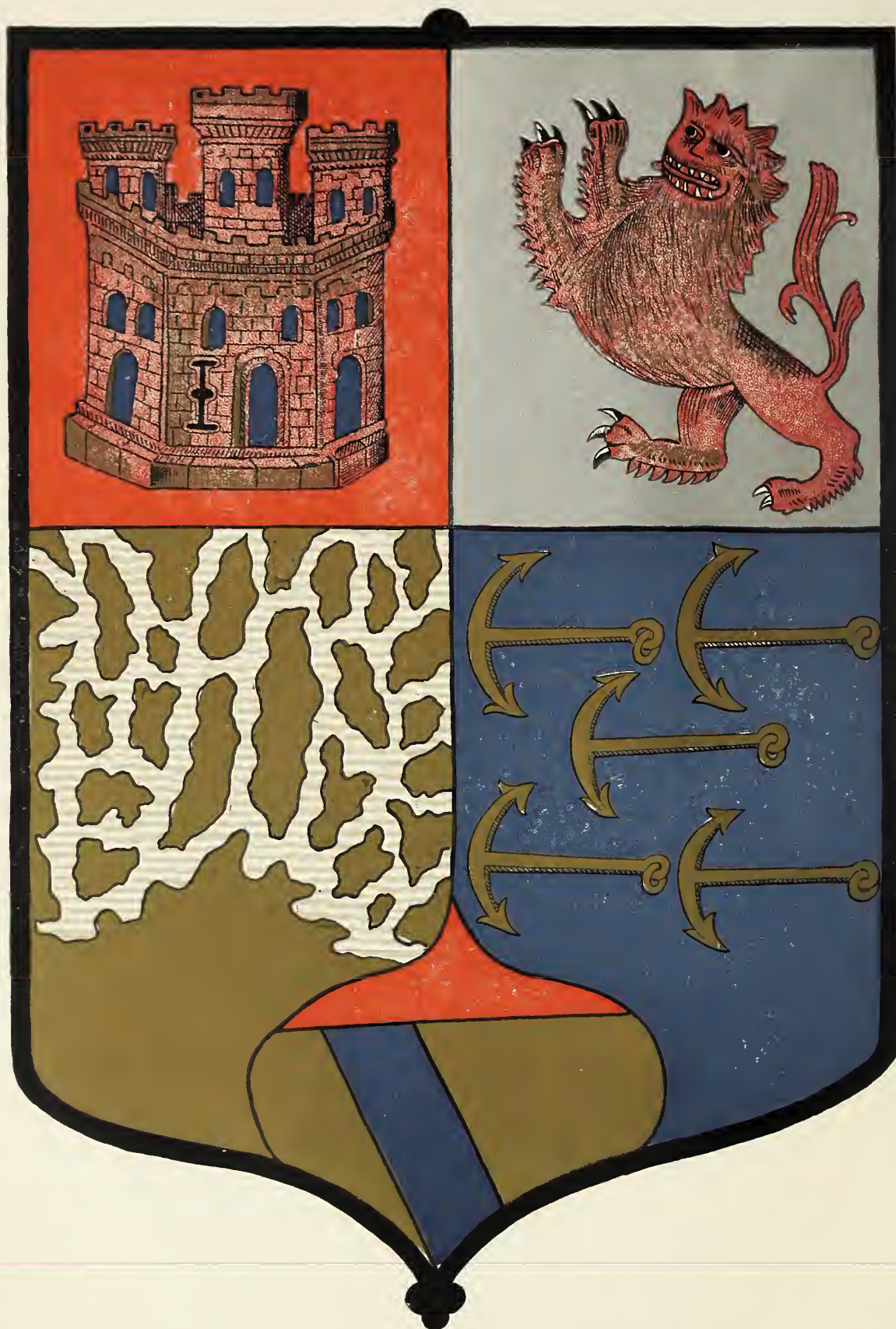
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*The Coat-of-Arms as Adopted by Christopher Columbus in January, 1502.
(From the Paris Codex.)*

Christopher Columbus

HIS LIFE, HIS WORK
HIS REMAINS

AS REVEALED BY

ORIGINAL PRINTED AND MANUSCRIPT RECORDS

TOGETHER WITH AN

Essay on Peter Martyr of Anghera and Bartolomé
de las Casas, the first historians of America

By

JOHN BOYD THACHER

AUTHOR OF "THE CONTINENT OF AMERICA," "THE CABOTIAN
DISCOVERY," ETC.

VOLUME II

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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PART VI
THE ANNOUNCEMENT

CHAPTER LXI

THE FIRST PROMULGATION OF THE DISCOVERY

WHEN, on its return voyage, the *Niña*¹ found itself in the neighbourhood of the Azores, it fell in with a storm which threatened to delay it. Great men engaged in great events take great precautions. Columbus feared that if his vessel and all on board were lost, and if the other ship, the *Pinta*,² should likewise be destroyed, the discovery might never be known, history would make no mention of them, and tradition alone would recite the story of how some brave and adventurous souls went forth, out into the western seas, one summer day toward the end of the fifteenth century, and never returned. We do not know just what words the Admiral employed in his *Journal* to express his fears and his hopes. Las Casas gives us his own interpretation of this entry, under the date of February 14, 1493, and says:

“Here the Admiral enumerates the reasons which aroused in him the fear that our Lord might suffer him to be the victim of this tempest and those reasons which in turn made him hope that God would aid him and bring him to land safe and sound, that the news which he bore to the King and Queen might not perish with him. The strong desire that he had of being the bearer of news so important and of demonstrating that all which he had predicted was confirmed and that *all he had undertaken to discover had really been discovered*, inspired him with a great fear that he might not

¹ The reader will recall that the flagship, so to speak, of this little fleet which first crossed the Atlantic, the caravel *Santa Maria*, went ashore on Christmas eve in the year 1492 on the island of San Domingo. The Admiral then made the little vessel, the *Niña*, his own ship and returned on her to Europe.

² The *Pinta*, with its Captain, Martin Alonzo Pinzón, was thought to have purposely separated from the Admiral's ship, that it might first of all carry the news of the discovery to Spain. The Gods were writing this drama of the *New World*, and the reader rejoices as he sees Columbus arriving in the harbour of Palos first of the expedition and beholds the judgment falling on the unhappy Pinzón.

Christopher Columbus

succeed in reaching land. He declares that the very insect passing before his eyes was sufficient to annoy and trouble him. He attributed this weakness on his part to his little faith and to his want of confidence in divine Providence. On the other hand he was reanimated by the favours which God had shown him in according so signal a triumph as that which he had achieved, in discovering all that which he had discovered, in fulfilling all his designs and in decreeing him, after experiencing in Castile so many reverses and opposition to his solicitation, a success beyond his fondest hopes. Finally, as he had directed his entire expedition toward the greatest glory of God and as the sovereign Master of all things had heard his prayer and had granted his petitions, so now he ought to believe that He would save him to accomplish the work which he had undertaken. He added that since God had preserved him on his outward voyage when he had more reason for fear in the sufferings and torments he had experienced at the hands of his crew and sailors, who were resolved with a common accord to return and who wished to mutiny against him,¹ forgetting what was due him even to uttering threats, and as the eternal God had given him the strength and courage needful to him on that occasion, had sustained him alone against all and had operated in his favour so many marvellous things in this voyage, beyond any accounts which their Highnesses *had learned* from the persons in their own households, so this powerful God would not now abandon him. It is for these reasons [he says] that he should not have feared the present storm, but his feebleness and his anxiety would not leave him a moment of calm. He said that in addition it caused him great pain to think of leaving orphans his two sons whom he had left at Cordova where they were studying. Deprived of father and mother² in a strange land, what would become of them; for the King and Queen who would be ignorant of the services which he had rendered them on this voyage and of the happy news which he was bearing them, would not engage under any considerations to continue as their protectors. Full of such thoughts, he sought means of apprising their Highnesses of the vic-

¹ The story of the mutiny, as told first by Oviedo, has never been believed by scholars. Surely so important an occurrence would have been set down by Columbus in his diary, and Las Casas would have quoted the Admiral's own words. However, this Oviedo was a born diarist. He early formed the excellent habit of taking notes of passing events. He was born in 1478, and yet we find him before he was fifteen years of age engaged in writing down for future use his observations on events of importance. He may have heard from the mouth of Columbus or from some of his companions (for he was at Barcelona when Columbus arrived at the Court) a rumour as to an attempted mutiny.

² Las Casas, who must have known the family matters of the Admiral, might have cleared for us some important historic doubts if he had said a few words more. Columbus had two sons, Diego and Ferdinand, but history knows that the mother of the second son was not the mother of the first, and has even declared that both mothers were alive at the time of this voyage. From the language employed by Las Casas,—and he appears to be quoting the words of the Admiral,—the fair inference would be that both mothers, if there were two, were already dead, and that only the impending disaster to Columbus was wanting to make the two boys doubly orphans. We know that Beatriz Enriquez, the mother of Ferdinand, long survived the Discoverer.

tory the Lord had bestowed on him in making him find in the Indies all that which had been the design of his voyage, and of making them know that those latitudes ¹ are exempt from tempests, which is proved [says he] by the shrubs and trees which float ever in the sea. To this end, and in order that should he perish in the tempest, the King and Queen might have news of his voyage, he took a parchment and wrote as much as he was able ² concerning the discoveries of which he was the author and begged earnestly that whoever ³ found it, whosoever he might be, would bear it to the King and Queen.⁴ He wrapped this parchment in a large piece of waxed cloth, hermetically sealed the package, fastened it securely in a large wooden cask, concealing it in such a way that no one could know what it was. Every one believed that this was simply some act of devotion. He caused it to be thrown into the sea.”⁵

¹ Compared to the storm he was then experiencing off the Azores, the waters of the Caribbean Sea were tranquil as an inland lake. Nevertheless, Nature has reserved some of her most violent tempests for these same latitudes, when whole towns have been destroyed and the promises of the field have been demolished in an instant.

² The original Spanish is *todo lo que pudo*. The phrase admits of great latitude. It may be construed to mean that he wrote a full account, as much in detail as he could recall which would be of interest to the King and Queen. Or it may mean that because of the storm, then at its culminating point, he wrote as much only as the violence of the tempest and the tossing of the little boat would suffer him. It must have been somewhat at length, for he speaks of describing the new and strange people he met, and one cannot intelligibly characterise an order of man entirely new to a European traveller and do it with the employment of a few words or half a dozen phrases. On the other hand, a single leaf of parchment (*un pergamino*) was used, and whatever writing there was must have been confined to that one leaf. The leaf was folio in form, when spoken of as “a parchment.” It must also be remembered that from the daily habit of writing in his *Journal*, the Admiral had acquired that caligraphic poise which corresponds with the happy condition of a man upon ship-board who finds himself in possession of his sea-legs.

³ One thousand ducats, says Ferdinand in the *Historie*, was to be paid the lucky finder, and, as this was intended for a promissory note, it undoubtedly stated the fact on its face.

⁴ While the letters to Santangel and Sanchez were evidently intended to reach the King and Queen, they were clearly directed to these officials of the Royal Household rather than to their Majesties themselves.

⁵ In the *Historie*, Ferdinand quotes this passage from a letter which the Admiral wrote to the King of Spain. As he puts the writing in the first person, he evidently had the letter or a copy of it before him at the time:

“I would have endured my misfortune with more patience if I alone had been in danger. I had seen death near me so often that I would have feared it no more than on other occasions; but that which gave me great grief was the danger to those whom your Highness had sent with me to serve in the enterprise. I was grieved that I might not myself bear to your Highness the news of my discoveries, and to convince those who opposed my project that I knew the road to success. I thought of my two sons who were at Cordova; their extreme youth afflicted me in considering the unfortunate state in which they would be at my death, all the world would abandon them, and perhaps your Highness, not knowing the service I had rendered you, might never think of them. There were moments when I believed that God, on account of my sins, did not intend to let me enjoy the glory of having succeeded in my enterprise. Nevertheless, I could not persuade myself but that my discoveries would some day come to your knowledge and to convey the information myself to you, I had written during the storm some lines on parchment giving the names of the lands which I had acquired, the route by which one must go there, and the time occupied in the

Thus wrote Las Casas with the manuscript *Journal* of Columbus open before him. It presents us a scene in the life of the Admiral, illustrating the alternating control of a man's soul in the hour of danger, first by the forces of trepidation and fear, and then by courage and faith. The physical dread of death was increased a thousand-fold by the fear that the news of his discovery might be lost. The faithless Pinzón on the *Pinta* might likewise perish in the prevailing storm, and no one of the abandoned colonists at *La Navidad* could ever make his way across the sea in the frail canoe of the native. The fruit of his labours, almost at his lips, seemed suddenly to be drawn from the reach of Columbus by the rude hand of fate. It all must have seemed to him so merciless, the years of useless waiting, the sacrifice of his opportunities in other fields, the derision of courtiers, the unbelief of the learned, the ridicule of mean souls, the disappointment of the two loyal priests and the trustful

voyage: I informed your Highness of the customs of the inhabitants, of the fertility of the country, and of the colony which I had left there to hold possession of the lands: I sealed the parchment, enclosed it in a piece of waxed cloth and then in a wax casement, and put it in a barrel thoroughly tight with an inscription to your Highness: I threw it into the sea so that if we perished whoever might find it would bear it to Spain, promising the bearer a thousand ducats. Moreover, fearing that the tempest might carry it too far, I put into another barrel which I kept on the vessel, a second parchment like the first, that after our shipwreck one or the other might reach your Highness."

Some years ago, about the time of the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the Columbian discovery, a Spanish writer, Don José Maria Asensio, Director in the Department of Belles-Lettres of the Royal Academy in Seville, gave credence to the following story in his work, *Cristobal Colon, su Vida, su Viages, sus Descubrimientos*:

"At noon of August 27 in the year 1852, an American three-masted brig named the *Chieftain*, of Boston, under command of Captain d'Auberville, found itself upon the coast of Morocco. As a storm was approaching, the Captain determined to increase his ballast, and while engaged in this occupation, the drag brought up what at first glance appeared to be a piece of rock, but, finding it light in weight, the sailors examined it more closely, when they discovered it to be a coffer of cedar wood: opening this, there was disclosed a cocoa-nut, hollow, and containing a document written in gothic letters upon parchment. Not being able to decipher this, it was given to an American bookseller when the ship arrived at Gibraltar. The latter immediately upon glancing at the manuscript offered the American Captain one hundred dollars for the cocoa-nut and its contents, which offer the Captain declined. Thereupon the bookseller read to the astonished Captain the document, which was no other than the holograph relation of the discovery committed to the sea three hundred and fifty-nine years before."

This document and its safe-deposit, the cocoanut, have disappeared, but, like the forged letter of Columbus to the Bank of St. George, they are likely to appear at some future time.

We have been at pains to trace this ship, the *Chieftain*, and its Captain, but with little success. The shipping records of that period belonging to St. Johns, N. S., were burned in a conflagration some years ago. In the *American Lloyd's* for the year 1862 there is mentioned the brig *Chieftain*, built at Wilmot, N. S., belonging to the port of St. Johns, tonnage, 226; place and date of survey, Boston, Mass., November, 1856.

Queen, the uncertain future of his sons,—and then there came to him a serene confidence in his destiny and in the purpose of Providence in employing him to open a new world to mankind.

This storm was at its height on the fourteenth day of February in the year 1493, when Columbus gave his parchment message to the sea. That night, about the setting of the sun, the skies toward the west cleared and the wind became more favourable. The next morning when the sun rose land was in sight and they soon found themselves safe among the islands of the Azores. If we are to believe in dates, the Admiral wrote a letter the day following that of their extreme danger, February 15, 1493, and addressed it to Luis de Santangel, the Chancellor of the Royal Household of Aragon.¹ The original² of this letter is lost. Immediately on arriving in Spain the Admiral despatched a letter to their Highnesses which he had written during his stay in Lisbon. The original of that letter, likewise, is lost. The Spanish Court was at Barcelona, and thither the letters to the King and Queen and to Luis de Santangel (and that to Gabriel Sanchez as well) were forwarded with all speed. There are evidences that these letters were handed about the Court, and copies made by courtiers and even representatives of foreign governments. In the fifteenth century every principality had at foreign Courts its representatives, either dignified by the title of ambassadors or agents, under pay, to keep the

¹ Navarrete, vol. i., p. 174, makes this letter to Santangel a second or supplementary letter, written on that day. He copied this letter, he says, from an *original document* in the royal archives of Simancas. In line 4 of the last page of the printed folio, Spanish edition, verso of folio 2, we find this phrase: *Esto segun el fecho á si embreve*. Navarrete quotes from the Simancas letter: *Esto segundo ha fecho ser muy breve*. After *segundo* he inserts *carta*, to make sense. But the reader will observe the preposition *segun*, and not the ordinal adjective *segundo*, is used in the folio Spanish text. The question of the priority of the Santangel letter over the Sanchez letter is not in doubt, since the dates decide the question.

² A letter may have been sent by the Admiral across the country from Lisbon to Barcelona, but this is not probable. A vessel was the fastest vehicle in those days which could be employed between the Straits and the coasts of Catalonia. The journey from the mouth of the Tagus to the Straits was not much more than two days in length, and Columbus sailed the *Niña* from that point on March 13 to Palos in one day and a half. Moreover, the Portuguese country was not a safe medium for travel by any messenger from Columbus to the Spanish Sovereigns. He certainly did not send the letter which he wrote to Luis de Santangel when off the Azores on February 14, 1493, for that had a post-scriptum dated March 14 indited on the eve of his arrival at Palos. The letter is dated February 15, 1493, but the *Journal* shows that it was composed while there was great danger to the ship, in order that if the vessel was lost his writing might be cast overboard and perhaps reach land. The *Journal* distinctly states it was written then.

State informed of events and political happenings. At Barcelona was an Italian gentleman by the name of Hanibal Januarius. His brother was an ambassador from the Duke of Ferrara to the Court at Milan. When the former learned of the discovery and of the letter written by the Sovereigns to Columbus, he wrote the news to his brother. Jacomo de Trotti of Ferrara obtained a copy of this letter and sent it to Hercule d'Este, his master, and to this copy we are indebted for one of the earliest, but necessarily limited, publications of the wonderful news.¹

GREAT AND HONOURED BROTHER:

I have written you these last few days and I will obey the orders that you have given me of writing by each Courier.

In the month of August last, this great King at the prayer of one named Collomba, caused four little vessels to be equipped to navigate according to his assurances, upon the ocean, in a straight line toward the west until finally the east was reached. The earth being round, he should certainly arrive in the eastern regions. With this end in view, the said caravels were armed and directed their course through the Straits in the direction of the West, according to the letter written by him and which I myself have seen. In thirty-four days, he came to a great isle inhabited by men olive-coloured and naked, very timid and disinclined to fight. Having landed, they took some of these by force, that they might the better examine them, to learn their language and to make these understand them. These men being re-assured, for they are intelligent, the information was obtained and it was learned that these were the islands of the Indies. The news spread everywhere and into the neighbouring villages that there had arrived a man sent from God, and being of simple faith, the natives evinced for Collomba tenderness and friendship. From this isle he went to neighbouring islands two of which are each larger than England and Scotland, and another larger than all Spain. Collomba left there some of his men and being about to depart, he constructed in that place a fortress well provisioned and fortified. After having taken with him six men of the country who understood our tongue, he set out to return. In these isles they say they find pepper, wood, aloes and gold in the rivers, that is to say there are rivers in the sands of which are little grains of gold. He declares that these people navigate in canoes of such great size that the largest hold seventy or eighty men.

The said Collomba having retraced his course, he has reached Lisbon and he has written these things to his Majesty, who has ordered him to come here [Barcelona] as soon as possible.

I expect to have a copy of this letter which he has written and I will send it you. When he arrives, if I learn more, I will communicate it to

¹ HARRISSE, *Christophe Colomb*, vol. ii., p. 7.

First Promulgation of the Discovery 9

you. In this Court this discovery is regarded as certain, and as I have told you, I have seen the letter which tells more, particularly that he has found among the natives neither laws nor religions, except the belief that everything comes from God the Creator of all things. This suggests that they may easily be converted to the Holy Catholic faith. He adds that he has lately been in a country where men are born with tails. . . .

Barcelona, the VIII of March, 1493.

Your obedient brother

HANIBAL JANUARIUS.

March 9, 1493, was the day Columbus went from Sacavem, where he had spent the night, to Valle del Paraiso (Valparaiso), nine leagues from Lisbon, and where he had his interview with the King. Therefore the date of the letter is wrong. This letter confirms the statement of Columbus that he wrote a letter to the Sovereigns from Lisbon. The superscription on the letter to the Treasurer, Luis de Santangel, shows plainly that inclosed in it was a letter to the Sovereigns. And while that letter—lost to-day—is substantially the same as those letters written Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, it contains at least one item of news not in either. Neither letter mentions the number of Indians brought to Spain, and yet Hanibal Januarius says they were six. The letter of Januarius must have been written before Columbus arrived in Barcelona. Therefore the date of the letter may have been April 9, instead of March 9, 1493.

CHAPTER LXII

THE FOLIO LETTER

BIBLIOGRAPHERS believe that almost immediately, certainly some time in April, 1493, a printed ¹ edition was made of the letter to Luis de Santangel. One example ² alone is known

¹ There were no less than twenty cities in Spain in which the art of printing had been introduced by the year 1493. The honour of being Spain's first printer is now accorded Lamberto Palmart, who exercised his art at Valence. In the writer's collection of *incunabula* are examples from the Spanish press dated as early as 1475. Prosper Marchand, in his *Historie de l'Imprimerie*, refers to an imprint made in Barcelona in 1473. Bibliographers generally reject this date, and are not agreed even in accepting the little tract of Velastus de Taranta, *De Epidemiâ et Peste*, Barcelona, 1475, since faith in its existence is founded on a passage in Nicolaus Antonius, *Bibliotheca Hispana Vetus*, Madrid, 1788, vol. ii., No. 651,—and he speaks neither of its form nor of those indications which assign unmarked books to particular presses.

The initial letter "S" of this Spanish folio edition of the Columbus letter is in a woodcut, 26 mm. high by 21 mm. broad. It has been identified as a woodcut which was in the possession of Johannes Rosenbach, a native of Heidelberg, who established his press in Barcelona in 1492. Mr. Robert Proctor, of the British Museum, has identified the same letter as in the possession of Johannes Luschner or Luchner, who printed at Barcelona in 1495 and 1498, and who printed at the monastery of Montserrat in 1499. The type, however, of the Letter cannot be assigned to either of these presses. Mr. Proctor has identified it with No. 9555 in his *Index to Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, *Libro del Consolat*, a book which he assigns to the Barcelona press, but as the work of an unknown printer. R. Häbler, in his *Early Printers of Spain and Portugal*, gives a fac-simile of an example of the *Libro del Consolat*, No. 9556, in the British Museum, which contains the leaves composing No. 9555.

Johannes Rosenbach printed the *Missale Tarraconense* at Tarragona in the year 1499, and the following year set up his press at Perpignan in France, where he printed the *Breviarium Ecclesiæ Elnensis*.

Häbler believes that No. 9556 was printed by Nicolaus Spindeler, who, perhaps, was the first to exercise the art at Barcelona in connection with Pierre Brun; but if he had a press there it was at an earlier period than 1493. There was a Catalanian priest, by the name of Petrus Posa, who associated himself in printing with this Pierre Brun. The whole question presents an interesting bibliographical problem which will only be satisfactorily solved when there is found an imprint with the name of the printer, and which can be identified as issuing from the press from which came this Letter of Columbus.

² It was published in 100 fac-simile examples by J. Maisonneuve at Paris, in 1889, and again in 1891 with valuable notes at London by Bernard Quaritch, who had

of this edition. It is a folio in form, of two leaves or four pages, without numerals or catchwords. The text measures—recto of folio 2—246 mm. long by 169 mm. wide.¹ The recto of folio 1, or page 1, consists of forty-seven lines, page 2 of forty-eight lines, page 3 of forty-seven lines, and the verso of folio 2, or page 4, consists of sixteen lines. The first word of the tract is *Señor* in capital letters, with the initial letter “S” in a woodcut. The water-mark is that of a human head, such as appears in the royal coat-of-arms of Aragon. Evidently it was intended that this brief tract should be uniform in its text, and should consist of forty-seven lines to a full page, and this extra line, or forty-eighth line on the verso of folio 1, was an error against which the taste of the printing house protested and which led the printer partially to erase or obliterate the extra line and to reproduce it, in a slightly modified form, in the first line of the recto of folio 2, in which attempt the printer made matters no better but rather worse. The Letter proper closes with these lines:

“Fecha en la calavera ² sobre las Islas de Canaria á XV de Febrero año mil. CCCCLXXXIII.

“Fara lo que mandareys. EL ALMIRANTE.”

“Done on the caravel off the Canary Isles ³ February 15, in the year 1493.

Yours to command. THE ADMIRAL.”

purchased it in France of M. Maisonneuve shortly before. Among scholars, the Ambrosian Library owed a large part of its fame to its possessing a unique copy of this Spanish Letter in a quarto form, and even the British Museum might have eagerly desired to become the owner of a newly discovered copy of what is beyond question an earlier and probably the very first printed copy of Columbus's letter written to his friend Santangel, and written before the letter to the King and Queen. Neither the British Museum nor any other European library secured this prize, and very appropriately it now rests, the chief ornament of an American collection of books, in the Lenox Library, for which it was bought for \$8500. It must always take precedence among *libri rarissimi* over the Ambrosian quarto example, and, indeed, over any other printed memorial of Columbus

¹ $9\frac{11}{16}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$.

² This is a palpable error for *caravela*.

³ This is a slip of the pen, for we read in the *Historie* written by Ferdinand Columbus: “On Friday,”—another example of the fateful Friday in the life of Columbus,—“the fifteenth of February, at the rising of the sun one of the pilots discovered land toward the *North-east*, the others on board believed it to be the Rocks of Cintra in Portugal, and the Admiral said that it was one of the Azores, which was true.” It was a tribute to the seamanship of Columbus that he should have known approximately his bearings in that stormy sea. It is apparent that if, as originally written by him, the expression, “off the Canaries,” occurs, it is as a *lapsus pennæ* for “the Azores.”

Christopher Columbus

This is the only instance we have where Columbus signed himself *The Admiral*, with the exception of the signature of the draft for one hundred gold castellanos, dated Granada, October 23, 1501, the signature of the document dated February 22, 1498, the signatures to the eight pieces lately discovered by the Duchess d'Alba and quoted in our chapter on "The Hand-writing of Columbus," when he used the title "El Almirante" in connection with his famous initial sign-manual, thus:

.S.
.S. A. S.
X M Y
El Almirante.¹

Then is printed the following line, being line seven of the same page:

*Anima*² *que venia dentro en la carta.*

After this are six lines containing the following post-scriptum:

"Despues desta escripto: y estãdo en mar de Castilla salio tanto viẽto cõ migo. Sul y suefte que me ha fecho descargar los navios po cori aqui en este puerto de lisbona oy que fue la mayor maravilla del mundo adõde acorde escriuir afus alteras. Entodas las Indias he siempre hallado y los tẽporals como en mayo adõde oy fuy en XXXIII³ dias y volvi en XXVIII salvo qu eftas tormentas me ade tenido XXIII dias corriendo por esta mar: dizen aqua todos los hõbres de la mar qia mas ovo tan mal yvierno no ni tantas perdidas de naves fecha ha quatorze dias marzo."

"After having written this and being in the sea of Castile there arose upon me so much wind, south and south-west, that it has caused me to

¹ What seems to us a fantastic form of signing one's name was in the time of Columbus a common form, especially among the ecclesiastics. In the Middle Ages the custom prevailed of beginning a letter or document with a quotation from the Scriptures, and later the figure of the cross was used,—the idea always being that the paper or parchment was dedicated by that act to the good purpose of the writer. The savages discovered by Columbus drove evil spirits away from inanimate objects with the sound of loud instruments. The object was the same.

About the time of the siege of Granada, and perhaps for the very purpose of distinguishing themselves from the Moors and Jews, who were so numerous in that region, there was joined to the Christian name of the Spaniards the name of a saint, the symbol of crucifixion and martyrdom, a biblical passage, or some well-known sentiment from the fathers of the Church.

² *Anima* is thought by Navarrete (vol. i., p. 174) to be intended for a post-scriptum, or additional matter introduced into a letter after the latter has been closed and sealed.

³ In the text proper of this edition the Admiral is made to say that he passed to the Indies in twenty—*viẽte*—days, an error of the transcriber of the original holograph letter. We think it the error of the transcriber rather than that of the printer, because the latter appears to have followed most servilely his copy, and it is impossible that Columbus should have written *twenty* for *thirty-three*.

lighten the vessels ¹ [los navios], but I ran here into this harbour of Lisbon to-day, the which was the greatest wonder in the world, where I decided to write to their Highnesses. I have ever found the seasons in all the Indies like May. I went there in thirty-three days and returned in twenty-eight, except that storms have kept me twenty-three days running about this sea. All the men of the sea here say that never has there been such a winter nor so great a loss of ships. Dated the fourteenth ² day of March."

For the reasons given below in Note 2 we believe this post-scriptum should be dated March 4, instead of March 14, 1493. Moreover, we are satisfied that the printer of this letter had before him, not the original holograph letter of Columbus written to Luis de Santangel, but a copy. The original letter consisted of two separate parts, the body of the letter and the post-scriptum. The latter, if Navarrete's description of an *anima* be correct, had been inserted in the body of the letter after the latter had been closed and sealed. The method of enveloping letters in their own covers, using the verso of the last leaf for the address, in vogue in the days of Columbus would admit of this insertion by a skilful hand. When Luis de Santangel received his letter he undoubtedly had it copied, so great was the natural

¹ Both in this first printed Spanish edition of the Letter, as well as in the so-called "original document" which Navarrete found in the royal archives of Simancas, the plural "ships"—*los navios*—is used, although the *Niña* on its return alone represented the fleet which sailed out of Palos harbour seven months before. The reader will recall that the *Journal*, under date of March 5, 1493, speaks of *los navios* of Columbus at anchor near Rastelo.

² In the original document referred to above in Note 1 as having been discovered by Navarrete, the *anima*, or post-scriptum, is dated *A Los Cuatro*—[sic] for *quatro*—*De Marzo*, the fourth of March. Now, before daybreak on the fourteenth of March, according to the *Journal*, Columbus found himself off Cape Saint Vincent, and all that day under a gentle wind was making his way eastwardly along the southern shore of Portugal. On the contrary, on Monday the fourth day of March, we read in the *Journal*, "the Admiral recognised the land which was the rock Cintra situated near the river of Lisbon [the Tagus] into which he determined to enter, because he had no other means of safety, so terrible was the storm which visited the town of Cascaës, situated at the mouth of the river." He says that the inhabitants of that port spent the morning in prayers for them, and that when they were entered into the river the entire population came to see them, regarding it as a miracle that they had so escaped the peril which menaced them. Toward three o'clock he passed near the Rastelo, situated within the river of Lisbon, where he learned from the seamen who were present that there never had been such a winter with so many tempests, and that twenty-five ships had perished on the coast of Flanders and that there were others in the harbours of that province which for four months had not been able to put out to sea." Compare this passage with the post-scriptum itself, in which the Admiral says that he "ran into the harbour of Lisbon to-day," and we can safely say the letter to Luis de Santangel, the body of which he wrote on February 15, 1493, was finished by the writing of its post-scriptum on Monday, the fourth of March, some time after three o'clock in the afternoon.

Christopher Columbus

demand to read in detail the happy news it bore. In his own hand or by that of a clerk he made upon its back this memorandum in Spanish: "This letter Columbus sent to the *Escribano de Racion*, of the isles found in the Indies, contained in another to their Highnesses." This memorandum was copied from the original, and when it reached the printer, he, too, copied it literally. If this had been the original letter, and if the memorandum had been made by Santangel, the title of the receiver without his name would not have been used. It reads more like the memorandum some correspondent would have made in copying it. When we come to consider the seventh line on the last page of the printed letter, *anima pue venia dentro en la carta*, it is a memorandum which seems to us much more likely to be made on a copy than on the original. As the *anima* was not signed it became necessary to identify it with the body of the letter, and the copyist made the memorandum as above quoted. If Luis de Santangel had regarded the letter as a personal communication he would not have endorsed it with his official title; if it was regarded as an official document, it would be deposited as a record in the office of *Escribano de Racion*,¹ and in that case would have borne some official stamp or mark² designating the office and not the officer.

The name of Christopher Columbus³ is not signed to the letter. In the letter written to Gabriel Sanchez, dated from Lisbon the day before the Ides of March, the same date attached to the post-scriptum of his letter to Luis de Santangel, Columbus signed himself

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
Admiral of the Ocean Fleet.

The original of this letter is lost, and we only have it in its Latin form, in which the signature is written *Christoforus Colom*,

¹ By *Escribano de Racion* we would ordinarily understand an intendant of the household, a steward charged with something more than duties of a menial sort. Literally the words would mean, Clerk of Rations or Supplies. Doubtless the *Escribano* had to find not only supplies, but the money to pay for them. The then incumbent, Luis de Santangel, was a man of parts, a jurist of Aragon, and a sincere friend of Columbus.

² However, as the Court was in the habit of moving from place to place, seldom more than a few months in any one city, one well may wonder that any official records were kept.

³ The name of Christopher Columbus had not yet been in type, except as inscribed in the memorandum and printed under the simple designation, *Colom*. *Colom* had sent this letter to the *Escribano de Racion*, but a reader might ask who was *Colom*,

Oceanæ Classis Præfectus. The reader must not confound these two letters with those written upon parchment during the storm in February. Columbus must have written at least five letters, probably alike in substance, between the time when he departed from the New World and the middle of March. Writing, to him, was apparently a facile and agreeable occupation.¹

The letter to Santangel bears, for the first time it was ever put in use, the title of the office conferred upon him by the King and Queen, *The Admiral*, an office which, when it was confirmed to him shortly after, was declared to be of the very highest significance and to carry with it honours and emoluments such as no other citizen of Spain might hope to receive. He might also write himself Don, a most high distinction for a foreigner and a man of humble birth; but while there were many Dons in Spain, there could be but one entitled to write himself *The Admiral of the Indies*. It is significant that in signing himself thus, in the document that was destined to convey to the world the first knowledge of the discovery, Columbus used the title which he always regarded as his highest honour, and which he insisted in his last Will should be borne and altogether used by whatsoever descendant might represent him in time to come. As he, Christopher Columbus, lost his common identity immediately after the discovery in the distinguished title of *The Admiral*, so for all time that particular person who by right of blood-connection should have his name, his honours, his wealth, should be known, not as Columbus, but as *The Admiral*. He had led no dust-begrimed caravan over desert and mountain to the eastern shores of Cathay. It was over the ocean, trackless until that time, by a way hitherto unknown, that Columbus had brought his little fleet to the islands of the Western Ocean. It was the

and, for the matter of that, who was *The Admiral* who signed so boldly with only his title! Columbus himself had hastily written this letter without the least expectation that it would be printed, and it had been transcribed and sent to some interested person without the idea that it would be put in type. A document of that character, when prepared for the press, would have as its commencement a long and fulsome acknowledgment of the goodness and greatness of the King and Queen of Spain.

¹ In 1855, Rivadeneyra published at Madrid his *Curiosidades Bibliográficas*. A certain portion of this work is devoted to Don Francesillo de Zuñega, the Court fool of Charles V., and writers are fond of quoting that amusing functionary, where he is made to say, "*Ruego á Dios que á Gutierrez nunca le falte papel, porque escribe mas que Tolomeo y que Colon, el que halló las Indias*": "I pray to God that Gutierrez never shall fail of paper, for he writes more than Ptolemy and more than that Columbus, who discovered the Indies."

sea which alone could give him nobility and rank. So he was called *Admiral of the Ocean-Sea*, and evermore bore upon his shield the device of gilded islands in waves of the sea.



SE AOR por que se que aueris plazer dela grana vitoria que nuestro señor me
ba dado en mi viaie vos escriuo esta por la q̃l sabreys como enuente dias pase A
las idias cō la annada q̃ los illustrissimos Rey e Reyna nros señores me dieron
oodeyo falle muy muchas Yslas pobladas cō gente sin numero : y dellas todas
se tomado posesion por sus altezas con pregon y uãdera real estendida y non meñ
e cōtradiçho Ala primera q̃ yo falle puse nonbre sant saluador a comemoracion de su alta magest
tat el qual marauilloso niente todo esto andado los idios la llaman guanabari Ala segũa
puse nonbre la isla de santa maria de concepcion ala tercera ferrandina ala quarta la isla bella
ala quinta la Ysla Yuana e asi a cada vna nonbre nuevo Quando yo llegne ala Yuana seg
ui to la costa della a poniente y la falle tan grande q̃ pensẽ que seria tierra firme la prouincia de
catayo y como no falle asi villas y lugnares en la costa dela mar saluo pequenas poblaciones
con lagente delas q̃ules nopodia haueer fabla por que luego fuyan todos andaua yo a de
lante por el dicho camino p̃cõdo deuo errar grãdes Ciudades o villas y al cabo de muchas
leguas visto q̃ no hauia inouaciõ i que la costa me leuaua al seretion de adõde mi voluntad
era cõtraria porq̃ el yuerno era ya ecarnado yo tenia proposito de hazer del al austro y tan biẽ
el viẽto medio adelãte determinẽ deuo aguardar otro tiẽpo y bolui atras fasta vn señalado p̃rre
to de adõde ebie dos hõbres por la tierra para saber si hauia Rey o grãdes Ciudades adou
erõ tres iornadas y hallazõ infinitas poblaciões pequenas i gente si numero mas no cosa de leg
timẽto por lo qual sebolnierõ yo entẽdia barto de otros idios q̃ ia tenia tomados como cõti
nuamẽte esta tierra era Ysla e asi segui la costa della al oriẽte ciento i siete leguas fasta dõde fa
zia fin del qual cabo vi otra Ysla al oriẽte disticta de esta diez o ocho leguas ala qual luego
puse nonbre la spañola y fui alli y segun la parte del scetentron asi como dela uana al oriente
clxxviii grãdes leguas por linea recta del oriẽte asi como dela iuana la qual y todas las otras
sõ fortissimas en demasido grado y esta en estremo en ella ay muchos puertos en la costa dela
mar si cõparaciõ de otros q̃ yo sepa en cristianos y fartos rios y buenos y grandes q̃ es mara
villa las tierras della sã altas y e ella muy muchas sierras y mōtañas altissimas si cõparaciõ
de la isla de cẽtre fructos as firmosissimas de mil fechuras y todas adabiles y llenas de arboles
de mil maneras i altas i parecen q̃ llegã al cielo i rēgo por dıcho q̃ tãmas pierdelafoia segun lo
puede cõphẽder q̃ los vi tã verdes i tã hermosos como sã por mayo en spaña i dellos stauã flor
nidos dellos cõ fruto i dellos en otratermino segũ es su calidat i carana el rui señor i otros pa
xaricos de mil maneras en el mes de nouiẽbre por alli dõde io q̃oana ay palmas de seis ode
ocho maneras q̃ es admiracion veias por la diformidad fermosa dellas mas asicomo los o
tros arboles y frutos eietnas en ella ay pinas amarailla eay canpiñas grãdissimas eay m
el i de muchas maneras de aues y frutas muy diuersas en las tierras ay muchas minas de me
tales eay gente istimabile numero La spañola es marauilla la sierras y las mōtañas y las uegas
llas campiñas y las tierras tan fermosas y gruesas para plantar y sebrar paciar ganados de to
das suertes para hedificiõs de villas elugares los puertos dela mar aqui no hauia çerica sin
vista y de los rios muchos y grandes y buenas aguas los mas delos quales traẽ oro e los arbo
les y frutos e yeruas ay grandes diferencias de aquel las dela uana en esta ay muchas sierr
rias y grandes minas de oro y de otros metales. La gente desta ysla y e todas las otras q̃ he
fallado y banido ni aya banido noticia andan todos de sueros hõbres y mugeres asi como
sus madres los parẽ haun que algunas mugeres se cobrian vn solo lugar cõ vna foia de yer
ua o vna cosa de algodõ quepa ello fazen ellos no tienen fierzo ni azeron ni annas niso
nello no por que no sea gente bien dispuesta y de fermosa estatura saluo que sã muy re
marauilla no tienẽ otras armas saluo las e as delas cañas quando es cõla sumiente
qual ponen al cabo vn pallo agudo eno van vsar de aq̃llas que m̃ vez m̃
clıcho embiaz antra dos o tres bombres alguna villa pa haueer fabla . . .

si numero: y despues q̄ los verā llegar fuyan a no aguardar padre a hijo y esto no por que a ni-
 guno se aya hecho mal antes a todo cabo adōde yo aya estado y podido bauer fabla les he da-
 do de todo lo que tenia así paño como otras cosas muchas si recebir por ello cosa algūa mas
 sō así temerosos sin remedio: verdad es que despues que aseguran y pierdē este miedo ellos son
 tanto si engaño y tan liberales dello q̄ tienē que no lo crecian sino el q̄ lo viese: ellos de cosa que
 tēgan pidiēdo gela iamas dize deno antes cōuidan la persona cō ello y muestran tātō amor que
 darian los corazones y quierē sea cosa de ualor quien sea de poco precio luego por qual quie-
 ra cosica de qual quiera manera que sea q̄ se le depozello seā cōtentos: yo defendi q̄ noseles de-
 sen cosas tan siueles como pedazos de escudillas rotas y pedazos de vidrio roto y cabos daga-
 getas: haū que quādo ellos esto podiā llegar los parecian bauer la mejor ioya del mūdo. que
 se acerto bauer vn maruero por vna agugeta de oro de peso de dos castellanos y medio: y otros
 de otras cosas q̄ muy mance valiā mucho mas ya por blācas nuevas dauan por ellas todo
 quanto tenían haū que fuesē dos ni tres castellanos de oro o vna arroua o dos de algodō fila-
 do hasta los pedazos de los arcos rotos de las pipas tomauan y dauan lo q̄ tenían como bestia-
 as así que me parecio mal: yo lo defendi y daua yo graciosas mil cosas buenas q̄ yo leuaua por
 que tomen amor y allēda desto se farā cristianos que se inclinan al amor e seruicio de sus altezas
 y de toda la naciō castellana: e procura de auiitar de nos dar de las cosas que tenē en abundā-
 cia que nos sō necessarias y no conocian ninguna seta ni idolatria saluo que todos creen q̄ las
 fueras y el biē es en el cielo y creian muy firme que yo cōstos nūmos y gente venia del cielo y ental
 catamiento me receblan en todo cabo despues de bauer podido el miedo y esto no procede porq̄
 sean ignorantes saluo de muy sotil ingenio y ōbres que nauegan todas aquellas mares que es
 marauilla la buena cuenta que ellos dan de todo saluo por que nūca vierō gētē vestida ni semeian-
 tes nūmos y luego que lege alas iōias ēla primera isla q̄ halle tome pforza algunos dellos pa-
 ra que de priedesen y me diese notia dello que aya en aquellas partes casi fue que luego etendiō
 y nos aellos quando por lengua o señas: y estos ban aprouechado mucho oy enbā los traigo
 q̄ siēpre estā de proposito q̄ vengo del cielo por mucha cōuersaciō q̄ ayan hauido cōmigo y estos
 eran los primeros a pronunciarlo adōde yo llegaua y los otros andauan corriendo de casa e
 casa: y alas villas cercanas cō bozes altas venit: venit auer la gente del cielo así todos hōbres
 como mugers despues de bauer el coraçō seguro de nos veniā q̄ nō cadana grande ni pequeño
 y todos trayan algu de comer y de beuer quedauan cō vn amor marauilloso ellos tienē todas
 las yslas muy muchas canoas a manera de fusites de corno dellas maiores dellas menores y al-
 gunas: y muchas sō mayores que hñā fusta dediez cocho bācos: no sō tan anchas porque sō
 de hui solo madero mas buena fusta no rema cō ellas al remo porque van queno es cosa de cre-
 er y cō estas nauegan todas aquellas islas q̄ sō innumerables: y tratē sus mecadurias: algunas
 destas canoas he visto cō lxx y lxxx ōbres en ella y cada vno cō su remo en todas estas islas no
 vide mucha diuersidad de la fechora de la gente ni en las costumbres ni en la lengua: saluo que
 todos se entienden q̄ escola muy singular para lo que es pēro q̄ determinaran sus altezas para la
 cōuersaciō dellos de nuestra santa fe ala qual sō muy dispuestos: ya dixē como yobauia adōdo
 c. vii leguas por la costa de la mar por la derecha liña e fidiēte a o neute por la isla tuana segū el
 qual camino puedo decir que esta isla es maior que inglaterra y escolia iuntas por que allēde de
 las c. vii. leguas me quedo de la parte de poniente dos promiās que io nōbe andado: la vna de
 las q̄les llaman auau: adōde nascē la gētē cōcola las q̄les prouicias no pueden tener en lōgura
 menos de l. o lx. leguas segun puede entender de estos iōios qu yo tengo los q̄les saben todos
 las yslas esta otra española e iercio tiene mas que la espanya toda desde colima por costa de
 mar hasta fūte rania en uiscaya pues en vna quadra anouue dxxxviii grandes leguas por rec-
 ta linea de occident a oriente este es para de scar: e v. es para nunca cesar en la qual pue sto
 as tenga come a possessiō por sus altezas y togas sean mas abastadas dello que esio
 todas las reyno por sus altezas que de las reyno.

se y puedo dezir y todas las tengo por de sus altezas qual dellas pueden disponer como y tauco
 pliamete como de los Reynos de castilla en esta espanola en ellugar mas couenible y mior
 comarca para las minas del oro y de todo trato asi dela tierra firme de aqua como de a quella
 de alla del gran can adonde hauro gran trato e ganancia de tomar o pessen de una villa gran
 de ala qual puse nonbre la villa demandado: y en ella he fecho fuerza y fortaleza que ya a estas ho
 ras estar del todo acabado y hecho en ella gente que abasta para semejante fecho con armas
 y artellanas e vituallas por mas de un año y fusta y maestros de la mar en todas artes para fazer
 otras y grande amistad con el Rey de aquella tierra en tanto grado que se precia de me llamar y
 tener por hermano e haun que le mudase la voluntad a hostender esta gente el mulo suyo no sabe
 que sean armis y andan desnudos como ya he dicho son los mas temerosos que ay en el mundo
 aunque solamente la gente que alla queda es para destruir toda aquella tierra y es ysla peligrosa
 de sus personas sabiendo regir en todas estas islas me parece que todos los ombres sean con
 tos con una mujer i asu maoral o Rey dan fusta: veyme las mugeres me parece que trabaxa
 mas que los ombres u he podido en tender si tienen bienes propios que me parecio ver que a qullo
 que uno tenia todos hazian parte en especial de las cosas comederias en estas islas fusta aqui
 no he hallado ombres mostrados como muchos pensauan mas antes estoda gente de muy lindo
 acatamiento u son negros como cingenta saluo con sus cabellos corredos y no secan adonde ay
 i peto demasiado de los rayos solares es verdad que el sol tiene alli grand fuerza puesto que es di
 ferente de la linea i quimbral veinte e seis grades en estas islas adonde ay montañas grandes ay tenia
 a fuerza el fno este yuerno: mas ellos lo sufren por la costumbre que con la ayuda de las viandas
 comen con especias muchas y muy calientes en demasiada: aunque mostruos no he hallado ninoti
 cla saluo de una ysla que es aqui en la segunda ala entrada de las yndias que es poblada de una
 gente que tiene en todas las yslas por muy feroces los quales comen carne humana estos tienen
 muchas canas cosas quales corre todas las yslas de india roba y toma quanto pueden ellos
 no son mas disformes que los otros saluo que tienen en costumbre de traer los cabellos largos como
 omugeres y usan arcos y flechas de las minas armas de cañas con un palillo alcabo por defecto
 de fierro que no tiene son feroces entre estos otros pueblos me son demasiado grado couardes
 mas yo no los tengo en nada mas que a los otros estos son aquellos que trata con las mugeres
 de manera como que es la pruna ysla partiendo de espana para las indias que se falla en la qual no ay
 hombre ninguno: ellas no usan exercicio femenino saluo arcos y flechas como los sobre dichos de cañas
 y se amarran y obligan con launes de arambre de que tienen mucho otra ysla me seguran mayor que la
 espanola en que las personas no tienen ningun cabello. En esta ay oro si cuento y de estas y de las o
 tras traigo conmigo indios para testimonio: e conclusión de hablar desto solamente que sea fecho este
 viaje que fue asi de coriza que puede ver sus altezas que yo les dare oro quanto oviere menester con
 muy poquita ayuda que sus altezas me darán agora i pecaria y algo de quanto sus altezas mandarán
 cargar y alimanta quanta mandarán cargar e de la qual fusta oy no se ha hallado saluo en gre
 cia en la ysla de rio y el señorio la uende como quiere y ligualoe quanto mandarán cargar y es
 dauos quanto mandarán cargar e seran de los yocartes y creo haue hallado ruy baruo y can
 la e otras mil cosas de distancia fallare que han en hallado la gente que yo alla dexo porque yo
 no me he detenido ningun cabo en quanto el uento me aia dando lugar: de manera solamente en la
 villa de nautad en quanto dexe asegurado. E bien asegurado. E la verdad mucho mas ficiera
 si los nauios me siruieran como razón demandaua. Esto es hazto y creimo Dios nuestro señor
 el qual da a todos aquellos que andan buscando victoria de cosas que parecen imposibles: y esta
 señaladamente fue la una por que haun que de estas tierras han hallado. E siempro todo va por con
 lección sin allegar de uista saluo comprendiendo a tanto que los oyentes los mas escuchauan e
 juzgauan mas por fabla que por poca cosa. Dello asi que pues nuestro Rey e conitoz dio esta vic
 toria. A nuestros Illustísimos Rey e Reyna e a sus reynos. Famosos de una alta cosa. Al o de toda

La christiandad deue tomar alegria y fazer grandes fiestas y dar gradas solēnes ala sancta trinidad cō muchas oraciones solēnes por el tanto en xalcamiento que hanran en tomando se tantos pueblos a nuestra sancta fe : y despues por los bienes tēporals q̄ no solamēte ala españa mas a todos los christianos ternan aqui refugio y ganancia esto segun el fecho a si embrese fecha en la calauera sobre las yslas de canania a xv de febrezo año Mdl. cccclxxxiii.

Fara lo que mandareys El Almirate

Anima que venia dentro en la Carta.

Despues desta escripto: y estādo en mar de. Castilla salio tanto viēto cō migo. sul y fuese que meba fecho descarg. ar los nauios po con aqui en este puerto de lisbona o y que fue la mayo 2 marauilla del mundo adōde acorde escriuir a sus altezas. en todas las yndias de siempre ballado y los tēporals como en mayo adōde yo fuy en xxxiii dias y volui en xviij saluo quētas tōmētas me ade tenido xlii dias corriendo por esta mar: dicen aqua todos los bōbres oda marq̄a mas ouo tan mal yuierno no ni tantas perdidas de naues fecha ba quatorze dias de marzo:

**ESTA Carta en bio Colom A. escrivano Deraciō
De las Yslas Halladas en Las Indias: Lōrenia
A. Ora De Dios. Altezas**

*Literal Translation of the First Edition of Columbus's [Folio] Spanish Letter
to Luis de Santangel*

SIR:

As I know that you will have pleasure of the great victory which our Lord hath given me in my voyage, I write you this, by which you shall know that, in *twenty* days I passed over to the Indies with the fleet which the most illustrious King and Queen, our Lords, gave me: where I found very many islands peopled with inhabitants beyond number. And, of them all, I have taken possession for their Highnesses, with proclamation and the royal standard displayed; and I was not gainsaid. On the first which I found, I put the name Sant Salvador, in commemoration of His high Majesty, who marvellously hath given all this: the Indians call it Guanahani. The second I named the Island of Santa Maria de Concepcion, the third Ferrandina, the fourth *Fair Island*,¹ the fifth La Isla Juana; and so for each one a new name. When I reached Juana, I followed its coast westwardly, and found it so large that I thought it might be the mainland province of Cathay. And as I did not thus find any towns and villages on the seacoast, save small hamlets with the people whereof I could not get speech, because they all fled away forthwith, I went on farther in the same direction, thinking I should not miss of great cities or towns. And at the end of many leagues, seeing that there was no change, and that the coast was bearing me northwards, whereunto my desire was contrary since the winter was already confronting us, I formed the purpose of making from thence to the South, and as the wind also blew against me, I determined not to wait for other weather and turned back as far as a port agreed upon; from which I sent two men into the country to learn if there were a king, or any great cities. They travelled for three days, and found interminable small villages and a numberless population, but nought of ruling authority; wherefore they returned. I understood sufficiently from other Indians whom I had already taken, that this land, in its continuousness, was an island; and so I followed its coast eastwardly for a hundred and seven leagues as far as where it terminated; from which headland I saw another island to the east, ten *or* eight leagues distant from this, to which I at once gave the name La Española. And I proceeded thither, and followed the northern coast, as with La Juana, eastwardly for a hundred and *seventy-eight* great leagues in a direct easterly course, as with La Juana. The which, and all the others, are very large² to an excessive degree, and this extremely so. In it, there are many havens on the seacoast, in comparable with any others that I know in Christendom, and plenty of rivers so good and great that it is a marvel. The lands thereof are high, and in it

¹ The reader will observe that the Catalonian printer has made this fourth island *La Isla Bella*, instead of *La Ysabella*, as it is in the Spanish Quarto edition and as it undoubtedly was in the original. Columbus wished to honour Queen Isabella, his patroness.

² Michel Kerney, the lamented bibliographer, translated this as if it read *ertilisimos*.

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are very many ranges of hills, and most lofty mountains incomparably beyond the Island of Centrefrei¹; all most beautiful in a thousand shapes, and all accessible, and full of trees of a thousand kinds, so lofty that they seem to reach the sky. And I am assured that they never lose their foliage; as may be imagined, since I saw them as green and as beautiful as they are in Spain during May. And some of them were in flower, some in fruit, some in another stage according to their kind. And the nightingale was singing, and other birds of a thousand sorts, in the month of November, round about the way that I was going. There are palm-trees of six or eight species, wondrous to see for their beautiful variety; but so are the other trees, and fruits, and plants therein. There are wonderful pinegroves, and very large plains of verdure, and there is honey, and many kinds of birds, and many various fruits. In the earth there are many mines of metals; and there is a population of incalculable number. Spañola is a marvel; the mountains and hills, and plains and fields, and land, so beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for breeding cattle of all sorts, for building of towns and villages. There could be no believing, without seeing, such harbours as are here, as well as the many and great rivers, and excellent waters, most of which contain gold. In the trees and fruits and plants, there are great differences from those of Juana. In this, there are many spiceries, and great mines of gold and other metals. The people of this island, and of all the others that I have found and seen or not seen, all go naked, men and women, just as their mothers bring them forth; although some women cover a single place with the leaf of a plant, or a cotton something which they make for that purpose. They have no iron or steel, nor any weapons; nor are they fit thereunto; not because they be not a well-formed people and of fair stature, but that they are most wondrously timorous. They have no other weapons than the stems of reeds in their seeding state, on the end of which they fix little sharpened stakes. Even these, they dare not use; for many times has it happened that I sent two or three men ashore to some village to parley, and countless numbers of them sallied forth, but as soon as they saw those approach, they fled away in such wise that even a father would not wait for his son. And this was not because any hurt had ever been done to any of them:—on the contrary, at every headland where I have gone and been able to hold speech with them, I gave them of everything which I had, as well cloth as many other things, without accepting aught therefor; but such they are, incurably timid. It is true that since they have become more assured, and are losing that terror, they are artless and generous with what they have, to such a degree as no one would believe but he who had seen it. Of anything they have, if it be asked for, they never say no, but do rather invite the person to accept it, and show as much lovingness as though they would give their hearts. And whether it be a thing of value, or one of little worth, they are

¹ Some take this for *Tenerife*. It may be intended for *Scotia*, with which island he compares Joanna in the Sanchez letter, as well as later on in this letter. Perhaps the Admiral (through this printer) is trying to say that the island is larger than a hundred *Ferro* islands.

straightways content with whatsoever trifle of whatsoever kind may be given them in return for it. I forbade that anything so worthless as fragments of broken platters, and pieces of broken glass, and strap-buckles, should be given them; although when they were able to get such things, they seemed to think they had the best jewel in the world, for it was the hap of a sailor to get, in exchange for a strap, gold to the weight of two and a half castellanos, and others much more for other things of far less value; while for new blancas they gave every thing they had, even though it were [the worth of] two or three gold castellanos, or one or two arrobas of spun cotton. They took even pieces of broken barrel-hoops, and gave whatever they had, like senseless brutes; insomuch that it seemed to me ill. I forbade it, and I gave gratuitously a thousand useful things that I carried, in order that they may conceive affection, and furthermore may be made Christians; for they are inclined to the love and service of their Highnesses and of all the Castilian nation, and they strive to combine in giving us things which they have in abundance, and of which we are in need. And they know no sect, or idolatry; save that they all believe that power and goodness are in the sky, and they believed very firmly that I, with these ships and crew, came from the sky; and in such opinion, they received me at every place where I landed, after they had lost their terror. And this comes not because they are ignorant; on the contrary, they are men of very subtle wit, who navigate all those seas, and who give a marvellously good account of everything—but because they never saw men wearing clothes or the like of our ships. And as soon as I arrived in the Indies, in the first island that I found, I took some of them by force, to the intent that they should learn [our speech] and give me information of what there was in those parts. And so it was, that very soon they understood [us] and we them, what by speech or what by signs; and those [Indians] have been of much service. To this day I carry them [with me] who are still of the opinion that I come from heaven, [as appears] from much conversation which they have had with me. And they were the first to proclaim it wherever I arrived; and the others went running from house to house and to the neighbouring villages, with loud cries of “Come! come to see the people from heaven!” Then, as soon as their minds were reassured about us, every one came, men as well as women, so that there remained none behind, big or little; and they all brought something to eat and drink, which they gave with wondrous lovingness. They have in all the islands very many canoes, after the manner of rowing-galleys, some larger, some smaller; and a good many are larger than a galley of eighteen benches. They are not so wide, because they are made of a single log of timber, but a galley could not keep up with them in rowing, for their motion is a thing beyond belief. And with these, they navigate through all those islands which are numberless, and ply their traffic. I have seen some of those canoes with seventy, and eighty, men in them, each one with his oar. In all those islands, I saw not much diversity in the looks of the people, or in their manners and language; but they all understand each other, which is

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a thing of singular towardness for what I hope their Highnesses will determine, as to making them conversant with our holy faith, unto which they are well disposed. I have already told how I had gone a hundred and seven leagues, in a straight line from West to East, along the seacoast of the Island of Juana; according to which itinerary, I can declare that that island is larger than England and Scotland combined; as, over and above those hundred and seven leagues, there remains for me, on the western side, two provinces whereto I did not go—one of which they call Anan, where the people are born with tails—which provinces cannot be less in length than fifty or sixty leagues, according to what may be understood from the Indians with me, who know all the islands. This other, Española,¹ has a greater circumference than the whole of Spain from Colibre in Catalunya, by the seacoast, as far as Fuente Ravia in Biscay; since, along one of its four sides, I went for a hundred and eighty-eight great leagues in a straight line from West to East. This is [a land] to be desired,—and once seen, never to be relinquished—in which [although, indeed, I have taken possession of them all for their Highnesses, and all are more richly endowed than I have skill and power to say, and I hold them all in the name of their Highnesses who can dispose thereof as much and as completely as of the kingdoms of Castile] in this Española, in the place most suitable and best for its proximity to the gold mines, and for traffic with the continent, as well on this side as on the further side of the Great Can, where there will be great commerce and profit,—I took possession of a large town which I named the city of Navidad. And I have made fortifications there, and a fort [which by this time will have been completely finished] and I have left therein men enough for such a purpose, with arms and artillery, and provisions for more than a year, and a boat, and a [man who is] master of all sea-craft for making others; and great friendship with the King of that land, to such a degree that he prided himself on calling and holding me as his brother. And even though his mind might change towards attacking those men, neither he nor his people know what arms are, and go naked. As I have already said, they are the most timorous creatures there are in the world, so that the men who remain there are alone sufficient to destroy all that land, and the island is without personal danger for them if they know how to behave themselves. It seems to me that in all those islands, the men are all content with a single wife; and to their chief or king they give as many as twenty. The women, it appears to me, do more work than the men. Nor have I been able to learn whether they held personal property, for it seemed to me that whatever one had, they all took shares of, especially of eatable things. Down to the present, I have not found in those islands any monstrous men, as many expected, but on the contrary all the people are very comely; nor are they black like those in Guinea, but have flowing hair; and they are not begotten where there is an excessive violence of the rays of the sun. It is true that the sun is there very strong, notwithstanding that it is twenty-six degrees distant from the equinoctial

¹ This form, ever after used, now appears for the first time.

line. In those islands, where there are lofty mountains, the cold was very keen there, this winter; but they endure it by being accustomed thereto, and by the help of the meats which they eat with many and inordinately hot spices. Thus I have not found, nor had any information of monsters, except of an island which is here the second in the approach to the Indies, which is inhabited by a people whom, in all the islands, they regard as very ferocious, who eat human flesh. These have many canoes with which they run through all the islands of India, and plunder and take as much as they can. They are no more ill-shapen than the others, but have the custom of wearing their hair long, like women; and they use bows and arrows of the same reed-stems, with a point of wood at the top, for lack of iron which they have not. Amongst those other tribes who are excessively cowardly, these are ferocious; but I hold them as nothing more than the others. These are they who have to do with the women of Matremonio—which is the first island that is encountered in the passage from Spain to the Indies—in which there are no men. Those women practise no female usages, but have bows and arrows of reeds such as above mentioned; and they arm and cover themselves with plates of copper of which they have much. In another island, which they assure me is larger than Española, the people have no hair. In this, there is incalculable gold; and concerning these and the rest I bring Indians with me as witnesses. And in conclusion, to speak only of what has been done in this voyage, which has been so hastily performed, their Highnesses may see that I shall give them as much gold as they may need, with very little aid which their Highnesses will give me; spices and cotton at once, as much as their Highnesses will order to be shipped, and as much as they shall order to be shipped of mastic,—which till now has never been found except in Greece, in the island of Xio, and the Seignory sells it for what it likes; and aloe-wood as much as they shall order to be shipped; and slaves as many as they shall order to be shipped—and these shall be from idolaters. And I believe that I have discovered rhubarb and cinnamon, and I shall find that the men whom I am leaving there will have discovered a thousand other things of value; as I made no delay at any point, so long as the wind gave me an opportunity of sailing, except only in the town of Navidad till I had left things safely arranged and well established. And in truth I should have done much more if the ships had served me as well as might reasonably have been expected. This is enough; and [thanks to] eternal God our Lord who gives to all those who walk His way, victory over things which seem impossible; and this was signally one such, for although men have talked or written of those lands, it was all by conjecture, without confirmation from eyesight, importing just so much that the hearers for the most part listened and judged that there was more fable in it than anything actual, however trifling. Since thus our Redeemer has given to our most illustrious King and Queen, and to their famous kingdoms, this victory in so high a matter, Christendom should take gladness therein and make great festivals, and give solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity for the great exalta-

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tion they shall have by the conversion of so many peoples to our Holy faith; and next for the temporal benefit which will bring hither refreshment and profit, not only to Spain, but to all Christians. This briefly, in accordance with the facts. Dated, on the caravel, off the Canary Islands, the 15 February of the year 1493.

At your command,

The Admiral.

Postscript which came within the letter:

After having written this [letter], and being in the sea of Castile, there rose upon me so much wind, South and South-West, that it has caused me to lighten the vessels, however, I ran hither to-day into this port of Lisbon, which was the greatest wonder in the world; where I decided to write to their Highnesses. I have always found the seasons like May in all the Indies, whither I passed in thirty-three days, and returned in twenty-eight, but that these storms have delayed me twenty-three days running about this sea. All the seamen say here that there never has been so bad a winter, nor so many shipwrecks.

Dated the 14th of March.

The Spanish folio edition of the letter of Columbus was beyond question printed in Spain, and, since there were certainly four printers ¹ in that city at the time, the natural inference is that it issued from a press in Barcelona. The Court was there,

¹ As we have already said in a note above, Petrus Posa, a Catalonian priest, was engaged in printing at Barcelona as early as 1481, and from 1482 to even as late a period as 1518 he printed under his own name several books. He printed:

Raymundi Lulli Liber divinalis vocatus Arbor Scientiæ, in 1482.

De la Imendio de Jesu Christ, 1482.

Phocas, *De principalibus orationis partibus*, 1488.

Cijar, *Opusculum tantum quinque*, 1491.

Ximénès, *Liber Pastoralis*, Dec. 5, 1493.

Petrus Michael, a citizen of Barcelona, printed in that city from 1481 to 1499. His books are in Latin and Spanish. In the British Museum there are several specimens of his press. In Proctor's list of *Early Printed Books*, there are:

No. 9548. Bonaventura. *Meditationes Vitæ Christi*, July 16, 1493.

No. 9549. Bonetus. *Metaphysica*. November 24, 1493.

No. 9550. Ovidius. *Libre de las Transformaciones*. April 24, 1494.

Johannes Baro had a press in Barcelona as early as 1493.

Johannes Rosenbach, a native of Heidelberg, printed in Barcelona from 1493 to 1498. The initial letter "S" used by him is identical with that in the folio letter, but the type of the text is not the same. He printed:

Libre appellat dels Angels que tracta de lur altesa e natura, in 1494.

With four presses in Barcelona in the year 1493, it is more than likely one of them would have been engaged in printing this letter.

Diego de Gumiel printed at Barcelona:

Flors de Vertuts e de costums, January 3, 1495.

Gabriel Pou had a press at Barcelona, where he printed:

P. Vergili Maronis Æneis, June 23, 1495.

Examples of several of the above presses are in the Author's library, but none

foreign representatives were there, and there also were the many agents of petty princes and of commercial houses to whose activity we owe the early propagation of the news of the discovery. In its manuscript form the letter was not adapted to encyclical reading, and the demand for its contents will easily suggest its immediate printing. Moreover, the interest in its contents will account for its rarity to-day. The edition doubtless was small; the little pamphlet, consisting of only two folios or leaves, was too small to be preserved with a binding, and thus, when much reading and handling had frayed and torn its body, it was sent back to the paper mill. It is not strange, then, that there has come down to us but one copy,—that in the Lenox portion of the New York Public Library.¹ It is apparent that the printing of the letter was a work of haste, and it has been suggested that perhaps two compositors were engaged in setting it up, each working on a leaf, the failure to adjust the two parts being apparent in the last line of the first leaf and the first line of the second leaf, both being practically identical and resulting in an attempt to cancel the extra line on the first leaf.

The probability that the letter was first printed in Spain, and in the Catalonian portion of Spain, is shown by the following peculiarities, which could only occur in a Spanish printing establishment. On the recto of folio 1, in line 4, one reads *rreal*, and in line 25, *rrios*. This initial double *r* is a peculiarity not found outside of Spain. No foreign and no Spanish printer in a foreign country would have made use of such a rolling character. As it presents rather an interesting philological study, we give the two score and more examples of Catalonianisms discovered by the learned transcriber of the letter in the Quaritch publication.

discloses type absolutely similar. The type used by Petrus Posa is identical in face, but a careful metric comparison shows the matrices to have been different.

Both HARRISSE and QUARITCH regard the Posa press as having produced the folio letter, but we must dissent from their conclusions. There are several double letters, cast on the same type used in the folio letter, and which do not appear in the *Ximènès*, printed July, 1493.

¹ The preservation of this copy is due probably to the fact that four leaves of contemporary paper were stitched to it, thus supporting its life for four hundred years or nearly so, since there is a date to indicate that these extra pages were written on in May, 1497, and that this writing was probably done at Bruges. The six leaves in turn were joined to some other work, which was protected with an oaken or hog-skin cover until chance revealed the Columbus letter, and the jewel was extracted from its common setting.

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THE CATALONIAN

INSTEAD OF THE USUAL
SPANISH FORM

	Page	Line	
1. grand.	1.	1.	gran or grande.
2. Sant.	"	6.	San.
3. magestat.	"	7.	magestad.
4. Ferrandina.	"	8.	Fernandina.
5. yvierno.	"	15.	ynvierno.
6. Spaña.	"	29.	España.
7. Spañola.	"	35.	Española.
8. hedificios.	"	37.	edificios.
9. crehencia.	"	37.	creencia.
10. haun que.	"	42.	aun que.
11. siviles.	2.	9.	ceviles.
12. haun que.	"	10.	aun que.
13. "	"	13.	"
14. tenen.	"	17.	tienen.
15. forza.	"	23.	fuerça.
16. conversasion.	"	26.	conversacion.
17. venit, venit!	"	28.	venid, venid!
18. mугers.	"	29.	mugeres
19. algu.	"	30.	algo.
20. fustes.	"	31.	fustas.
21. huna.	"	32.	una.
22. hun.	"	33.	un.
23. huna.	"	33.	una.
24. osidente.	"	39.	occidente.
25. desir.	"	40.	decir.
26. Escosia.	"	40.	Escocia.
27. provinsias.	"	41.	provincias.
28. nasen.	"	42.	nacen.
29. provinsias.	"	42.	provincias.
30. quals.	"	43.	quales.
31. Colunya.	"	44.	Coluña.
32. Viscaya.	"	45.	Vizcaya.
33. grands.	"	45.	grandes.
34. occident.	"	46.	occidente.
35. grand.	3.	4.	gran.
36. haun que.	"	9.	aun que.
37. hoffender.	"	9.	ofender.
38. tenien.	"	14.	tenian.
39. grand.	"	13.	gran.
40. yvierno.	"	20.	ynvierno.
41. launes.	"	31.	laminas or launas.
42. ydolatres.	"	38.	ydolatras.
43. haunque.	"	44.	aunque.
44. calavera.	4.	5.	caravela.
45. yvierno.	"	13.	ynvierno.
46. ha.	"	13.	a.

It is not pretended but that typographical errors may account for some of these irregularities, but the marked peculiarities are sufficient to support the contention as to the country of the printing. For instance, we find the uniform use of *s* where the Castilian uses *ç* or *z*. The Catalan *cs* is used for the plural form when the Castilian employs *as*. The sound which the latter represents by *uc*, the Catalan represents by *o*. The Castilian *ad* and *id* become *at* and *it* in Catalan, as, for instance, *venit* for *venid*. The Castilian uses the accent over the consonant *n*, while the Catalan writes out his sound, thus, *ny*. The Catalan omits the *n* in some words, as *yvierno* instead of *ynnvierno*, as the Castilian would write it. The Catalan writes out the rough breathing before the vowels, as *ha* for *a*, and *huna* for *una*. The following are purely Catalanisms: *magestat*, *venit*, *mugers*, *algu*, *fustes*, *quals*, *grands*, *launes*, *ydolatres*, *calavera*.

Thus a strong case has been made out for the printing of this letter in the territory of the Spanish monarchs, and in that part of it known as the province of Catalonia. As Barcelona was the most important city of that province, as it had several printing houses at that period, as the Court was established there at the time, and as the letter to Luis de Santangel was forwarded there from Palos immediately upon the arrival in that port of Columbus, it is a fair assumption that the first promulgation of the news of the discovery received its impulse from the types of a Barcelona press.

THE SPANISH QUARTO EDITION OF THE LETTER WRITTEN
BY CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TO LUIS DE SANTANGEL
(UNIQUE EXAMPLE PRESERVED IN THE AMBROSIAN
LIBRARY IN MILAN)



Eñor por que se que aureis plazer dela grand
 victoria que nro señor me ha dado en mi vyaie
 vos escriuo esta por la q̄l sabreys como ē xxiiij
 dias pase alas indias cōla armada que los illu
 strissimos Rey z reyna nros señores me dieron
 donde yo falle muy muchas Yslas pobladas con gēte syn
 numero. y dellas todas he tomado posesiō por sus altezas
 con pregon y vādera real estēdida y nō me fue cōtradicho.
 Ala primera q̄ yo falle puse nōbre sant saluador a comemo
 racion de su alta magestad. el qual marauilloso mēte todo
 esto andado los indios la llamā guanahani. Ala segūda pu
 se nōbre la ylsa de stā maria de cōcepçion. ala tercera ferrādi
 na. ala quarta la ysabella. Ala quinta la isla Juana. z asy a
 cada vna nōbre nuevo. Quādo yo llegue ala Juana segui yo
 la costa della al ponēte y la falle tan grāde q̄ pense q̄ seria
 tierra firma. la pūncia de catayo y como no falle asy villas
 y lugares en la costa dela mar saluo pequenas poblaciones
 con la gēte delas q̄les non podia bauer fabla por q̄ luego
 supā todos. andaua yo adelāte por el dicho camino penlan
 do de no errar grādes Ciudades o villas y al cabo d̄ mu
 chas leguas visto q̄ no havia inouacion y q̄ la costa me le
 uaua al serētrion de adōde mi volūdad era contraria por q̄
 el yuerno era ya encarnado yo tenia pposito de hazer d̄l al
 austro y tanbiē el viēto me dio adelante determine de no a
 guardar otro tiēpo y bolui atras fasta vn señalado puerro
 d̄ adōde enbie dos hōbres por la tierra pa saber si auia rey
 o grādes ciudades andouierō tres tornadas y hallarō infi
 nitas poblaciōes pequenas y gēte sin numero mas no co
 sa de regimēto por lo qual se boluierō yo entēdia barta de
 otros indios q̄ ya tenia tomados como cōtinua mēte esta
 tierra era isla z asy segui la costa della al ouēte ciēto y siete
 leguas fasta dōde fazia fin; del qual cabo vi otra isla al ouē

te distinta de esta diez o ocho leguas alá qual luego puse
 nóbre la española y fui allí y seguí la parte del setentrion así
 como dela juana al oriente. c. lxxviij. grâdes leguas por línea
 recta del oriente así como dela juana la qual y todas las o-
 tras son fortissimas en demasiado grado y esta en estremo
 en ella ay muchos puertos en la costa dela mar sin cōpara-
 cion de otros q̄ yo sepa en xpianos y sacros rios y bucnos
 y grâdes q̄ es marauilla. las tierras ôlla son altas y en ella
 muy muchas sierras y mōrañas altissimas sin cōparacion
 dela ysla de cētre son todas fermosissimas de mill. fēchuras
 y todas andabiles y llenas de arboles ô mil maneras y al-
 tas y parēcen q̄ llegan al cielo y tengo por dicho q̄ jamas
 pierdē la foia segū lo puede p̄prehēder q̄ los vi tan verdes y
 tan hermosos como son por mayo en spaña y dellos flauā
 floridos dellos cō frutō y dellos en otro terminio segun es
 su calidad y cātau el ruisēol y otros paxaricos de mil ma-
 neras en el mes de nouiembre por allí donde yo andaua ay
 palmas de seys o de ocho maneras q̄ es admiraciō verlas
 por la diforimidad fermosa dellas mas así como los otros
 arboles y frutos y yeruas en ella ay pinares a marauilla
 z ay campiñas grandissimas z ay miel y de muchas mane-
 ras de aues y frutas muy diuersas. En las tierras ay mu-
 chas minas de metales z ay gēte inestimable numero. La
 española es marauilla las sierras y las mōrañas y las uegas
 y las cāpiñas y las tierras tan fermosas z gruesas pa plā-
 tar z sembrar pa criar ganados de todas suertes pa hedi-
 cios de villas z lugares. los puertos dela mar aqui no ba-
 uria creancia sin vista z de los rios muchos z grâdes z fue-
 ras aguas los mas de los quales traen oro en los arboles
 z frutos z yeruas ay grâdes diferēcias de aq̄llas dela ju-
 na. en esta ay muchas ipecierias z grâdes minas de oro z ô
 otros metales. la gente de sta ysla z de todas las otras q̄ he

fallado y baido: ni aya hauido noticia andan todos desnu-
dos hōbres, z mugeres así como sus madres los parē avn
q̄ algūas mugeres se cobijan vn solo lugar con vna sola fo-
ja de perua o vna cosa de algodō q̄ pa ellos fazen, ellos no
tienē fierro ni azero ni armas ni son pa ello no por q̄ no sea
gente bien dispuesta z de fermosa estatura saluo q̄ son muy
temerosos a marauiilla, no tienē otras armas saluo las ar-
mas delas cañas quādo estan cōla simiēte ala qual ponen
al cabo vn palillo agudo z no osan vsar de aq̄llas que mu-
chas vezes me ha acaescido enbiar a tierra dos o tres bon-
bres algūa villa pa haucr fabla z salir a ellos, dellos sin nu-
mero, z despues q̄ los veyā llegar fuyan a no aguardar pa-
dre a hijo z estouo por q̄ a nūgūo se aya fecho mal antes a
toda cabo a dōde yo ay estado z podido auer fabla les he
dado o todo lo q̄ tenía así paño como otras cosas muchas
sin recebir por ello cosa alguna mas son así temerosos sin
remedio, verdad es q̄ despues q̄ asegurā y pierden esta mie-
do, ellos son tanto sin engaño y tan liberales dello q̄ tienen
q̄ no lo crecrian sino el q̄ lo viese, ellos de cosa q̄ tengā pidi-
endo gela iamas, dizen de no, antes cōuidan la p̄sona con
ello y muestran tanto amor q̄ darian los coraçones z quie-
ren sea cosa de valor quic̄ sea de poco precio luego por qual
quiera cosica de qual quiera manera que sea que sele de por
ello sean cōtentos, yo defendi que no se les diesen cosas tã
siuiles como pedaços de escudillas rotas y pedaços de vi-
drio roro y cabos de agugetas: avn que quando ellos esto
podian llegar los parecía auer la mejor joya del mundo q̄
se açerto auer vn marīnero por vna agugeta de oro de pe-
so de dos castellanos y medio, y otros de otras cosas que
muy menos valian mucho mas pa por blācas nucas dar-
uan por ellas todo quāto tenía auer que fuesen dos ni tres
castellanos de oro o vna arrona o des de algodō, fglado

fassa los pedaços delos arcos rotos delas pipas tomanã
 y dauan lo q̄ reniã como bestias asy q̄ me parecía mal. yo
 lo defendí y dauayó graciosas mil cosas buenas q̄ yo leua
 ua por q̄ tomé amor. y allenda desto se farã xpianos q̄ se in-
 clinan al amor y seruicio de sus altezas y de toda la naciõ
 castellana. y procurã de aiutar de nos dar delas cosas q̄ te-
 nen en abudãcia q̄ nos son neçessarias y no conociã ningun
 na sera nin ydollarria saluo q̄ todos creen q̄ las fuerças y el
 biẽ es en el cielo. y creyã muy firme q̄ yo cõ estos nauios y
 gente venía del cielo y en tal catamieco me recibí en todo
 cabo despues de auer pido el miedo. y esto no pcede por
 q̄ sean pguorãtes saluo de muy sutil ingenio y bõbres q̄ na-
 uegan tẽ das aq̄llas mares q̄ es marauilla la buena cuẽta
 quellos dan d̄ todo saluo por q̄ nũca vieron gẽte vestida ny
 semejãtes nauios. y luego q̄ legue alas indias en la primera
 ysla q̄ halle tome por fuerça algũos dellos pa q̄ deprendie-
 sen y me diesen notia delo q̄ ama en aq̄llas pres y asy fue q̄
 luego entrediron y nos a ellos quãdo por lengua oñenas. y
 estos han aprouechado mucho oy en dia los traygo q̄ siẽ-
 pre est̄ n de pposito q̄ vengo del cielo por mucha puerfaciõ.
 q̄ ayan auído cõmigo y estos eran los primeros a pronũci-
 arlo adõde yo llegaua. y los otros andauã corriendo de ca-
 sa en casa. y alas villas cercanas con bozes altas. venido ve-
 nido a ver la gẽte del cielo. asy todos hõbres como mugeres
 despues de auer el coraçon seguro de nos veniã q̄ no qda-
 uan grãde ni pequeño y todos trayan algo de comer y de
 beuer quedauã con yn amor marauilloso. ellos tienẽ todas
 las yslas muy muchas canoas a manera de fustes de remo
 dellas maiores d̄llas menores y algũas y muchas son ma-
 yoras q̄ vna fusta de diez y ocho bancos. no son tã anchas
 por q̄ son de yn solo madero mas vna fusta no terna con
 ellas al remo por q̄ van q̄ no es cosa de creer y conueltas na-

uegan todas aquellas yslas que son innumerables. y tratē
sus mercaderías. algunas destas canoas he visto con. lxx. y
lxxx. hombres en ella y cada vno con su remo. en todas estas
yslas no vi de mucha diuersidad dela fechura dela gēte ni
en las costūbres ni en la lengua. saluo que todos se entendiē
que es cosa muy singular pa lo q̄ espero q̄ determinará sus
altezas para la cōuersacion dellos de nra santa fe ala qual
son muy dispuestos. ya dixē como yo hauiā andada. c. vij. le
guas por la costa dela mar por la derecha lina de occidente
a oriente por la ysla juana segū el qual camino puedo desir
q̄ esta isla es mayor q̄ inglaterra y escosia jūtas por q̄ allen
de destas. c. vij. leguas me queda oia pre deponiēte dos pro
uincias q̄ yo no he andado. la vna delas quales llamā auan
adonde nascē la gēte con cola las quales puincias no pue
den tener en longura menos de. l. o. lx. leguas segund puede
entēder destes indios q̄ yo tengo los quales saben todas
las yslas. Esta otra espanola en cierco tiene mas q̄ la españa
toda desde colunya por costa de mar fasta fuēte rauia en vi
scaya pues en vna quadra anduue. clxxxvij. grāds leguas
por recta linia de occidente a oriente esta es pa' desear. z vi
sta es para nūca dexar en la qual puesto q̄ de todas tēga to
mada possession por sus altezas y todas seā mas abastadas
delo q̄ yo se y puedo desir y todas las tengo por de sus alte
zas qual dellas pueden disponer como y ran cōplida mēte
como delos Reynos de castilla. en esta española en ellugar
mas cōuenible y meyor conmarca para las minas del oro y
de todo trato así dela tierra firme de aquí como de aquí
de alla del grand can. adonde aura grād trato z grand ga
nança he tomado possession de vna villa grāde ala qual pu
se nōbre la villa de nauidad: y en ella he fecho fuerça y for
taleza q̄ ya a estas horas estara del todo acabada y bñdeta
da en ella gēte q̄ abasta pa semejāte fecho con armas y arte

llarias e virtuales por nias de vii año. y fusta y maestro de
 la mar en todas artes para fazer otras y grãde amistad cõ
 el rey de aq̃lla tierra en tanto grado q̃ se preciaua de me lla
 mar y tener por hermano e avn q̃ le mudasse la voluntad a
 offender esta gẽte el ni los suyos no saben q̃ sean armas y
 andan dñudos como ya he dicho son los mas temerosos
 q̃ ay en el mũdo asi q̃ sola mēte la gente q̃ alla queda es pa
 ra destroir toda aquella tierra y es ysla syn pelĩgro de sus
 personas sabiẽdo se regir. en todas estas yslas me parece q̃
 todos los hombres sean prentos con vna muger y a su ma
 yoral o rey dan fusta veynte. Las mugeres me parece que
 trabajan mas q̃ los bõbres ni he podido entender si tienen
 bienes propios q̃ me parecio ver q̃ aquello q̃ vno tenia to
 dos bazian pre en especial de las cosas comederas en estas
 yslas fasta aqui no he hallado bõbres mostrudos como mu
 chos pensauã mas antes es toda gẽte de muy lindo acata
 miẽto ny son negros como en guinea saluo cõ sus cabellos
 corredios. y no se crían adõde ay jnpero demasiado de los
 rayos solares. Es verdad q̃l sol tiene alli grãde fuerça pue
 sto q̃ es didistinta dela linia inquinaçial. xxvi. grandes. En
 estas islas adõde ay mōtañas ay tenida a fuerça el frío este
 yuerno mas ellos lo sufren por la costũbre q̃ con la ayuda
 delas viãdas q̃ comē con especias muchas y muy caliẽtes
 en demasia. asy q̃ mostruos no he hallado jnnoticia saluo
 de vna ysla q̃ es aqui en la segũda ala entrada delas indias
 q̃ es poblada de vna gente q̃ tienen en todas las yslas por
 muy ferozes los quales comē carne humana. Estos tienen
 muchas canas cõlas quales corren todas las yslas de jn
 dia roban y roman quãto pueden. ellos no son mas difor
 mes q̃ los otros saluo q̃ tienen en costũbre de traer los ca
 bellos largos como mugeres y vsan arcos y flechas delas
 misĩnas armas de cañas conyn palillo al cabo por defecto

de fierro q̄ no tienen/son feroces entre estos otros pueblos que son en demasiado grado couardes/ mas yo no lo tengo a nada mas q̄ a los otros. estos son aquellos q̄ tratā cō las mugeres de matrimonio q̄ es la primera ysla partiēdo de spaña para las indias q̄ se falla en la qual no ay hōbre ninguno, ellas no vsan exercicio fememil saluo arcos y flechas como los sobre dichos de cañas y se aruiā y cobñan con lānes de arambre de q̄ tienē mucho. otra ysla me seguran mayor q̄ la española en que las psonas no tienē ningūn cabello En esta ay oro sin cuēra y desta y de las otras traigo cōmigo indios pa testimonio: z cōclusion a fablar desto sola mēte q̄ sca fecho este viage q̄ fue si de corrida q̄ pueden ver sus altezas q̄ yo les dare oro quāto ouieren menester con muy poquita ajuda q̄ sus altezas me daran. agora speciaria y algodón quāto sus altezas mādaran cargar/ y alinastica quāta mādaran cargar z dōla qual fasta oy no se ha fallado saluo en grecia en la ysla de rio/ y el señorio la vēde como quiere/ y ligualoe quāto mādará cargar/ y esclauos quāto mādaran cargar z seran de los ydolarres. y creo auer hallado ruybaruo y canela z otras mil cosas de sustācia fallare que auran fallado la gēte q̄ yo alla dexo por q̄ yo no me he detenido ningun cabo en quanto el victo me aya dado lugar de nauegar sola mente en la villa de nauidad en quanto de xe asegurado z bien asentado/ z ala verdad mucho mas ficiera si los nauios me siruieran como razon demandaua. Esto es barro y eterno dios nro scñor el q̄l da a todos aq̄llos que andan su camino victoria de cosas que parecen impossibles. y esta señalada mente fue la vna por que ay en que destas tierras ayan fallado/ o escripto todo va por conlectura sin allēgar de vista saluo comprendiendo a tanto que los oyentes los mas escuchauan z juzgauan mas por fabla q̄ por poca cosa dello asy que pues nro redētor dio victoria,

A nuestros Illustrissimos Rey y Reyna y a sus Reynos famosos de tan alta cosa a donde toda la christianidad deve tomar alegría y fazer grâdes fiestas y dar gras solennes ala santa trinidad cō muchas oraciones solenes por el rãto en calçamiẽto q̃ auran en rōmãdo se rãtos pueblos a nuestra santa se. y despues por los bienes tẽporales q̃ no sola mēte ala espana mas a todos los cristianos ternan aqui refrigerio y ganancia esto segun el fecho así en bñue fecha en la ca lauera sobre las yslas de canaria a. xv. de febrero. Mill, 7 quatrocientos 7 nouenta y tres años.

Sara lo que mandareys El almirante,

Alma que venia dentro en la carta.

Despues desta escripto: y estando en mar de Castilla salyo tanto viento cōmigo, sul y sueste que me ha fecho descargar lōs nãnos por cori aqui en este puerto de lybbona oy q̃ fue la mayor marauilla del mūdo adonde acorde escriuir asus altezas. En todas las yndias he siempre ballado los tiempos como en mayo adonde yo fuy en xxxiij. dias 7 bolui en. xxviij. saluo questas tormentas me han detenido. xiiij. dias corriendo por esta mar. Dizen aqua todos los honbres dela mar que jamas ouo tan mal yuerno no ni tãtas perdidas de naues, fecha a. xiiij. dias de marco.

Esta carta embio Colon a lescruano Deracion delas Yslas balladas en las Indias. Contemda a otra De sus Altezas.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE SPANISH QUARTO LETTER

IN the year 1852 the Baron Pietro Custodi died, leaving his books and manuscripts to the Ambrosian Library. Among the printed books was a small quarto tract of four folios or leaves, each side of a full leaf containing thirty-two lines. The watermark is an open hand, from the third finger of which is a flower with six petals engrafted on a stem. This little book is known in the bibliographical world as the Ambrosian Quarto edition of the Columbus letter. It is unique,¹ and from the time of its

¹ An interesting bibliographical romance is connected with this book. In 1866 the Marquis Gerolamo d'Adda employed an expert of Milan by the name of Enrico Giordani to make a pen fac-simile of the Ambrosian pamphlet. This was then transferred to stone and 150 lithographic examples were made and passed into the public libraries and into commerce. Even these are seldom met with to-day, a Florentine bookseller prising one at 500 lire. With all his care, Signor Giordani incorporated several errors in his copy. Twelve of these errors are here reproduced:

Page 1, line	6, gēre	for gēte (gente).
" 1, "	18, qles	" qles (quales).
" 1, "	26, hōhres	" hōbres (hombres).
" 2, "	19, distormidad	" disformidad.
" 3, "	26, roro	" roto.
" 4, "	13, tedas	" todas.
" 7, "	14, ajnda	" aiuda.
" 7, "	19, aner	" auer.
" 7, "	23, nanidad	" nauidad.
" 8, "	1, sua	" sus.
" 8, "	2, romar	" tomar.
" 8, "	21, târas	" (tâtas tantas).

About the year 1882, a citizen of Bologna, Italy, fabricated five examples by two or more processes, intending to dispose of these as original examples of the Ambrosian pamphlet, and to sell them simultaneously in Europe and America before the deception could be detected. This man is now dead, but he confessed his forgery to the learned editor of the *Raccolta* (Part VI.), published by the Italian Government in 1892.

In the Lenox Department of the New York Public Library is preserved one of these examples. Some years ago a prominent bookseller carried this example to Mr. Wilberforce Eames, the librarian, asking his opinion as to its genuineness. On being told it was a palpable forgery, it was taken away. A short time after, another book-

entering that library until the year 1889 was regarded as the earliest printed edition, and therefore, the original being lost, the nearest to the holograph letter penned by Columbus on board the *Niña* when off the Azores. By the discovery of the

seller appeared with the little volume and a similar conversation occurred. The third time, an Italian, the pretended owner, came with the volume and inquired for the librarian, and told him he had something he wished to show him. On seeing it Mr. Eames replied: "Yes, I have seen this before!" The conversation which followed led to the Italian's tearing the pamphlet into shreds and throwing it into a waste-paper basket. Upon his retirement, these were gathered, carefully repaired, and the book, replaced in its red morocco binding, occupies to-day a conspicuous place among the bibliographical curiosities of the library. Bernard Quaritch purchased another of the five examples in Florence in the fall of 1891 for 500 francs, and which he had Zæhnsdorf bind in a handsome manner. This is now in a private library in Albany, N. Y. A third example is known to be owned in Italy. A fourth example in blue morocco binding and agreeing exactly with the Lenox copy, having been obtained from the same Italian, is now in a private collection in England.

One of these five forged pamphlets, the fifth of our enumeration, was sold to a firm of London booksellers for £285, and by them to a New York amateur in the year 1890 for £900. The latter sold it at public auction, March 5, 1891, for \$4300, giving a guarantee as to its genuineness. The buyer returned the book. The original New York possessor then began a litigation in the New York courts to demand from the London booksellers that they in turn receive back the pamphlet and return the money paid. Judgment was given the London booksellers in the lower courts on the ground that there was no guarantee and that practically the book was genuine. The Court of Appeals reversed this decision on the ground that at the first trial before a jury the Court permitted to be read by the counsel for the plaintiff a letter from Mr. F. S. Ellis, the predecessor of the London firm, in which he expressed the opinion that the book was a genuine specimen of the Spanish typographical art at the end of the fifteenth century, and stating that this was also the opinion of the late Mr. William Blades, a student of Caxton-English typography. The Court had warned the jury against letting such manifestly irregular testimony influence them, but the Court of Appeals decided that the abstract reading of the letter to the jury was sufficient ground for a new trial.

Now, the pamphlet in question was evidently not the product of a printing-press. The very slightest acquaintance with the art proves that proposition. For instance, the space belonging to one line was occupied by portions of letters belonging to the line above,—a result quite unattainable in typography. Again, letters were joined in such a way that the body of a single type must have contained in some instances not less than six or seven letters, used only on a single occasion, as, for example, the last four letters in the word "Colon" belonged, if printed, to an individual type body, and no other use is made of that word. The same thing may be said of the word "D-eracion," where the last seven letters are cast on one body. The casting of two—scarcely ever more—letters on one body was for the convenience of the printer, and, while frequently used, was not generally in use at the end of the fifteenth century. But no printer would have employed a type-founder to manufacture for him an individual type having four letters of a person's name,—Colon, Columbus,—when he was to use that name but once.

That the book was a palpable forgery is absolutely proven from the twelve errors quoted above and perpetrated by Enrico Giordani in 1866, and which are copied and perpetuated in exactly the same places on their respective pages by the Bolognese forger. In other words, a book purporting to have been printed in the year 1493 in Barcelona, Spain, presents exactly the same gratuitous mistakes, in exactly the same places, perpetrated by an Italian at Milan, Italy, in the year 1866. *Caveat emptor!*

Quaritch or Lenox copy, the Ambrosian is relegated to second place. It is printed in Spanish, and is evidently a reprint, slightly corrected and improved, of the one we have been describing. We have availed ourselves of the labours expended on this question in Mr. Quaritch's bookshop, and therefore do not hesitate to employ the same arguments to show that the one was reprinted from the other, and that the one which thus served as "copy" was the one folio in form and now in the Lenox Library.

The following typographical blunders are common to both editions:

FOLIO	QUARTO		
Page 1, line 4.	Page 1, line 11.	Andado	should be ha dado.
" 1, " 21.	" 2, " 1.	diez o ocho	" " diez y ocho.
" 1, " 23.	" 2, " 3.	clxxviii	" " clxxxviii.
" 1, " 24.	" 2, " 5.	fortissimas	" " fertilisimas.
" 2, " 6.	" 3, " 19.	pidiendogela	" " pidiend- dosela.
" 2, " 7.	" 3, " 22.	quieren sea . . .	" " quier sea . . .
		quien sea	quier sea.
" 2, " 24.	" 4, " 17.	notia	" " noticia.
" 2, " 24.	" 4, " 18.	entendiron	" " entendieron.
" 2, " 30.	" 4, " 27.	tienen todas	" " tienen en todas.
" 2, " 44.	" 5, " 18.	Colunya	" " Colibre en Catalunya.
" 3, " 16.	" 6, " 15.	mostrudos	" " monstruos.
" 3, " 17.	" 6, " 18.	corredios	" " correntios.
" 3, " 18-19.	" 6, " 20.	didistinta	" " distinta (or distante).
" 3, " 19.	" 6, " 20.	inquinocial	" " equinocial.
" 3, " 19.	" 6, " 20.	grādes (in folio, cor- rected to grandes in quarto).	" " grados.
" 3, " 19.	" 6, " 21.	ay	" " ahi.
" 3, " 29.	" 7, " 4.	matremonio	" " matinino.
" 3, " 44.	" 7, " 29.	fallado	" " fablado.
" 3, " 44-45.	" 7, " 29.	conlectura.	" " conjectura.

The imagination refuses to believe that these nineteen examples of errors in printing two separate editions can be simple coincidences. If both books were printed from the same original

Columbus letter or from the copy which Luis de Santangel or some friend of his permitted to be made, it is equally an unpayable tax on the imagination to suppose that no printer or proof reader should have corrected these palpable blunders. There have already been given forty-six instances of the use of forms peculiarly Catalan as occurring in the folio edition. In the printing of the quarto edition twenty-two of these have been retained and twenty-four have been changed into pure Castilian. The inference is that the corrected edition is the later edition. This is an accepted rule in bibliography, and has settled the priority of many an edition of the classics and the early ecclesiastical writers. The peculiar double *r* in the words *rreal* and *rrios* occurs only in the folio edition. Moreover, the internal evidence suggests that the quarto was not printed in Spain but in Italy. The vowel *i* in many words is replaced by the consonant *j* in the quarto.¹ The consonant *j* was replaced in early imprints² by the vowel *i*, just as the consonant *v* was replaced by the vowel *u*, but the vowel *i* never was replaced by the consonant *j*. This use of the *j* shows that this book must have been printed in some country where this vowel and the consonant had like sounds. They had no such similarity of sound in Spain, but they had in Italy. If the book was printed in Italy, the place was probably a Mediterranean seaport town, whither the boats of commerce would carry the first edition, and in which perhaps there were many who understood something of the Catalan patois and something of the pure Castilian.

The letter written by Columbus to Luis de Santangel is, then, the earliest printed announcement of the discovery of the new lands in the Western Sea, and the channels of communication were:

¹ *Jndias*, *jndios*, *jsla*, *jnclinam*, *jnnumerables*, *jnpeto*, *jn*, *jndia mjel*, *jnpossibles*, *jllustrissimas*, are some of the instances of employing the consonant *j* in the place of the vowel *i*, and such employment may not be expected in a Spanish printing establishment, while it might occur in an Italian printing house.

² The introduction of the consonants *v* and *j*, thus no longer requiring the vowels *u* and *i* to do double duty, is wrongly attributed to Nicolas Jenson, a Frenchman, who set up the second typographical establishment in Venice. These characters do not occur, as is generally asserted, for the first time in the first edition of the *Lives of the Philosophers*, by Diogenes Laertius, printed in 1475. The pointed *v* is found in this book, but it is used indiscriminately for the consonant and for the vowel *u*. This double use is found much earlier. But it was many years after this, when printers employed the small *v* in the middle of a word for the consonant sound.

First, A. The folio edition of two leaves, printed in the Spanish language, with many instances of Catalanisms, a unique copy of which now reposes in the Lenox portion of the New York Public Library, reproduced in exact fac-simile in this Work.

Second, B. The quarto edition of four leaves printed in the Spanish language, containing some instances of the Catalan dialect, but largely corrected from that into the good Castilian tongue, a unique copy of which is in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, Italy, and reproduced in exact fac-simile for the first time in this Work.¹

¹ When Navarrete was preparing his *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, which he published in 1825, he made a manuscript copy of this letter of Columbus, not from the original, which he never pretended to have seen, but from a copy which Thomas Gonzalez had transcribed in 1818: Navarrete published at the close of his copy of the Columbus letter the following certificate:

"This is copied verbatim from the original document which exists in the royal archives of Simancas in the collection of general correspondence of State No. 1. In testimony of which I append my signature hereto.

" THOMAS GONZALEZ.

" [Dated] SIMANCAS, December 28, 1818."

Thomas Gonzalez was one of the Council of Ferdinand VII., a Chancellor and Canon of the Cathedral of Plasencia, and corresponding member of the Academy of History.

In 1858, Señor F. A. de Varnhagen published at Valencia a pamphlet entitled *Primera Epistola del Almirante Don Cristobal Colon*, after a text which he had found at the *Colegio Mayor de Cuenca*. Neither the Gonzalez nor Varnhagen copy pretended to be in the hand of Columbus, and therefore neither can be called original.

It is one of these editions, probably the folio, which the great book collector, Ferdinand Columbus, the younger son of the Admiral, included in the list of the books in his library, under the title, *Lettera Enviada al Escribano de Racion á 1493: en Catalan*. This copy is no longer in the Columbian Library at Seville.

CHAPTER LXIV

THE COSCO LATIN TRANSLATIONS

THE purest Castilian never could have disseminated the message of the discovery. This office could have been performed alone by that universal medium of mental exchange,—the Latin language. And thus it came about that one of the letters of Columbus, written on board the *Niña*, was translated into Latin, and at once, certainly within a few months, was printed in eight separate editions. This was the letter written to Gabriel Sanchez,¹ the Crown Treasurer, and dated Lisbon, March 14, 1493. The letter to Sanchez, like that to Santangel, was eagerly seized by the courtiers and foreign representatives who desired details of the news, and doubtless more than one copy was made of the interesting document. In some way Leandro de Cosco, whose name suggests a Catalan origin, obtained a copy, and translated it into Latin, finishing the translation on April 29, 1493.² The manuscript of this translation was sent to Rome and fell into the hands of Bernardo or Leonardo de Carminis or de Corbaria, the Bishop of Monte-Peloso, who made an epigram which is inserted in all the editions of this letter. As all these editions are undated, so far as giving the month or day is concerned, there is a great field for individual judgment on the part of bibliographers in establishing the priority of the first reprint. One edition bears the date of the year, 1493, and the name of the printer. The press from which issued three others, those printed in Paris, is easily identified.

¹ In several of the Latin editions the name is printed Raphael Sanchez.

² Navarrete, vol. i., p. 179, gives the date in his rendering of the Latin letter into Spanish as April 25, 1493, notwithstanding that on the opposite page he prints the first page of the Latin edition, in which it clearly says that the translation was *Ab Hispano idiomate in Latinum convertit: Tertio Kalendas Maii, MCCCCXCIII, Pontificatus Alex VI, Anno I.* The third of the kalends of May is the twenty-ninth day of April. This error is retained in the French translation of Navarrete, published in Paris, 1828.

No one has done more to place these eight editions of the Latin letter in their proper bibliographical procession than that indefatigable and erudite scholar, Henry Harrisse. In his *Notes on Columbus*¹ he undertook to classify them in their order of printing, giving good fac-simile specimens of what he considered the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth editions. This order of arrangement was changed somewhat in his latest essay on the subject, published in 1894, in which he described eight editions, placing the Bâle edition at the end of the list. An original example of five of these eight editions is now owned in America and accessible to the student; the three editions printed at Paris by Guyot Marchant, and the edition printed at Antwerp with the types of Thierry Martens, are represented by fac-similes. The struggle for supremacy is the fiercest over the editions which appear to have been printed in Rome. The other editions are not contestants for the honour of priority. The arguments used by Harrisse have moved us to accept the following—"C"—as the Editio Princeps:

"C.—Epistola Christofori Colom²: cui ętas nostra multũ debet: de Infulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea menſe auspicijſ 7 ęre inuictiſſimi Fernandi Hiſpaniarum Regiſ miſſuſ fuerat: ad Magnificum dñm Raphaelem Sanxiſ: eiuſdem fereniſſimi Regiſ Tefaurariũ miſſa: quam nobiliſ ac litteratuſ vir Aliander de Coſco ab Hiſpano ideomate in latinum conuertit: tertio Kal'ſ Maij M.cccc.xciij. Pontificatuſ Alexandri Sexti Anno Primo."

[See fac-simile on page 48.]

This volume, printed throughout in Gothic characters, is a small quarto in size, and consists of four leaves, each full page having thirty-four lines.³ The epigram composed by the Bishop of Monte-Peloso is found on the verso of the last leaf. The type appears to be that employed by Stephanus Planneck,

¹ This work was privately printed in New York in 1866 in an edition of ninety-nine copies. The best bibliographical account is in his *Bibliographia Colombina*, or "Lettre de Christophe Colomb . . . Bibliographie de la Version Latine," privately printed at Paris in 1894, in an edition of ten copies. The same account is included in his *Opera Minora, Christophe Colomb et les Académiciens Espagnols*, Paris, 1894, pp. 61-101.

² If we are right in regarding this as the first of the Latin editions, then this is the first time that the illustrious name of Christopher Columbus, the Discoverer, ever appeared in full in print. It was the first blast from the bugle of Fame's herald, announcing to the world a new name destined evermore to be upon the lips of man.

³ There is a copy in the Lenox Library (from which our fac-simile is taken).

Epistola Christofori Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet: de Insulis Indię supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea mense auspicijs ⁊ gre inuictissimi Fernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificum dñm Rēphaelē Sanctis: eiusdem serenissimi Regis Celsarariū missas: quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cosco ab Hispano Ideomate in latinum conuertit: tertio kalē Maij. M. cccc. xcij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam suscepisti prouintiam perfectam me cōsecutum fuisse gratum tibi fore scio: has constitui exarare: quę te vnus cuiusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere gessę inuentęq; ad moneant: Tricesimo tertio die postq; Cadibus discessi in mare Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas hominibus repperi: quarum omnium pro foelicissimo Rege nostro preconio celebrato ⁊ vtrillius extensis contradicente nemine possessionem accepti: primęq; earum diui Saluatoris nomen imposui: cuius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc: q; ad ceteras alias peruenimus. Eam & Indi Guanabazin vocant. Aliarum etiā vnā quāq; nouo nomine nancupauī. Quippe aliā insulam Sanctę Marię Conceptionis. altā Fernandinā. aliam Ipyabellā. aliam Iohānam. ⁊ sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Quāprimum in eam insulam quā dudum Iohāā vocari dīxi appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem versus aliquantulum processi: tamq; eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non insulam: sed continentem Chatā prouinciā esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns oppida municipiaue in maritimis sita consenib; p̄ter aliquos rīcos ⁊ predia rustica: cum quorū incolis loqui nequibam. quare si mīl ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltas existimans aliquā me urbem villęue inuenturum. Deniq; vidē q; longe admodum progressis nihil noui emergebat: ⁊ hmoi rīa nos ad Septentrionem deferbat: q; ipse fugere exoptabā: terris etenim regnabat bruma: ad Austrumq; erat in voto cōtenderes

a native of Padua, who established a press at Rome, where he printed from 1479 to 1498 many important books. There are three important arguments pointing to the priority of this edition.

First. King Ferdinand alone is mentioned as the monarch under whose auspices the discovery was undertaken, while Isabella ruled conjointly with him at the time. In some other editions this omission is corrected. The assumption is fair, as far as the matter appears on its face, that an edition which makes a glaring omission such as this, is prior in its time of publication to an edition which corrects the omission, and which presents the names of the King and Queen together.

Second. The title declares that the letter was sent to the Treasurer of the King, Raphael Sanxis. The name of the Treasurer was Gabriel Sanchez, and this was corrected in some other editions. Again we say, unless some good reason be given to the contrary, it is a natural inference that an edition of a book which gives to a man a wrong name, and which name is found corrected in some other edition of that book, is prior to the corrected edition.

Third. The translation of the letter from the Spanish into Latin is said to have been made by Aliander de Cosco, which name in other editions appears correctly as Leander de Cosco.¹ Once more we say that, unless there is good reason for the contrary, an edition of a book which gives in the title-page a wrongly spelled name to the person making the translation, was printed previous to an edition of the same book correcting the spelling of his name.

"D.—

De Infulis inuentis

"Epistola Criftoferi Colom (cui etas noſtra multū debet: de Infulis in mari Indico nup inuētis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea menſe: auſpicijs et ere Inuictiſſimi Fernandi Hiſpaniarum Regis Miſſus fuerat) ad Magnificum dñm Raphaelez Sanxis: eiufdē fereniſſimi Regis Theſaurariū miſſa. quam nobilis ac litterat⁹ vir Aliander d Coſco: ab Hiſpano ydeomate in latinū conuertit: tercio kl's Maij M.cccc.xcij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno Primo."

Harris recorded eleven copies in 1894, and one or two more have been discovered since that date.

¹ Ferdinand Columbus, in his catalogue, calls him Leonardus de Cosco:

Chriſtophori Colon Epistola de Inventione Indiarum ex Hiſpano in Latinum Transducta per Leonardum de Cosco.

(Catalogue de la Columbine Registrum B, Col. 369.)

VOL. II.—4.

The volume is printed in Gothic characters, is a small octavo in form, consisting of ten leaves, with twenty-seven lines to a full page. We think it is from the press of Johannes Froben of Bâle. There are eight woodcuts, two of which are repeated, as follows:

A single escutcheon of Castile and Leon, with the words *Regnũ Hyspanie* on the recto of the first leaf.

A vessel, with the words *Oceanica Classis* on the verso of the first leaf.

A number of men landing, and the words *Insula Hyspana* on the verso of the second leaf.

A rude attempt to draw a map, with the words: *Fernāda*, *Ysabella*, *Hyspana*, *Salvatorie*, *Conceptōres*, *Marie*, and a caravel on the verso of the third leaf.¹

A vessel, with the words *Oceanica Classis* on the recto of the fifth leaf.

A fort in the process of construction, and the words *Insula Hyspana* on the verso of the seventh leaf.

A full-length portrait of Ferdinand, holding the escutcheon of Castile and Leon in his right hand and that of Granada hanging from his left arm, having a standard in his left hand, with the words *Fernād' Rex Hyspana* on the recto of the tenth leaf.

The coat-of-arms of the city of Granada, with the word *Granata* overhead and in a horizontal, although not in a perfectly straight, line, on the verso of the tenth leaf.

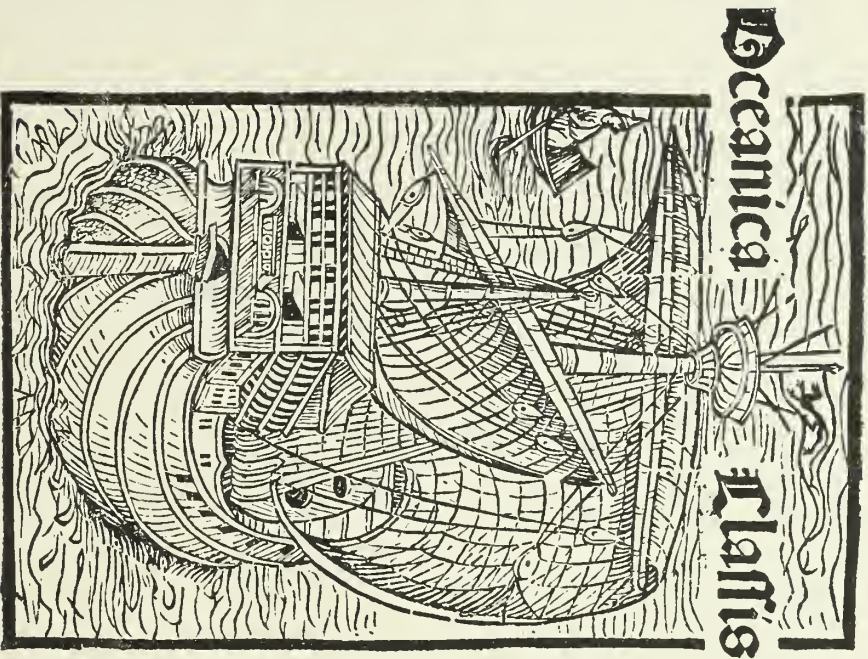
It will thus be seen that the two titles of *C* and *D* are alike in all except a few particulars. There is an unimportant correction in *D*, where *Thesaurariũ* ² is given for *Tesaurariũ*. The Christian name of Columbus is spelled as if it was *Cristoferus* instead of *Christoforus*. After the first three words of the title there are introduced parentheses, vastly improving the construction of the long sentence. The ordinal *tertius* is written *tercio* ³ instead of *tertio*. The vowel *i* is changed into *y* ⁴ in the noun *idioma*. The diphthong *æ* is changed into *e*. The last two letters are omitted from the adverb *nuper*. Certain forms

¹ Signor Bossi, in his *Vita di Colombo*, conjectures that this map was drawn by Columbus himself. Columbus probably never saw these drawings, much less is it probable that he made them himself.

² This is the only one of the six editions which gives the spelling in this form.

³ In the text the form *tertio* is used in the expression, *tricesimo tertio die*.

⁴ The word *idus* in the date, the last line but one of the letter, is here written *ydu*.



Oceanica

classis

De Insulis inuentis

Epistola A. rifoteri A. olom (cui etas nostra multū debet: de Insulis in mari Indico nup inuentis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea mense: auspicijs et ere Inuictissimi S. ernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat) ad A. Bag. niscum oīm R. apbaeles S. antie: eiusdē fere missum R. Regis A. belaurariū missa, quam nobilis ac litterar' vir Alexander d. A. osco: ab B. ispano ydeomate in latinū conuertit: tercio k. is A. Bay. A. D. cccc. xcij. Pontificatus A. lexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam suscepte prouincie rem p. sectam me p. secutum fuisse: gratū n. bi fore scio: has p. situi exarare: que te vniū cuiusq. rei in hoc nostro m. n. e. te gēse inuenteq. admoneā. A. ricissimoretio die postq. A. adibus discessi: in mare Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas Insulas innumeris habitatas hominib' reperi: quas oīm p. felissimo R. Regis nostro: p. reonio celebrato et vesillis extensis: cōtradicente nemine possessos ne accepi. p. rimeq. earum: diu Saluatoris nomen imposui (cuius fret' auxilio) tam ad hāc q. ad ceteras alias puenim'. Eam vero Indi

of the pronoun *is* are written with *h* where that letter does not have the weight of a consonant. In the subscriptum the first name of the Admiral is *Cristoforus*.

A correction, however, which is important, and which shows a geographical discrimination, is that which omits in the title the words *supra Gangem* and substitutes the phrase *in mari Indico*. If the newly found islands were in a region geographically described as *supra Gangem*, they were in India, and India was a known country. Therefore the islands were part of known lands, and might well be included in the domain of the Great Khan. If, however, they were in the *Mare Indicum*, they were in discoverable and conquerable territory. The word India as a geographical designation has always been more or less vague, but we think that at the time of the Columbian discovery it was accepted as covering China and Indo-China. In the work *Liber Junioris Philosophi*, a work originally composed in Greek in the fourth century, India was divided into India Major and India Minor. The latter included Sind and the western coast, exclusive of Malabar. India Major extended from Malabar indefinitely eastward. Afterwards writers added a third part, called India Tertia, said by Friar Jordanus to be Zanzibar. In a manuscript map by Guido Pisanus, made in 1118, the three Indies are shown. According to Conti, India was divided into three parts as follows:

1. Including Mekran and Sind from Persia to the Indus.
2. From the Indus to the Ganges.
3. Beyond the Ganges, including Indo-China and China.

Ptolemy divides the land between the Indus and the eastern ocean as *India Intra* and *India Extra*, the river Ganges being the geographical substantive governed by the prepositions *intra* and *extra*. The phrase *supra Gangem* described this same territorial division in the time of Columbus as that distinguished by Ptolemy under the words *India Extra*. The printer of the "D" edition would not have made such a change in the title if he had not regarded the words *supra Gangem* unsatisfactory in describing the location of the new lands, and so he adopted the very expression of the Admiral himself in the first Cosco letter,—*In Mare Indicū Perueni: Vbi Plurimas Insulas Innumeris Habitatas Hominibi Repperi*. The omission of Queen Isabella's name and the use of *Raphael Sanxis* for *Gabriel*

Sanchez and of *Aliander* for *Leander* will be observed in both editions.

It would be difficult to decide as to the priority of these two editions if we depended on the title or text, but the presence of woodcuts in "*D*" is sufficient to justify us in considering it a subsequent issue. When a fifteenth-century printer once secured illustrations for a book, he was not likely to publish another edition and omit such an attractive form of embellishment. He was even given to make use of his woodcuts in other works where the text and the illustrations were utterly incongruous. In the edition under consideration the printer seems to have utilised a woodcut of the coat-of-arms of Granada with its eight inclosed pomegranates which he had by him in his shop, and which he thought would set off the last page of the little book. It was suggested probably by the preceding picture of King Ferdinand, associating with his triumph in the discovery of new lands his other triumph of the conquest of Granada. The natural inference would be that the edition was printed in Granada. No printing-press, it is confidently believed, was established in that city until 1496.¹ The only known perfect copy of this "*D*" is in the Lenox Library.² Of the four other copies known, one is in the Grenville Library of the British Museum lacking the tenth leaf, one in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence, one in the Royal Library at Munich, and one in the University Library at Bâle, all three lacking the first and tenth leaves. There was once a copy in the Brera Library at

¹ Meinard Ungut and Johannes Pegnitzer, both of Nuremberg, printed at Granada, on April 29, 1496, *Primer Volume de la Vida de Nuestra Señora*, by Cardinal Ximénès, with notes by Ferdinand de Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada.

Meinard Ungut and Stanislaus Polonus had established a press at Seville as early as 1491, and in the Author's collection are two works from this press, both printed in the year 1497. No other work printed at Granada in the fifteenth century is known, and it is evident that Ungut did not tarry there after printing this one book.

A similar, but not the identical woodcut, mentioned as occurring on the recto of page 10 of the *Epistola*, is found in another edition printed at Bâle in 1494 by Johannes Bergman de Olpe, who set up his press there in that same year. His first book was, perhaps, Verardus' *Bethicæ et Granatæ Obsidio, Victoria et Triumphus*. But the important point is that the last woodcut, that containing the shield and its eight pomegranates and the word *Granada*, is not found in this *Epistola*, the *Verardus*, or any other book of that period.

² This example is known in European bibliography as the Libri copy. It belonged once to Richard Heber, and when his library was sold at Paris in October, 1836, it brought ninety-seven francs. It afterwards came into the possession of Guglielmo Libri, at the sale of whose books at London in 1849 it was bought by the late James Lenox.

Milan, but it is not there now, and Mr. HARRISSE has identified it with the Grenville copy. The librarian of the University Library at Bâle reported to Mr. HARRISSE that the copy in that library was bound with other tracts in an early binding with clasps, which had come from the Brotherhood of Chartreuse at Bâle, who in turn had received it from John and Jerome Froben. On the fly-leaf in the handwriting of Georgius Carpentarius, once the librarian of the order, is the following notice:

Sum fratrum Carthusianorum in Minori Basilea Donatus illis ab Honestis viris Magistro Joanne Frobenio et Hieronymo filio ejus Civibus ac Typographis Basiliensibus.

Now Johannes Froben, or Frobenius, a native of Hamelburg, but at this time a citizen of Bâle, had himself established a press at Bâle in 1491, and was a very important printer in that Swiss capital, into which printing had been introduced as early as 1474. In a preceding note allusion has been made to a work by Carolus Verardus¹ on the siege of Granada. This was a drama written in prose, entitled:

In Laudem Serenissimi Ferdinandi Hispaniarum Regis, Bethicæ² et Regni Granatæ, Obsidio, Victoria et Triumphus, et de Insulis in Mari Indico Nuper Inventis.

Although united in the title, the two works are of course distinct, the "de insulis" being a reprint of the letter of Columbus. This edition of Verardus is a small octavo of thirty-six leaves, having on the verso of leaf 29 the numerals 1.4.9.4. and the typographical device *Nihil Sine Causa*, followed by the letters *I. B.*, the printer's mark of Johannes Bergman de Olpe. In this edition of the letter are found some of the woodcuts employed in "*D*," differing somewhat as to cutting.³ The association of an edition of the letter with an undoubted work of Johannes

¹ Carolus Verardus, a native of Cesena, had composed in Rome a small work on the *History of Southern Spain*, which he had finished before April 21, 1492, and which issued from the press of Eucharius Silber in Rome, March 7, 1493.

² Southern Spain, including Andalusia and Granada, was called Baetica, from the river Baetis, the present Guadalquivir.

³ The woodcuts which are wanting in this edition are the two which in the *D* are found on the recto and verso of the tenth folio. As this last leaf is only found in the Lenox Library, HARRISSE at one time argued that the Verardus edition was not taken from the latter, and rather insinuated that the Lenox copy might have been embellished rather than perfected by the introduction of an extra leaf. This view, however, he rejected in his essay of 1894, in which he accepted the authenticity of the tenth leaf in the Lenox copy.

Epistola Christophori Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet: de Insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inuētis. Ad quas pergrēdas octauo antea mense auspiciis ⁊ ere inuictissimorū Fernādi ⁊ Belisabet Hispaniarū Regū missus fuerat ad magnificū dñm Gabrielem Sanchis eorundē serenissimorū Regum Tesaurariū missus quā nobilis ac litteratus vir Leander de Cosco ab Hispano Idiomate in latinum cōuertit tertio kalis Maii. Mcccc. xciiij Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam susceptę prouintię rem perfectam me psecutum fuisse gratum tibi fore scio has constitui exarare: que te vniuscuiusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere geste inuentęq; ad moneant. Tricesimo tertio die postq; Gadibus discessi in mare Indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas hominibus repperi: quarum omnium pro felicissimō Rege nostro preconio celebrato ⁊ vexillis extensis contradicente nemine possessionem accepi: p̄inēq; earum diui Saluatoris nomen imposui: cuius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc: q̄ ad ceteras alias peruenimus. Quā ſo Indi Guanabanin vocant. Aliarū etiam vnam quancq; nouo nomine nuncupauī: quippe aliā insulam Sanctę Marię Conceptionis. aliam Fernandinā. aliam Iysabeilam. aliam Joanā. ⁊ sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Cum primum in eam insulam quam dudum Joanā vocari dixi appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem versus aliquantulum processi: tamq; eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non insulā: sed continentem Chatai prouinciā esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns oppida municipiaue in maritimis sita confinib; preter aliquos vicos ⁊ p̄dia rustica: cum quorū incolis loqui nequibam. quare si mul ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltas existimans aliquā me urbem villasue inuenturū. Deniq; videns q; longē admodum progressis nihil noui emergebat: ⁊ hmoi viā nos ad Septentrionem deferebat: q; ipse fugere exoptabā: terris etenim regnabat bruma: ad Austrumq; erat in voto cōtenderet:

Bergman de Olpe and the re-employment of some of the woodcuts (if, indeed, some of them are identically the same, since assuredly one is not), induced Mr. Harris in his *Christophe Colomb* to ascribe the illustrated edition of the letter "D" to that Bâle press. It seems to us that the testimony of the Carthusian librarian in the manuscript note written in the copy of the letter which was presented to the library of his order indicated that the gift not only came from men who were printers, but that it was at the same time a specimen of their press,—that is, of the press of the father, Johannes Froben, and with whom at the time of the gift the son was associated. A printer is more likely to deposit in a public library the fruit of his own hand rather than that of a rival press. The class of works published by the Bâle printers, and particularly by Johannes Froben, shows that there was a probable communication between this city of a Swiss canton and the Eternal City on the other side of the Alps. There was nothing strange, but rather natural, in a University town receiving an early copy of the letter, and, to the glory of that seat of learning, giving to the news a wider circulation through the reproductive power of the printing-press.

"E.¹—Epistola Chriftofori Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet: de Infulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inuētis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea mense auspiciis ⁊ ere inuictiffemox Fernādi ⁊ Helifabet Hifpaniax Regū missus fuerat: ad magnificum dñm Gabrielem Sanchis eorundē fereniffimox Regum Tefaurariū missa: quā nobilis ac litteratus vir Leander de Cosco ab Hifpano idiomate in latinum cōuertit tertio kal's Maii. M.cccc.xciii. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo."²

This is a quarto volume of four leaves, having thirty-three lines to a full page, and printed in Gothic characters. The title is corrected, and the undertaking is declared to have been under the auspices of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. The name of the Crown Treasurer is given as Gabriel Sanchis, and the

¹ Harris, in his *Notes on Columbus*, printed in New York in 1866, recognised this as the third edition. When he came to publish his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima*, he changed his views and placed this fourth, and in his 1894 essay he placed it second in the list. Applying the rules already laid down for testing priority in typographical productions, we prefer to maintain the sequence as here given.

² Major calls this the first edition, and it is also given first place by the late J. R. Bartlett, who catalogued the Carter-Brown Library in Providence, which possesses a copy. It is represented by more copies than any other edition, nineteen being recorded by Mr. Harris in 1894. A copy is in the Lenox Library.

¶ Epistola Christofo:ri Colom: cui etas nostra multum debet de
Insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquiren
das octauo antea mense auspiciis cre inuictissimorum fernandi
ac Isabellæ Hispaniar: Regū missus fuerat: ad Magnificū dñm
Gabrielem Sanches: eorundem serenissimorum Regum T esau
rarii missa: Quā generosus ac litteratus vir Leander de Cosco ab
Hispano idiomate in latinū cōuertit: tertio Kalē. M. ap. AD. cccc.
re. ij. ¶ Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno. Primo.



Utiā suscepit prouinciæ rem perfectam me conse
 cutum fuisse gratū tibi fore scio: has cōstitutū erarare
 que te vniuscuiusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere geste
 iuentq; admoncant: Tricesimo tertio die postq; Sa
 dibus discessi in mare Indici perueni: ubi plurimas
 insulas innumeris habitatas hominibus repperi: quarum omni
 um pro feclicissimo Rege nostro precomio celebrato et verillis extē
 sis contradicente nemine possessionem accepi: primeq; earum di
 ui Saluatoris nomen imposui: cuius fretus auxilio tam ad hanc:
 q̄ ad ceteras alia speruimus. Eam vero Indi Guanabanin vo
 cant: Aliarum etiā vnam quāq; nouo nomine nuncupauit. Quip
 pe aliā insulam Sancte Mariæ Conceptionis. aliā fernandinā
 aliā Ihsabellam. aliam Joanam. et sic de reliquis appellari iussi.
 Cum primum in eam Insulam quam dudum Joanā vocari dixi
 appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem versus aliquantulū pres
 si: tamq; eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: ut non insulā: sed
 continentem Chatai prouinciā esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns
 oppida municipiaue in maritimis sita conspici: preter aliquos vi
 cos et predia rustica: cum quorū incolis loqui nequibā quare simul
 ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Iste: ogrediebar vltra: existi
 mans aliquā hic urbem villasue inuenturū. Quāq; vidēs q̄ lō
 ge admodū pgressis nichil noui emergebat: et hñc viā nos ad sep
 tentrionem deferbat: q̄ ipse fugere cōptabā: terris etenim regna
 bat bruiua: ad Austrumq; erat in voto cōtēdere: nec minus ven
 ti flagrantib⁹ succedebāt. cōstitutū alios nō operiri successus: et sic
 retrocedens ad portū quendā quem signaueram sum reuersus: vñ
 de duos hoīes ex nostris in terram misi qui inuestigarent esset ne
 Rex in ea prouincia vrbesue aliquę. Ibi per tres dies abnauerunt
 Inuenerūtq; innumeros populos et habitationes paruas tamen
 et absq; yllo regimine: quapropter redierunt. Interea ego iam in
 tellerā a quibusdam Indis quos ibidem susceperā quō bimōi p

name of the translator is given as Leander de Cosco instead of Aliander de Cosco. This is regarded as a corrected edition from the Roman press of Stephanus Planneck, the printer of *C*.

“*F*.—Epiftola Chriftofori Colom: cui etas noſtra multum debet: de Infulis Indie fupra Gangem nuper inuētis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea menſe auſpiciis ꝛ ere inuictiſſimorum Fernandi ac Helifabet Hiſpaniax Regū miſſus fuerat: ad Magnificū dñm Gabrielem Sanches: eorundem ferenſiſſimorum Regum Tefaurariū miſſa: Quā generoſus ac litteratus vir Leander de Coſco ab Hiſpano idiomate in latinū cōuertit: tertio Kalē Maij M.cccc.xc.iiij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno Primo.”

The colophon, which comes after the epigram by the Bishop of Monte-Peloso, reads:

“Impreſſit Rome Eucharius Argenteus Anno dñi. M.cccc.xc.iiij ”

It is a quarto of three leaves, printed with Gothic characters, and having forty lines to a full page. This is the first dated edition, and the first with the name of the printer.¹

“*G*.—¶ Epiftola de infulis re
pertis de nouo. Impreſſa
pariſius in cāpo gaillardi ”

Two copies are known of this edition, one in the University Library at Göttingen and the other in the Royal Library at Turin.² It is a quarto of four leaves, thirty-nine lines to a full page. The title indicates that it is from the press of Guyot Marchant,³

¹ Eucharius Silber, or Franck, was a German, a native of Herborn (Wurtzburg), and he began printing in Rome in the year 1481, issuing many books between that date and the year 1509, the last year in which we find his name in a book. The German name, *Silber*, was translated by him sometimes into its Greek form, *Argyrios*, but more commonly into its Latin form, *Argenteus*. It is a name for ever to be connected with the history of Columbus, since Silber was the first printer, over his own name, to promulgate the glorious news of the discovery.

There are copies in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan; in the Grenville collection forming part of the British Museum; in the Lenox and John Carter-Brown libraries, and in several other collections. Nine copies are recorded by Harrisse.

² It was reproduced in fac-simile under the title, *Lettera di Cristoforo Colombo Riprodotta a Fac-Simile da Vincenzo Promis, dall' esemplare della Biblioteca di S. M. Stamberia Reale di Torino* (1879).

³ Guyot, or Guy Marchant, began printing at Paris in the year 1486, and produced many books between that date and the close of the century. In the Author's collection of *incunabula* is an edition of Petrus Aliacus's *Tractatus Exponibilium*, in

Epistola Christofori Co

lom: cui etas nra multū debet: de Insulis Indis supra Sangem
nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirēdas octauo antea mense au-
spicijs ⁊ ere inuictissimi fernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus
fuerat: ad magnificū dñz Raphaelē Sanctis: eiusdē serenissi-
mi Regis Telsurarū missa: quā nobilis ac latus vir Aliāder
de Cosco ab Hispano ideomate in latinū conuertit: tercio kls
Majj. M. cccc. xcij. Pōtīficatus Alexādrī. vi. Anno primo:

uoniā susceptę prouin

q cie rē perfectā me consecutū fuisse gratā tibi fore scio:
has p̄stitui exarare: que te cuiuscūq; rei in hoc nro
itinere geste inuētēq; admoneāt: Tricesio tercio die postq; Sa-
dibus discessi in mare indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas in-
numeris habitatas hoibus repperi: quarū oīm pro felicissimo
Regensio preconio celebrato ⁊ vexillis extēsis cōtradicēte ne-
mine possessionē accepit: p̄tineq; earū diuini Saluatoris nomē
imposui: cuius fretus auxilio tā ad hāc: q; ad ceteras alias per-
uenimus. Eā vero Indi Suanaharū vocāt. Aliarū etiā vnā
quāq; nouo nomine nūcupauī. Quippe aliam insulam Sācte
Marie Cōceptionis aliam fernandīnam. aliam Hysabellam.
aliā Johanani. et sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Quāp̄imum
in eā insulam quā dudum Johanam vocari dixi appulsumus: iux-
ta eius litus occidentem versus aliquātulum processit: tamq;
eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non insulam: sed cōti-
nētem Chatas prouinciam esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns op-
pida municipisue in maritimis līra cōfinibus prēter aliquos vi-
cos ⁊ p̄dia rustica: cū quorū incolis loqui nequibam quare si-
mul ac nos videbāt surriplebant fugam. Progrediebar vltra:
existimans aliquā me urbem villasue inuenturū. Deniq; vidēs
q; lōge edmodū progressus nīchil noui emergebat: ⁊ hmōi viā
nos ad septētrionem deferebat: q; ipse fugere exoptabam: ter-
ris etem regnabat bruma: ad Austrūq; erat in voto contēdere:
nec minus venti flagitātibus succedebāt. cōstitui alios nō ope-
riri successus: et sic retrocedēs ad portū quendā quem signaue-
ram sum reuersus: vnde duos hoīes ex nostris in terrā mīsi qui

a. ij

whose printing establishment was at Paris in the Champ-Gaillard, in the Grand Hôtel de Navarre. We place it first among the three editions of Marchant because it indicates an incorrect, or at least an incomplete, condition. The title is inelegant, ending in an adverbial phrase, and no woodcut appears. It would seem as if the printer had taken off an impression which did not satisfy him, and in some way a proof has been preserved, where even the perfected edition lives in but one more example.

“H.—¶ Epistola de infulis de
nouo repertis. Impressa
parifius in cāpo gaillardī ”

The above is found on the recto of leaf 1.

“Epistola Christofori Co

lom: cui etas nra multū debet: de Infulis indie supra Gangem
nuper inuentis: Ad quas perquirēdas octauo antea mense au
fpicijs ⁊ ere inuictissimi Fernandi Hispāniarum Regis missus
fuerat: ad magnificū dñꝫ Raphaelem Sanxis: eiufdē fereniffi
mi Regis Tefaurariū missa: quā nobilis ac lřatus vir Aliāder
de Cofco ab Hispano ideomate in latinū conuertit: tercio kl's
Maij. M.cccc.xcīij. Pōtificatus Alexādri. vi. Anno primo.”

This title is on the recto of leaf 2, marked at the bottom as aii. It has also twenty-seven lines of the text.

This is a quarto of four leaves, thirty-nine lines to a full page. The verso of the first leaf contains the famous epigram composed by the Bishop of Monte-Peloso, together with a woodcut representing shepherds watching their flocks while an angel descends bearing a message on a scroll. This is from the press of Guyot Marchant at Paris.¹

which Marchant signs himself in Latinised form, Guido Mercator. It issued from his press on October 15, 1494. It possesses two points of interest for the student: *first*, it contains the same woodcuts found in *I*; and, *second*, it is by the same author whose *Tractatus de Imagine Mundi* was owned by Columbus himself and which book is said to have accompanied him on his first voyage. As many have attached importance to the influence which this book had upon Columbus in forming, or, at least, confirming him in his projects, it may be said that Petrus Aliacus, or Pierre d'Ailly, as he was called in French, Bishop of Cambrai, in his book only brought together the ideas of others concerning the form of the earth, giving the notions of Aristotle, Strabo, Seneca, Plato, Roger Bacon, and others.

¹ The only two copies known of this are in the National Library at Paris and the Carter-Brown Library at Providence. A fac-simile is in the Lenox Library.

Epistola Christofori Co

lom: cui etas nra multū debet: de Insulis indie supra Sangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirēdas octauo antea mense auspicijs z ere inuicissimī fernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat: ad magnificū dñz Raphaelem Sanxis: eiusdē serenissimī Regis Tresaurariū missa: quā nobilis ac latus vir Aliāder de Cosco ab Hispano ideomate in latinū conuertit: tertio kl's Maij, M. cccc. xcij. Pōtificatus Alexādrī. vi. Anno primo:

uoniā suscepte prouin

q cie rē perfectā me consecutū fuisse gratū tibi fore scio: has pstitit exarare: que te cuiuscuq; rei in hoc nro itinere geste innēteq; admoneāt: Tricesio tercio die postq; Sā dibus discessi in mare indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habittas hoibus repperi: quarū oīm pro felicissimo Rege nro preconio celebrato z vexillis extēsis cōtradicēte ne: inine possessionē accepi: primeq; earū diuini Saluatoris nomē imposui: cuius frerus auxilio tā ad hāc: q; ad ceteras alias peruenimus. Eā vero Indī Suanabanin vocāt. Aliarū etiā vnam quāq; nouo nomine nūcupaui. Quippe aliam insulam Sācte Marie Cōceptionis aliam fernandinam. aliam Hysabellam. aliam Johanam. et sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Quāprimum in eā insulam quā dudum Johanam vocari dixi appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem versus aliquātulum processi: tamq; eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non insulam: sed cōtinentem Chatai prouinciam esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns opida municipiaue in maritimis sita cōfinibus preter aliquos vicos z pedia rustica: cū quorū incolis loqui nequibam quare simul ac nos videbāt surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltra: existimans aliquā me urbem villasue inuenturū. Deniq; vidēs q; lōge admodū progressus nichil noui emergebat: z hmoi via nos ad septētrionem deferebat: q; ipse fugere exoptabam: terris etēn regnabat bruma: ad Austrūq; erat in voto contēdere: nec minus ventiflagitibus succedebāt. cōstrui alios nō oportiri successus: et sic retrocedēs ad portū quendā quem signaueram sum reuerfus: vnde duos hoies ex nostris in terrā mīsi qui

a. ij

Christopher Columbus

“I.—Epiftola de infulis noui
ter repertis Impreffa parifijs In campo gaillardi.”

The above is on the recto of the first leaf, below which is a woodcut of two men making shoes, and the printer's name.¹

“Epiftola Chriftofori Co


lom: cui etas nra multū debet: de Infulis indie fupra Gangem
nuper inuentis: Ad quas perquirēdas octauo antea menfe au
fpicijs ⁊ ere inuictiffimi Fernandi Hispaniarum Regis miffus
fuerat: ad magnificū dñz Raphaelem Sanxis: eiufdē fereniffi
mi Regis Tefaurariū miffa: quā nobilis ac lřatus vir Aliāder
de Colco ab Hifpano ideomate in latinū conuertit: tercio kl's
Maij. M.cccc.xciij. Pōtificatus Alexātri. vi. Anno primo.”

The title is on the recto of the second leaf.

This edition is a quarto of four leaves, with thirty-nine lines to a full page. The text is almost an exact reproduction of *H*, except that the first title reads *Noviter Repertis* instead of *De Nouo Repertis*, and it lacks the subscriptum:

Chriftoforus Colom Oceane Claffis Prefectus.

If this edition differed from *G* and *H* only in wanting the subscriptum, we would feel obliged to put it before them in the matter of priority on the ground that it omitted something which was supplied in their issues, but this possesses not only the woodcut of the “Angel and the Shepherds,” but the peculiar typographical mark of the printer which occurs on the recto of the first leaf.²

“J.— Epiftola Criftophori Colom: cui etas noſtra multū debet:
de Infulis Indię fupra Gangem nuper inuētis. Ad quas p
quirēdas octauo antea mēſe auſpicijs ⁊ ere inuictiffimi Fer

¹ There are only two copies known of this edition,—both in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, one given by Archbishop Laud, the other bequeathed by Francis Douce in 1834. There is a fac-simile in the Lenox Library.

² The mark of Guyot Marchant consists of two joined hands, above which are the two musical notes, *sol*, *la*, and the two words:

Fides.

Ficit.

Thus requiring the preposition, *sub*, to show it was *under Fides*. The whole then makes the motto, *Sola Fides Sufficit*, taken from the hymn, *Pange lingua*. Beneath the mark is a representation of St. Crépin and St. Crépinien.

If the printer had possessed a woodcut of his typographical mark, he certainly would have introduced it into the first two editions. Moreover, the post-classical use of the adverb, *noviter*, is better than the phrase *de novo*. The corrections and additions are steps of improvement in publication, and are sure marks of a subsequent edition.

Epistola Christofori Co

lom: cui etas nra multū debet: de Insulis indie supra Sangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea mense auspicijs ⁊ ere inuictissimi fernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat: ad magnificū dñz Raphaelem Sanxis: eiusdē serenissimi Regis Tesaurariū missa: quā nobilis ac lřatus vir Aliāder de Cosco ab Hispano ideomate in latinū conuertit: tercio klā Maij, M. cccc. xcij. Pōtificatus Alerādrī. vi. Anno pīmo;

uoniā susceptę prouin

q cie rē perfectā me consecutū fuisse gratū tibi fore scio: has pstitui exarare: que te vniūscūsq; ret in hoc nřo itinere geste inuēteq; admoneāt: Tricesimo tercio die postq; Sadedibus discessi in mare indicū perueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas hoībus repperi: quarū oīm pro felicitissimo Rege nřo preconio celebrato ⁊ verillis extēstis cōtradicēte nemine possessionē accepi: primeq; earū diuini Saluatoris nomē imposui: cuius fretus auxilio tā ad hāc: q; ad cēteras alias peruenimus. Eā vero Indī Suanabanū vocāt. Aliarū etiā vnā quāq; nouo nomine nūcupaui. Quippe aliam insulam Sācte Marie Cōceptionis aliam fernandinā. aliam Hysabellani. aliam Johanā. et sic de reliquis appellari iussi. Quāprimum in eā insulam quā dudum Johanā vocari dixi appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem versus aliquātulum processit: tamq; eam magnā nullo reperto fine inueni: vt non insulam: sed cōtinētē Chataī prouinciā esse crediderim: nulla tñ videns opīda inunicipiaue in maritimis sita cōfinibus preter aliquos rīcos ⁊ pedia rustica: cū quorū incolis loqui nequibam quare simul ac nos videbāt surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar vltra: existimans aliquā me urbem villasue inuenturū. Deniq; vidēs q; lōge admodū progressus nichil noui emergebat: ⁊ hmōi via nos ad septētrionem deferebat: q; ipse fugere exoptabam: terris etēn regnabat bzuma: ad Austrūq; erat in voto contēdere: nec minus ventī flagitātibus succedebāt. cōstrui alios nō oportiri successus: et sic retrocedēs ad portū quendā quem signaueram sum reuerfus: vnde duos hoīes ex nostris in terrā misi qui

a. ij

Christopher Columbus

nandi hispaniarū Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificū dñm
 Raphaelē Sanxis; eiusdem ferenissimi Regis Tefaurariū
 missa: quam. nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cofco ab
 Hispano idiomate in latinū cōuertit: tertio kal's Maij. M.
 cccc.xciii. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo."

In the Royal Library at Brussels is a unique example of this edition. It is a quarto of four leaves, and a full page has thirty-eight lines. Prof. A. F. Van Iseghem in his *Biographie de Thierry Martens*, Alost, 1852, assigns this book to the press of Thierry Martens, or Theodoricus Martini, at Antwerp. This man was one of the foremost printers of the Low Countries. He was a native of Alost in Flanders, about four leagues to the west of Brussels, and established the first and only fifteenth-century press in that city as early as 1473. He was the intimate friend of Adrianus Barlandus, Martinus Dorpius, and many other famous scholars of his day, among them being Erasmus, who composed a noted epitaph in honour of his friend when he died in 1534. Erasmus in this epitaph¹ fixes his age as beyond eighty years. Thus he was scarcely twenty when he introduced the art of printing into Flanders. He printed in Greek various works of Aristotle, Aristophanes, Lucien, Euripides, Demosthenes, Isocrates, Plato, Theocritus, Xenophon, and a portion of Homer. It was fitting that so great a man should reproduce in his press, so well dedicated to the spread of knowledge, the letter of Columbus and circulate it throughout the Low Countries.²

¹ This epitaph is as follows:

"Hic Theodoricus jaceo, prognatus Alosto;
 Ars erat impressis scripta referre Typis.
 Fratribus, Uxori, Soboli, Notisque superstes,
 Octavam vegetus Præterii Decadem.
 Anchora sacra manet, gratæ notissima Pubi:
 Christe, precor, nunc sis Anchora sacra mihi."

The allusion to the anchor was suggested by the typographical device employed by him. Martens used two of these devices: the one a shield suspended from a tree and supported by two lions, bearing in a circle surmounted by a triple cross the initial letters of his name, T. M., with a star above; the other in his later works, a double anchor surrounded by Greek and Latin words, below which we read:

Ne Tempestatum vis Auferat, Ancora Sacra quo Mentem Figas, est Facienda Tibi.

² Prof. Van Iseghem identifies the type, particularly in the use of the peculiar gothic I and the Roman C, I, and V, with that of the *Gemma Vocabulorum* printed by Martens at Antwerp in 1494. From an example of this book in our collection we judge the type in the two books to be identical.

Epistola Cristophori Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet:
de Insulis Indię supra Sangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas p
quirēdas octauo antea mēse auspicijs ⁊ ere inuictissimi Ger
nandi hispaniay Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificū dñm
Raphaēlē Sanctis: eiusdem serenissimi Regis Tesaulariū
missa: quam nobilis ac litteratus vi. Aliander de Cosco ab
Hispano idiomate in latinū cōuertit: tertio kalē May. M.
cccc. xciij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno primo.

Quoniam suscepit puincie rem pfectā me consecutum fuisse
gratum tibi fore scio: has cōstitui exarare: quę te vnuscu
iusq; rei in hoc nostro itinere gestę inuentęq; admoneant:
Tricesimoterccio die postq; Hadibus discessi in mare Indi
cū pueni: vbi plurimas insulas innumeris habitatas homi
nibus repperi: quarū omniū pro felicissimo Rege nro pęcō
nio celebrato ⁊ vexillis extensis contradicente nemine pos
sessionē accepi: primęq; eay diui Saluatoris nomē imposui
cuius frēt auxilio tā ad hanc: q; ad ceteras alias puenim?
Eam vero Indi Guanahanin vocant. Aliarū etiam vnā
quāq; nouo nomine nuncupauī. Quippe aliam insulam
Sanctę Marie Conceptionis. aliam Fernandinā. aliam
Dysabellā. aliam Iohannā ⁊ sic de reliquis appellari iussi.
Quāprimum in eam insulam quā dudū Iohannā vo
cari dixi appulimus: iuxta eius littus occidentem versus
aliquantulum processi: tamq; eam magnā nullo reperto
fine inueni: vt non insulam. sed continentem. Lhatai pu
ciam esse crediderim: nulla tamen videns oppida muni
ciaue in maritimis sita cōfinibus. pter aliquos vicos et
predia rustica: cum quorū incolis loqui nequibam. quare
simul ac nos videbant surripiebant fugam. Progrediebar
vltra: existumans aliquāz me urbem villasq; inuenturum.
Deniq; videns q; longē admodū pgressus nihil noui emer
gebat: ⁊ huiusmodi viā nos ad Septentrionem decerebat:
q; ipe fugere exoptabam: terris etenim regnabat brūma: ad
Australēq; erat in voto contendere: nec minus venti flagi
tanibus succedebant. cōstitui alios non operari successus:

Christopher Columbus

“*K*.—De Infulis nuper inuentis ”

This edition is found as an addition to the work of Carolus Verardus, *In Laudem Ferdinandi Regis*. It occupies the last seven and a half leaves of the book. Commencing on the verso of signature dd^v, it gives the title in two lines:

“ De Infulis nuper in
mari Indico repertis ”

A woodcut reproduced from edition *D* is below the title. There are twenty-eight lines in a full page. On the recto of the second leaf, dd^{vi}, is the title in one line and in Gothic type, while the explanatory title is directly below in ten lines of Roman type. On the title-page of the first part is a full-length portrait of King Ferdinand, but very different from that in *D*. The two cuts were not from the same drawing. That in *K* is much the more spirited of the two in drawing, and the plate was more clearly cut. As the Verardus book, of which it forms a part, was printed by Johannes Bergman de Olpe at Bâle, this must be assigned to the same press. There are copies in Harvard College, in the Lenox Library, in the Carter-Brown Library, in the Grenville Library of the British Museum, and in many other collections.

CHAPTER LXV

THE LETTER IN ITALIAN AND GERMAN

THE earliest known edition of Dati's Italian metrical version of the Columbus Letter, translated from Leander de Cosco's Latin version, was printed at Rome, and is dated June 15, 1493. It has no title, but its colophon reads as follows:

"*L.—Finita la storia della inuentione delle nuoue infule di Channaria in diane tracte duna pistola di Xpofano cholonbo e per messer Giuliano dati tradutta di latino in uerfi uulgari a laude dela celestia chortee a cōfolatione della xpiana religione e a preghiera del magnifico chauliere messer Giouan filippo de ligniamine domestico familiare dello il lustrissimo Re di Spagna xpianissimo a. xv. de giunio M.cccc.xciii. Rome.*"

This edition is a small quarto in form, is printed in Roman letter, and consists of four leaves. The recto of the first leaf contains a large emblematic woodcut, which represents King Ferdinand on the throne in Spain, viewing the natives of the New World on an island, who are marching in true lock-step, as it were, to the command of the King's outstretched hand. The caravels of Columbus are seen floating on the great unknown waters, while the castles of Spain are represented on the opposite shore; the whole scene is encircled by a fanciful border and coat-of-arms. The poem fills the remaining seven pages.

The sixty-eight stanzas are printed in columns of five stanzas each (or ten to the page), with the exception of the last page, which has eight stanzas equally arranged, and followed by the colophon, below which is the following note in the handwriting of Ferdinand Columbus:

"Este libro costó en Roma vn quatn por otubre de 1512. Esta Registrado."

The only known copy is in the Biblioteca Columbina at Seville. Its discovery was announced in *La España Moderna* for October 15, 1891, and by Mr. Harris in 1892. A fac-simile was issued at Seville in 1892, from which our description is taken.

"M.—Queſta e la hyſtoria della inuentiõe delle dieſe Iſole di Cannaria In diane extracte duna Epiftola di Chriſtofano colombo ⁊ per meſſer Giuliano Dati traducta de latino in uerſi uulgari a laude e gloria dela celeſtiale corre ⁊ aconſolatione della chriſtiana religiõe ⁊ aprehiera del magnifico Cauallier miſer Giouanfilippo Delignamine domeſtico familia re dello ſacratiffimo Re di ſpagna Chriſtianiffimo a di. xxv. doctobre. M.cccclxxxiii.

[In the end] Joannes dictus Florentinus."

"This is the history of the discovery of the islands of Canary in the Indies, taken from a letter of Christopher Columbus translated from the Latin into the common tongue by Monsieur Giulio Dati to the honour and glory of the heavenly Court and for the consolation of the Christian religion and at the request [with the permission] of the honourable Monsieur Giovanni Felippo del Legnamine of the household of the most sacred and most Christian King of Spain, on October 25, 1493. [At the end.] John, called 'The Florentine.'"¹

This is a quarto of four unnumbered leaves, with double columns on a page, printed in Gothic characters. The first leaf of the verso contains sixteen octaves (stanzas), leaves 1 and 2 contain thirty-six octaves, while there are fifteen on the fourth leaf. The present copy is unique and imperfect, possessing only the first and fourth leaves. It is in the British Museum.²

¹ Proetor assigns this to the press of Johannes Petri de Moguntia at Florence. Of the twenty-five printers in this city during the fifteenth century this one alone had Johannes for his Christian name. He published *Il Philocolo di Boccacci*, and at the end one reads, "Magister Petri de Moguntie Seripsit hoc opus Florentiæ die XII Novembris MCCCCLXXII." No other book bears his name until 1490, when he printed *Cavalca Pungi Lingua* in connection with Laurentius Matthæi de Morgianis. (There is a copy in the Author's collection of *incunabula*.) It is believed by the best bibliographers that either the date of the *Boccaccio* omits two XX's, or that the reference is to its date of copying. In no other book is he called Florentinus. He sometimes subscribed himself Johannes, or Giovanni Thodeseo da Maganza.

² This copy belonged to the Marquis Costabili of Ferrara, and when his library

"N.—La lettera dellifole che ha trouato nuouamente il Re difpagna."

The above title is found on the recto of the first leaf. The colophon, which is also found in the first edition of the work, reads as follows:

" Finita la storia della iuentione del
le nuoue ifole di canaria indiane trac
te duna pistola dixpofano¹ colobo &
p meffer Giuliano dati tradocta di la
tino i uersi uulgari allaude della ce
lestiale corte & aconfolatione della
chriſtiana religione & apghiera del
magnifico caualiere meffer Giouã-
filippo del ignamine² domestico fa-
miliare dello illuſtriffimo Re difpa
gna xpianiffimo a di .xxvi. docto-
bre. 14.93.
Florentie."

This is a third edition, issuing from the press, according to the colophon, on the day after the issue of the second edition. The text of this edition is in Roman type. It is a quarto of four unnumbered leaves, with two columns on each page, containing sixty-eight stanzas, differing in spelling and in text from the preceding edition. The title of this edition is above an elaborate woodcut, representing in the left foreground King Ferdinand seated upon his throne on land intended to represent Europe, while in the background are three caravels approaching islands, upon which appear natives and their habitations.

This copy is unique and perfect. It is preserved in the British Museum.³

Harris, in his *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, quotes an interesting stanza from this poem, which we venture to reproduce, together with his free translation:

was sold at Paris in February and March in the year 1858, the British Museum purchased it at the ridiculous sum of six and thirty francs. An exact fac-simile on paper is in the Lenox Library.

¹ This stands for Christofano Colombo.

² Gio Filippo dal Legname had been physician to Pope Sixtus IV. He had corrected books for the press of Ulric Hahn of Rome, and other important printers.

³ This unique copy was purchased at the Libri sale in Paris by the British Museum for 1700 francs. There are exact fac-similes on vellum and on paper in the Lenox Library.

Christopher Columbus

“ Hor vo tornar almio primo tractato
 dellifole trovate incognite a te
 in q̄ftō anno prefente q̄ftō e ftato
 nel millequattrocento novātrate,
 uno che X̄Pofan colōbo chiamato,
 che e ftato in corte der perfecto Re
 ha molte volte quefta ftimolato,
 El Re ch' cerchi acrefcere il fuo ftato.”

“ Back to my theme, O listener, turn with me
 And hear of islands all unknown to thee.
 Islands whereof the grand discovery
 Chanced in this year of fourteen ninety-three,
 One Christopher Colombo, whose resort
 Was ever in the King Ferdinand's Court,
 Bent himself still to rouse and stimulate
 The King to swell the borders of his State.”

This Giuliano Dati must rank as the first poet to occupy himself with an American subject. He was born at Florence in 1445, and when he died in 1524 was Bishop of St. Leone in Calabria. He was a poet, but an alert poet, a true Laureate, seizing themes of immediate interest for the employment of his verse. In 1494, he published from the press of Eucharius Silber at Rome a poetical composition on

Calcolazione Dell' Eclissi in Sole e Luna.

He also wrote in Italian verse an account,

Diluvio Arvenuto in Roma L'Anno 1449.

He published in rima ottava,¹ at Rome, a continuation of his

¹ The ottava rima of Giuliano Dati is only a paraphrase in Italian of the Latin letter. It is in sixty-eight stanzas, the first fourteen of which are in praise of various men and things, among which, and as really belonging to both classes, is Alexander Borgia.

“ Ma chi poteffi leggere nel futuro
 duno Alexādro magno papa fexto
 della fua creatione ilmodo puro
 grato a eiafcūo aneffū mai molefto,
 & del primanno fuo il magno muro
 ehe nō glipuo neffuno effer infefto
 fexto alexādro pappā borgia ifpano
 jufto nel giudicare & tucto humano.”

“ But in the future men shall read the fame
 Of Alexander, Sixth of that great name;
 Of his election, pure of every guile,
 Hailed by the world with an approving smile,
 Walled about from his first papal year
 With general love and reverential fear;
 Benign to all, Pope, Borgia, son of Spain,
 In judgment righteous, and in heart humane.”

Indian poem entitled:

*Il Secondo Cantare dell' India.*¹ "Delli Huomini e Dōne et Animal
Irrationali Mostruosi—in Roma Lanno Tertio Dalexandro Sexto."²

"O.—Ifole Trouate Nouamente Per
El Re di Spagna."

This edition, printed at Florence, is dated October 26, 1495. It is in four leaves, and a unique copy is in the Bibliotheca Trivulziana at Milan. It is noticed by Cancellieri in his *Dissertazioni*, page 153.

"P.—La lettera dellisole che ha trouato nuouamente el Re dispagna."

This edition, so like the preceding, was also printed at Florence, under the same date of October 26, 1495. It is in four leaves. The only known copy is in a private library in New York.

*Q.—Eyn jchön hübfch lefen von etlichen infzlen
die do in kurtzen zyten funden fynd durch dē
künig von hispania. vnd jagt vō grofzen wun
derlichen dingen die in dē jeltē infzlen fynd.*

This is the first German edition of the letter. It is a small quarto, printed in Gothic type, consisting of eight leaves, the last blank,³ with thirty lines in a full page. The above title is on the recto of the first leaf, and is over a woodcut, in a plain border, a representation of the Saviour being questioned by the Pharisees.⁴ This woodcut is repeated on the verso of the seventh leaf.

On the recto of the seventh leaf is the colophon:

*Getruckt zū strafzburg vff grunecck vō meister Bartlomeſz küſtler ym iar.
M.CCCC.xcvii. vff ſant Jeronymus tag.*⁵

¹ These five words compose the title. The remaining explanation of the subject, "The men and women, the wild animals and monsters," is taken from the colophon. It is noticed by Hain, No. 5964, who assigns it to the press of Johannes Besicken, a former Bâle printer. HARRISSE thinks it is difficult to connect Bâle and Rome or Bâle and Italy. We do not take this view. This Johannes Besicken had partners who went backward and forward between Bâle, Rome, and Naples.

² This would be in the year 1494, since Alexander VI. began his pontificate in 1492. It is worthy of notice that Dati consumes some of his choicest lines in his Columbian poem in eulogising the Borgian Pope.

³ The copy described by Hain in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, No. 5493, consisted of only seven leaves. The text ends on the recto of the seventh leaf, with the woodcut repeated on the verso as in the Lenox [formerly the Libri] copy. The Lenox copy contains the original eighth (blank) leaf, with contemporary MS. notes.

⁴ HARRISSE interprets this picture as "L'arrestation de Jésus-Christ dans le jardin." (*Christophe Colomb*, vol. ii., p. 36, note 4.)

⁵ This would be September 30, 1497.

Christopher Columbus

There are copies of this edition in the British Museum¹ and in the Huth Library, in the Royal Library at Munich, and in the Carter-Brown and Lenox libraries in America.

The reader, in patiently following this bibliographical excursion into the field where were reproduced the different printed editions of the "Letters of Columbus" announcing the discovery and describing the first voyage, has learned something of the interest taken by the world in this event. Books may be printed in the first instance as voluntary contributions to the public store, without a desire for their birth and without support for their existence. But books are not reprinted except in response to public desire and public interest. We know of no other work which in the short space of ten or twelve months at the close of the fifteenth century passed through thirteen editions and from the presses of five of the great States of Europe. The most striking expression of popular interest is exhibited in the Roman and Florentine editions of Giuliano Dati's metrical version of the letter. Stately Latin was for the scholar. The rima ottava was for the common people. While the Admiral was making his way back to *La Navidad*, threading his way among the islands of the Caribbean Sea, the people of Florence were listening to the story of the exploit of Columbus, "of the islands lately found," and of their strange inhabitants. This story was told in running verse, and the verse was sung upon the streets of that old Etruscan city. The Florentines were a people who bought and sold and got gain, and in the tale there was a sound of gold and an odour of spices.

¹ Proctor, in his *Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, quotes this under No. 755. He assigns several other books to the press of Barth. Küstler, but in each instance the name of the printer is wanting. This is the only book by this printer known to us in which he put his name. He may have been a patron of printing and not a printer.

RECAPITULATION OF THE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY PRINTED REPRODUCTIONS OF THE LETTERS OF COLUMBUS

Our Classification.	Size of Book.	Language.	Date.	Place of Printing.	Press.	Letter to.	Distinguishing Features.
A.	Folio.	Catalan. Spanish. Partly corrected.	Sine anno.	(Barcelona.)	Unknown.	Santangel.	Two leaves. Unique copy in Lenox Library. Fac-simile by Maisonneuve in 1889 and Quartich in 1891.
B.	Quarto.	Spanish.	Sine anno.	(Genoa or Naples)	Unknown.	Santangel.	Four leaves. Unique copy in Ambrosian Library at Milan. Fac-simile for first time in our Work.
C.	Small quarto.	Spanish.	Sine anno.	Rome.	(Steph. Planneck)	Sanchez.	Four leaves. 34 lines. A dozen copies known.
D.	Small octavo.	Latin.	Sine anno.	(Bâle.)	(Johannes Froben, or Bergman de Olpe.)	Sanchez.	Ten leaves. 27 lines. Only perfect copy in Lenox Library. Four imperfect copies known. Eight woodcuts.
E.	Quarto.	Latin.	Sine anno.	(Rome.)	(Steph. Planneck)	Sanchez.	Four leaves. 33 lines. Twenty copies known.
F.	Quarto.	Latin.	1493.	Rome.	Eucharius Silber.	Sanchez.	Three leaves. 40 lines. Ten copies known.
G.	Quarto.	Latin.	Sine anno.	Paris.	Guyot Marchant	Sanchez.	Four leaves. 39 lines. No woodcut. Royal Library at Turin and University Library at Göttingen.
H.	Quarto.	Latin.	Sine anno.	Paris.	Guyot Marchant.	Sanchez.	Four leaves. 39 lines. One woodcut. Carter-Brown, Providence, and National Library, Paris.
I.	Quarto.	Latin.	Sine anno.	Paris.	Guyot Marchant.	Sanchez.	Four leaves. 39 lines. Two woodcuts. Two copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University.
J.	Quarto.	Latin.	Sine anno.	(Antwerp.)	(Thiერი Martens.)	Sanchez.	Four leaves. 38 lines. Unique copy in Royal Library at Brussels.
K.	Small octavo.	Latin.	1494.	Bâle.	Bergman de Olpe.	Sanchez.	The Verrardus has 36 leaves, of which this occupies the last 7½ leaves. Many copies known.
L.	Quarto.	Italian.	1493.	Rome.	Unknown.	Sanchez.	Four leaves. Unique copy in the Biblioteca Colombina at Seville.
M.	Quarto.	Italian.	1493.	Florence.	Johannes Florentinus	Sanchez.	Four leaves. In Italian verse. Dati. Imperfect, being only leaves 1 and 4. Unique copy in British Museum.
N.	Quarto.	Italian.	1493.	Florence.	Unknown.	Sanchez.	Four leaves. Another edition. Dati. Perfect copy. Unique copy in British Museum.
O.	Quarto.	Italian.	1495.	Florence.	"	Sanchez.	Four leaves. Dati's verse. Unique copy in Bibliotheca Trivulziana at Milan.
P.	Quarto.	Italian.	1495.	Florence.	"	Sanchez.	Four leaves. Dati's verse. Unique copy in a private library in New York.
Q.	Small quarto.	German.	1497.	Strasburg.	Barth. Kuster.	Sanchez.	Seven leaves. Copies in Grenville Library in British Museum, Carter-Brown, Lenox Library, Huth Library, Royal Library at Munich.

CHAPTER LXVI

THE SPREADING OF THE NEWS

THE first account of the discovery to appear in any other form than that of the *Letter* is found in the 1503 edition of Bergomas's *Chronicle*. It is a recognition of the event as worthy of taking its place in a published historical work.¹ It is no more than a reproduction in a narrative form of that letter, with some additions from the speeches of the Spanish Ambassadors. Bergomas gives the number of islands named by Columbus, but

¹ Many were the casual and unimportant references to Columbus and the accomplishment of his design. The allusion to the discovery and to the *Las Indias Remota* found in *Los Tratados del Doctor Alonso Ortis*, printed at Seville in 1493, is only passing praise to Ferdinand and Isabella.

The *Nuremberg Chronicle* cannot be cited as containing any reference to the new discovery. The alleged discovery was by Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, and by Jacobus Carnus, a native of Portugal, for whom it was claimed that they crossed the Equinoctial line and sailed to a place where, when they faced the east at noon, their shadows fell to the right, and that in this region they discovered lands. The account is a spurious interpolation, as HARRISSE points out, being inserted by a different hand in the original Latin manuscript, which is still preserved at Nuremberg. The *Nuremberg Chronicle*, one of the great picture-books of the fifteenth century, is interesting enough without regarding this passage as preserving the relation of a genuine discovery. The curious reader will find the passage on the verso of folio CCXC. Some writers, without having read the context, have reported that the figure on the recto of folio XII, the figure representing *Homines habentes labium inferius ita magnum ut totam faciem contegant labio dormientes*, was really seen by Behaim in the lands discovered by him, and that afterwards people with the convenient lip receptacle were found in South America. The *Nuremberg Chronicle* to-day is one of the most common of fifteenth-century books, and probably there are thirty or more copies in America. Therefore, like the first folio *Shakespeare*, it cannot be called rare.

The reference to the discovery in Zachary Lileo's book, printed at Florence, April 7, 1496, is likewise only passing.

The anonymous German book, No. 20 in HARRISSE's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetusissima*, is undated and seems to have been printed subsequent to the year 1504.

The *Stultifera Navis* was translated into French and published at Paris by Jean Philippes and Geoffry de Marnef in 1497. Columbus is not mentioned, and the allusion to the discovery is only passing, but, because of its extreme rarity, we give in fac-simile the page on which the reader will find the passage. An example is preserved in the National Library in Paris, and it is through the courtesy of its directors

records only four instead of five, omitting the island of Juana. Where Columbus says there were six or eight species of palm trees, Bergomas is able to be more definite, and to say there were

that we were enabled to secure this reproduction. The reference is to the seven-teenth line on the left-hand column.

The work entitled *Stultifera Navis* is worthy of passing notice. It was a satire upon the follies of the age, composed and first printed in German by Sebastian Brandt, a native of Strasburg. The first edition was printed at Bâle in 1494, with the German title *Narrenschiff*. It was several times reprinted in German at Nuremberg, Reutlingen, and Strasburg, in the fifteenth century. It was translated into Latin by Jacobus Locher and printed for the first time in that form at Bâle by Johannes Bergman de Olpe, on the Kal. Augusti, 1497. This was reprinted at Augsburg by Joh. Schensperger, Kal. Aprilis, 1497. As the printer Schensperger gives praise to the printer Olpe, we take his edition to be subsequent. The year ended with March, and there may have been, as with the Lyons edition, an error in the year. There was printed at Lyons, by Jacobus Zachoni de Romano, an edition dated June 28, 1488. That this date is an error is apparent from the date of Locher's letter, which is 1497, and also from the fact that the edition carries the news of an event which occurred in 1492. It is because of this item of news that we are interested in these Latin and French editions. We find on the verso of folio lxvi in our example of the Lyons edition, this passage:

“ Prestita cosmographi lustrat documenta Strabonis:
Intactum toto nil finit orbe quidem.
Quid geometer enim tantas in pectore curas
Concipis: incassum circulus ifta terit.
Plinius errauit, quâuis spectabilis auctor:
Errores varios & ptolomeus habet.
In uanū fiquidē multorum corda laborant:
Rebus in incertis quos ita fudor agit.
Antea que fuerat prius incognita tellus:
Exposita est oculis & manifesta patet.
Hesperie occidue rex Ferdinandus: in alto
Æquoræ nūc gentes repperit innumeras.”

Any edition, then, carrying this passage, whether it be in Latin or in French, must have a prominent place in an American library.

An edition of the cosmography of Pomponius Mela, arranged by Franciscus Nuñez de la Yerva, and printed at Salamanca in Spain in the year 1498, contains this allusion:

“ Extra iftas duas extremas plurima inueniuntur, nam uerfus occidentis fereniffimus hispaniarum rex Ferdināus & Helifabeth terra habitatā diftatē ab occideti p XLV gradus ũenerūt. . . .”

(Harrissee, No. 8, *Bib. Am. Vet. Additions*.)

As to the Sabellicus,—1498,—there is no allusion to the discovery. It is only in the *Enneades*, printed at Venice in the year 1504, that the account of the discoveries is found. We give a very full description of this important relation, but it is evident that it must take its place after the present work of Bergomas.

In a little tract on an introduction to *Cosmography*, by Antonius Nebrissensis and (although undated) assigned to the year 1498 by Harrissee, is a passing allusion to the Antipodes:

“ De reliquo huic nostro hemispherio e regiōe oppofito, quod incolūt autichthores: nihil certi nobis a maioribus nostris traditum est. . . .”

The reader need not be told that this can hardly be construed into a reference to Columbus and his discoveries.

In the Preface to the *Coronica de Aragon*, by Gaubert Fabricius de Vagad, printed

Plinius

Tholome^o

Sapientie .liij.

Hiere .liij.
Ezech .xliij.

Eccle .xxliij

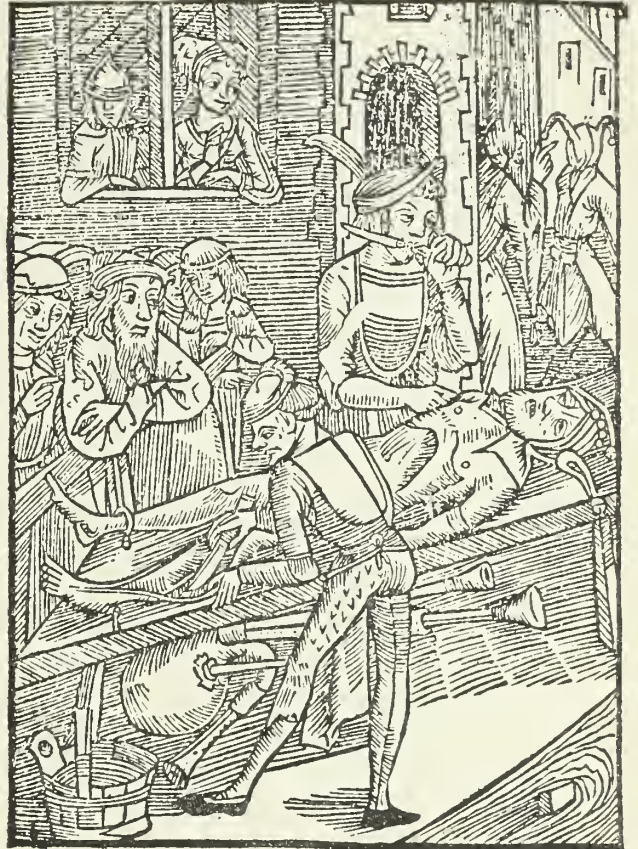
Ferdinand^o
yspantia
u rex

Si prudens
lulcu i pila
si pisanas
et iete desu
er pila: no
ufere ab
o stultitia
i. Glama
i cutis e su
nos direp
a p artus
Rec qe qni
stult erat

Tu anichilles et destruitz
Et nediffies ne construitz
Deulx tu plus que plinius faire:
Qui son liure voulut par faire
De la science que ie dy
Et bien haultement entendy
Neautmoins qui se composa
Grandes erreurs il y posa
Et si ffit lauteur tholomee
Touteffois si las tant apmee
Voulant faire plus que ceulx cy
De top ne deulx auoir mercy
Ains tu va labourer en vain
Plus ie dy que nas le cueur sain
Et si laisse le bon certain
Pour accepter tout lincertain
CLa terte qui fut incognue
Des paises que hom nauoit cogneue
fut elle pas magestee
A loueil combien que auoit estee
Long temps dorm sans estre apparceue
Or maintenant est elle sceue
Sans molestation de cueur
CEt si aucun hom ne ly cueur
Ne tira voil a desartoy
Auant ferdinandus le roy
Sur mer neautmoins sont astables
Et gens quasi innumerables

CDe celuy qui ne veult estre fol'

CMarcia avecques le saige
Doct appolline disputa
Pource que passer le passaige
Destre vaincu ne reputa
Nieuilx estre escorche il puta
Dung fol luy pendoit fluste aumains
Et com deuant fut fol du moins



CChacun fol tient ceste nature
Passant dessoubz la couuerture
De mauisite obstinacion
Ne voulant soubz la paction
De bonne foy loyal desir
Prendre essire et choisir
Pacience et bonne amitie
Omarcia si grant pitie
De toy eusse fait plusieurs ritz
Et ainsi se mal que tu pris
Destre escorche com vng cheureau
Meurdri autant ou plus quun veau
Neusses souffert mais abuse
Fuz comme pauvre fol muse
A larpe doulce de phebuis
Qui te mist en ce vil abus
Et te irrita a la dispute
Dont perdis ta peau a la lute

puet .xxvii.

Ouidi^o .vi.
methamor.
Oul .vi. fol.

Jouenalis.

seven. The island of women is called *Mateniēna*, showing that the chronicler had taken his account from the Cosco Latin translation.

On the recto of folio *a*, above a woodcut in which are some emblems of a Church dignitary, we read:

“Nouiffime hyftoriaꝝ omniũ repercuſſio
nes nouiter a Reuerendiffimo patre Ja
cobophilippo Bergomēſe/ ordinis He
remitarum edite: que Supplementum
ſupplementi Cronicarũ nuncupantur.
Incipiendo ab exordio mundi/ vfqꝫ in
Annum ſalutis noſtre. Mccccij.

“Cum gratia ꝛ priuilegio.”

at Zaragoza, September 12, 1499, is a passage in which there is a brief reference to *otro mundo: que nueuamente descubre la gente animosa y tã valiente de España*. Columbus is not mentioned, however.

The following book, printed in 1503, carries a passage of some interest:

“Libro en q̃ eſta eopiladas algunas bullas de n̄ro muy ſancto padre eõeebidas en fauor de la juridiēion real de ſus altezas & todas las pragmaticas q̃ eſtan fcehas para la buena gouernaciõ del reyna imprimido por mādado de Juan ramirez eferuano del eõſejo del rey & de la reyna nueſtros ſenores: el qual fue taſſado par ſus altezas & por los ſenores del fu eonſejo a un eaſtellano de oro eada volumen con priuilegio que ſus altezas dierõ por fu earta real q̃ por tiempo de eíneo años eõtados defde primero día de deziembre defte prefente año de mill & quinientos & tres faſta fer eomplidos ninguno otro fin fu poder lo pueda imprimir en el reyno ni fuera del ni vèderlo ſo pena de einquenta mill m̄ſ: la mitad para la eamera: & la otra mitad para el dieho Juan ramirez & de perder lo q̃ ouiere imprimido o vèdido o imprimiere o vèdiere o touiere pa vèder eõ otro tãto pa el dieho Juã ramirez.”

“Book in which is compiled ſome Bulls of our moſt Holy Father, conceived in fauour of the Royal juridiētion of their Highneſſes, and all the Royal ordinancees which are made for the good government of the Queen, printed by the order of Juan Ramirez, Clerk of the Council of the King and Queen, our Lords: which was valued by their Highneſſes and by the Lords of their Council at one gold eaſtellano for eaeh volume: with the privilege which their Royal Highneſſes gave by their Royal order, that for the time of five years counted from the firſt day of Deeember of this preſent year 1503 until the five years are completed, no other perſon without their authority can print this book in their Kingdom nor outside it, nor ſell it, under penalty of a fine of fifty thouſand maravedis: half for the Treasury and the other half for the ſaid Juan Ramirez and of loſing what ſhall have been printed or ſold, or what ſhall be printed or ſold or ſhall be ready to ſell, as likewise belonging to the ſaid Juan Ramirez.”

Colophon (aeording to Mendez and Clemenein):

“Fue impreſſa eſta obra en la villa de Alcala de henares por Lanzaſao Polono imprimidor de libros a eoſta de Johan Ramirez eſcribano del Conſejo del Rey e de la Reyna nueſtros Señores a quien ſus Altezas mandaron tener eayo de la imprimir: acaboffe a diez e feis días del mes de Noviembre de mill e quinientos e tres años.”

“This book was printed in the town of Aleala de Henares by Lanzaſao Polono, a printer of books; at the expense of Johan Ramirez, Clerk of the Council of the King and Queen, our Lords, whom their Highneſſes ordered to take charge of the printing; finiſhed November 16, 1503.”

On the verso of folio CXVIII and the recto of CXIX is the ordinance of June 22, 1497, informing Columbus that criminals of both ſexes are allowed to ſerve in the mines of Eſpañola and other iſlands for one half the term of their ſentence. This ordinance is printed in full in the *Book of Privileges*.

[Folio 451, verso:]

“ Explicit Supplementum Chronicarum Diligenter Et
Accurate Reuifum Atque Correctū. Venetiis Im
pressu3 Per Albertinū De Liffona Vercellē
fem. Regnā. Leonardo Loredano Ve
netiarum Principe. A Natiui—
tate Chrifiti. M.cccccc.
iii. Die. iiii.Maii.
Cu3 Gratia Et
Priuilegio.”

The book¹ is folio in form, and is simply a new edition of Bergomas's *Chronicle* brought down to the year 1502. It contains the first printed account of the discovery to appear in a history or chronicle, and was evidently taken from one of the Cosco Latin editions. On the verso of folio 441, the last five lines, running through to the eighteenth line on the verso of 442, is found the account of the discovery.

There is a copy of this edition, as well as of that printed in 1506, in the Lenox Library and in the collection of the Author.

De quattuor pmaximis insulis in India extra orbem nuper inuentis.
¶ Insulæ. 4. pmaxiæ: uidelicet Sancti Saluatoris: Sanctæ Mariæ cōceptiōis ferdinandæ: 1493
& Hyſpagnolæ: hoc anno: post captā Granatā & eius impium ab inclitis ferdinando &
helyſabeth regibus p christophorum coloni cogē classis impatorē sapiētissimū & Arc
optiōis nuū in India extra orbē inuentæ & captæ sunt: ut ét oratores qui supiori áno ad ponti

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¹ Jacobus Philippus Bergamus, of the distinguished Foresti family, was born in Bergamo in 1434. In 1485 he published at Brixia a *Treatise on Illustrious Women*. His great work, the *Supplementum Chronicarum*, was first published in 1483, and was printed in Venice by Bernardinus de Benaliis, himself a native of Bergamo. It is brought down to the year 1482. In the Brixia edition of his work, *De Mulieribus Claris*, the *Supplementarum Chronicarum* again appears, but it remained for the edition reprinted at Venice by Bernardinus de Benaliis in 1486 to issue the work with illustrations, consisting for the most part of woodcuts representing cities, some of which are made to do duty several times. The work was reprinted in Florence, translated into Italian, in 1488; and in Venice in 1490 and 1492. In 1506 there was an edition giving for the second time an account of the Columbian discovery. Bergamus, the author, died in the year 1518, in the monastery of the Augustines in Bergamo, of which Order he had been a member.

ficez Alexandrum pro præstanda ex more pontifici obedientia: sua in oratione conte-
 stati sunt. Ferdināus igitur capta Betica puincia: ne sui milites strenuissimi ocio mar-
 cerent: Christofozum columbum suæ classis Imperatorem cum plurimis militibus sta-
 tim ex Gadibus insulis uersus orientem ad nauigare iussit: ut orienti ostenderet quas ui-
 res haberent occidui. Qui ex ipsis locis soluens: infra modicum spacium in indicū ma-
 re prospero nauigio peruenere: & in supradictas insulas peruenit. In quibus numerū ho-
 minum multitudinem reperiens: earum insularum ipse classis impator pro suis regib⁹
 possessionē pacifice accepit. Et supradictis nominibus eas appellauit. Vltimam itaq; in-
 sulam hyspagnolam: cum applicuisset uidens ipsius magnitudinem permaximam: eam
 non insulam: sed ut continentem cathay prouinciam est arbitratus. In ipsis aut mariti-
 mis littoribus: atq; confinibus asseruit se nulla uidisse oppida: sed uicos per paucos: &
 rusticana prædia: quoq; incole cum primum ipsius milites uiderunt: fuga se surripierūt.
 Eoq; in loco: cum impator nihil noui inuenisset retrocedens: ad quandam portum re-
 diit. Et inde ex suis milites quosdam milites strenuos emitens: iussit explorare: si quas
 urbes in mediterraneis inuenirent. Qui tandem & isti numeros inuenerunt populos: &
 paruas habitationes. Hæc igitur insulæ omnes cum sint ferracissimæ hyspagnola lōge
 plus in primis portus habet: q̄ reliquum orbis christiani: flumina in ea tam uasta: quæ
 admirationem inducunt. Ibiq; conspiciuntur montes excelsi: arboribus frondentibus
 consiti coelum tangentibus: quæ arescunt nunq; & tales (ut ipse impator ait) erant qua-
 les de mense maio apud hispanos sum uidere solitus: harum Arborum pars ad maturita-
 tem alia ad fecunditatem tendit secundum earundem Arborum qualitatem: ibiq; aues
 cantus personabant de mense Nouembrio: Septem diuersitatis palmæ sunt: quas uidere
 stupor est: pinus: pompa: Nuces a nostris diuersa sunt. planicies magna: Vuarum copia
 magna: Minere metallorum infinite. Gens illa numerum non capit. Item ipsa hyspania
 insula magnas habet ualles: ingentemq; planiciem feracissimam habet non minus ar-
 mentorum q̄ hominum usui accomodatam. Aquarumq; quæ Aurum tenent: dulcis est
 austus. Et in arboribus reperiuntur fructus diuersi generis. Aromata quoq; quam pluri-
 ma: Huius autem insulæ & aliarum quas uidi mares & foeminae nudi sunt. Mulierum ta-
 men aliquæ: pudenda fronde quadam Bombice contexta uellant. Ferri & omnis generis
 armorum sunt expertes: natura optime dispositi procures & formosi: sed timore quodaz
 incredibili semper aguntur. Hoc genus Armorum peculiare est: uidelicet pennæ Alitum
 summatibus baculorum infixæ utuntur. Ut igitur me tales uiri conspexerunt salutem
 statim pedibus sibi procurarunt. Misi inquit uiros qui eos conuehrent: aloquerentur:
 hortarenturq;. In publicum turmatim prodibant: nec loquebantur. Et quanto propin-
 quius nos cernebant: tanto curiosius terga dabant. Et ut eos in amorem allicere possem
 multa eis elargitus sum: sed nec munera: nec amoris uices rependebant. Verum post-
 quam timorem posuerunt munificentiores supra id q̄ credi potest erga nos facti sunt.
 Ita q; omnia effundunt: & profundunt. Fideles admodum sunt. Augz pro uitro comuta-
 bant: q; apud eos uitro nihil est præciosius. Deditq; eis idēz imperator christoforus plu-
 rima: quæ secum detulerat dona. Cum eos autem quadam beniuolentia conciliaffet. De
 multis eos per signa sciscitatus est. Affirmabant se nunq; homines uestitos uidisse: nec
 ēt huiusmodi naues seu triremes. Quosdam autem idem imperator: uiolenter rapuit: ut
 hispanicum idioma eos doceret: & ipsi De ipsorum informarentur. Tantam deniq; ipsi
 Siluestres homines erga christianos postmodum contraxerunt beniuolentiam: ut unde
 cumq; uocibus magnis conclamarent & dicerent: uenite uenite omnes: quia & ethereæ
 gentes ad nos descenderunt: utuntur autem hi insulani quibusdam Scaphis ad nauigan-
 dum unico ligno confectis: quæ sunt cursu uelocissimo. Cum quibus suas exercent mer-
 caturas: Refert idem imperator eisdem in regionibus duas fore insulas seu prouincias
 quarum alteram Anam uocant: cuius Acole omnes caudati nascuntur. In insula ipsa hy-
 spagnola: ipse imperator in quodam oportuniore loco: in quadam uilla permaxima: cui
 Natiuitas domini nomen imposuerat: peculiarem possessionem pro Regibus Hyspania-
 rum accepit: & arcem quandam munitissimam ibidem ædificauit: quam & omni armo-
 rum genere: atque uiris necessariis muniuit. Quibus & Garauellam unam & pro aliis
 construendis tam in arte: quam in cæteris peritissimos dimisit artifices. Qui euestigio
 cum eiusdem insulæ Rege & cæteris maximam contraxit amicitiam. Easdem enim gen-

ferdinā
 da his-
 pagno
 la
 christo
 for⁹ nu
 per
 hyspa-
 gnole i
 sulæ
 magni
 tudinē
 portus
 plrimi
 flumina
 magna
 mōtes
 magni
 arbores
 multæ
 aues ca
 nentes
 diuersi
 tates
 palma-
 rum
 metal-
 lorum
 minere
 De ags
 earum
 De ar-
 mētis
 aroma
 ta ho-
 mines
 nudi
 arma
 ipsorum
 timorē
 ipsarū
 gentiū
 dome-
 sticae
 quosdā
 eorum
 uiolen-
 ter
 naues
 eorum
 uiri
 caudati
 arcē eri-
 git

Maximilianus

LIBER

SEXTVSDECIMVS

Anno Christi Anno Mūdi

res more ferino degentes: ad quandam pollicioſiorem uitam redegit.

¶ In eiſdem quoq; inſulis: quiſq; uni tantum coniugi conqueſcit: præter princeps cui uiginti habere licet.

¶ Charis autem inſula ſic appellata: habet quoddam hominum genus ferociſſimum: qui carne humana ueſcuntur. Alias enim inſulas traicientes: quæcumq; habere poſſunt ſurripiunt: hi fœmineo more longos defferunt carnes: ipſi etiam in iudiciis regionibus alia quædam eſt inſula mateniæ ſeu matinien appellata: in qua ſolum fœminæ ſine uiris habitant. Quæ quidem fœminæ nullum ſui ſexus opus exercere dicuntur. Vtuntur etenim quibuſdam Arcubus & Speculis muniuntq; ſe laminis eneis in bello. Cum his ueluti amazonibus coheunt indi inſulani tempore ueris.

¶ In his itaq; quattuor prædictis inſulis: idem chriſtoſorus imperator Regiæ classiſ maximam Auri uim inueniſſe teſtatur ſuit. Sed etiam Aromata cuiuſcumq; generis: uidelicet Maſticis: piperis: Aloes: & hebenum lignum: ac Reubarbarum: atq; maxima Bombicis copia inuenitur. Ea igitur inclitus Rex hiſpanus diuino munere: per ſuum imperatorem prædictum conſecutus eſt: æque hætenus mortalium aliquorum uires minime attingere potuerunt. Hoc quidem: ipſe imperator ſe uidiſſe & perluiſſe: ac poſſeſſionem pro ſuis Regibus accepiſſe: quadam ſua Epiſtola teſtatur eſt. Atq; oratores Regii pōtifici alexandro affirmarunt ita eſſe,

“ABOUT FOUR VERY LARGE ISLANDS RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN INDIA BEYOND THE [OLD] WORLD

In this year [1492] after the conquest of Granada and the occupation of it by the renowned Sovereigns Ferdinand and Isabella, four very large islands, namely; San Salvador, Santa Maria de la Concepcion, Ferdinand, and Española, beyond the world [known up to this time] were discovered and taken into possession by Christopher Columbus, a very sagacious and energetic man, the commander of this expedition. Ambassadors also in their addresses the year aforesaid testified to Pope Alexander of his great and unfailing devotion to the Pontiff. Therefore, after the province of Betica had been subdued, fearing that his well-disciplined veterans would soon become demoralised by idleness, Ferdinand ordered Christopher Columbus, as commander of the expedition, with a large body of troops, to sail at once from Cadiz to the islands lying to the westward [facing towards the east] that he might show the East what resources [military strengths] were possessed by the West. Sailing from that port with a favourable wind, after a short voyage they reached the Indian Sea, and came to the above-mentioned islands. They were found to be inhabited by a numerous population, and the Admiral took peaceable possession of them in the name of the King and Queen.

He also gave them the above-mentioned names. The last of these

islands is Española. When he had landed and had seen the great size of it, he believed that it was not an island, but mainland, and some part of Cathay.

He also says that he saw no large towns either on the coast or in the neighbourhood of it; only a few villages and farm buildings. The dwellers in these fled as soon as they saw the soldiers. Since he had found there nothing of importance [nothing new], the Admiral returned to a certain harbour. From there he sent out a detachment of picked men [certain active soldiers], with orders to search and see if they could find any towns inland. These at length found an innumerable population, but living only in small huts. Now while all these islands have great natural resources, Española is by far the most productive of all.

They were astonished to find harbours as good and rivers as large as those of the old world.

Lofty mountains also were seen, covered with dense forests which seem to touch the sky; the leaves of which never wither, and (as the Admiral himself says), "are such as I am accustomed to see in Spain in the month of May." Here was green fruit on some of these trees, and ripe fruit on others, according to each kind of tree.

Birds were singing, although it was the month of November. They found seven varieties of palms, the sight of which filled them with wonder; pines and fruits. The nuts are different from ours. Grapes are abundant, and there are inexhaustible mines of metals. The inhabitants cannot be numbered.

There are, moreover, in the Spanish island great valleys and a spacious plain of rich land suited both for grazing and tillage [for the support of both cattle and mankind]. There is gold in the sand of the streams. The water of the streams is pure.

And on the trees are found divers kinds of fruit, and a great variety of spices. The inhabitants of these islands and of the others which I have seen go naked, both men and women; but some of the women wear aprons [cover the pudenda] woven of a certain vegetable fibre. They have no iron and no weapons of any kind. The people are well-built, tall and handsome, but invariably timid to an incredible degree. They have this peculiar kind of armour, namely, birds' feathers fashioned at the extremity of sharpened sticks.

As soon therefore as the men saw the gleam of our weapons and armour, they at once sought for safety in flight. I sent out men to meet them, to talk with and encourage them. They came out in companies in sight of the messengers, but would not speak with them; and when they saw our men approaching too near, they were frightened and fled. And I gave them many gifts, in order, if possible, to give them confidence. But they did not respond either by the exchange of gifts or by becoming friendly. But when at length their fear had abated, they became incredibly liberal in their dealings with us. They brought forth everything that they possessed, and manifested the utmost confidence. They traded gold for glass,

for with them nothing is of more value than glass. The Admiral also gave them many gifts which he had brought with him. Now when he had gained their confidence by this evidence of his good will he asked them many questions by means of signs. They said that they had never before seen men who wore clothing, nor boats and ships like ours. The Admiral made prisoners of some of them, in order to teach them the Spanish language and that our men might be taught theirs. At length the men who were concealed in the woods conceived such a degree of good will towards us, that they shouted "Come, all come; for a race of beings from the sky have come down to us." These islanders also use a kind of canoe made of a single log, which is very fast on the water, and in which they transport their produce from place to place.

The Admiral also says that there are two islands or districts in those parts, one of which is called Anas, and the inhabitants of which are born with tails.

The Admiral also found a very large town in an excellent situation on the islands of Española, which he named Nativity, and took it as the personal possession of the King and Queen of Spain.

Here he built a very strong fort, provided with every kind of defences, and left a suitable garrison in it. To these islands he also sent one caravel and some of his best artisans to build others both in this stronghold and in other places. And he very soon became on terms of very great friendship with the chief of that island, and those of other islands. For he brought their people who were living after the manner of wild beasts to a more civilised mode of life.

In these islands each man is contented with one wife; but the chief is permitted to have twenty. The island called Charis is inhabited by a very fierce and savage race, who feed on human flesh. For they cross over to other islands and plunder the inhabitants of everything that they possess. They let their hair grow long after the manner of women.

In these same regions of India there is also a certain island called Matienena or Matinie in which women only live, without men. These women are said to occupy themselves with no employment which usually belongs to their sex. They make use of bows and arrows, and protect themselves with bronze coats of mail in war. As is the custom of the Amazons, the islanders of the Indies come to mate with them in the spring of the year.

In these four islands named above, Christopher, the Admiral of the squadron, declares that he found a great quantity of gold.

He found also spices of every kind; that is to say, mastic, pepper, and aloes; ebony and rhubarb, and a very great abundance of cotton.

These things then the renowned King of Spain accomplished by the grace of God, through the agency of his above-named Admiral. Until this time the power of no mortal has been able to accomplish so much. These new regions also the Admiral himself saw and explored and took possession of in the names of his King and Queen. He has declared this in a certain

letter. And the Ambassadors of the King and Queen also have declared to Pope Alexander that these things are so."¹

In the year 1506, on February 17, there issued from the press of Johannes Besicken at Rome, *Maffei Raphaelis Volaterrani Commentariorum Urbanorum octo et triginta Libri*. It is printed in three parts. The first is devoted to Geographia, the second to Anthropologia, and the third to Philologia. On the verso of folio clxix, and terminating the first Part, is a reference to the discovery under the Spanish Sovereigns, which is said to have been made by Christopher Columbus sailing from the straits of Cadiz in the year 1496. It is of no interest to us beyond the fact that the Columbian discovery finds itself, although very imperfectly, recorded in this geographical work. Moreover, the date here given for the discovery had a part in confusing some writers as to the time of that event. The author had read Sabellicus, from whom he must have taken his allusion to Daira.²

¹ We may advise the collector of Americana to secure this edition of Bergomas's *Chronicle* while the world is yet in ignorance of its bibliographical value. The Author found his copy for a few dollars.

² An error for Parya made by Sabellicus.

cedūt. Vterq; uero sex⁹ tāta corp⁹is mūditiā ut ter cottidie ex lege lauēt: gēmas ex au-
rib⁹ pforatis pēdētes hñt. Rex lēctica deferē magna mūficoꝝ turba comitat⁹ nemine tñ
p̄ter certos ad p̄pinquātē: uulg⁹ nec ēt uidet aut adloquit. Adloquētes aut ore demisso
oppositaq; ori manu fanē. Infunere aut rex nobilesq; cremantē plebes aut tumulat cine-
re caput humerosq; sparsa. Adorāt Idola Incātatoib⁹ dediti scribūt stilo ferreo infoliis
palmarū lris utunt^r arabicis & chaldeis Bragmanes cor⁹ p̄hi sic hodie q̄q; appellati uetē
rē retinēt ritū i reg⁹ oīum ap̄stinētia uiuētēs. Iudēos (nā & hoc eo genus ēt fluxit) male
tractāt: at cōtra xp̄ianos honorāt: eisq; deuia decedūt. Ceter⁹ Inqlinoꝝ aduenarūq; ne-
gotiatoꝝ magna ibi copia ex Mecha: babylonia: egypto: p̄sia: aromata fictilia gēmasq;
uēdēt iū. Inter hos Guzerati qdā uocati Idolatri corporeq; atri abubula oīo ap̄stinēt: bo-
uēq; occidere nefas putāt: Estq; hodie puer Indus in domo Cardinalis Vlyxi penēsis ex
ea regiōe aduēt⁹ hac ad eo obstinat⁹ sup̄stitiōe ut nullo pacto abduci q̄at. Nūmifutunt^r
Veneris aureis. Mēse aut noxēbr i inde naues soluētēs mercib⁹ onerate Mecham tendūt
metropolim in arabico littore ubi corpus Maumerhi. Inde q̄q; Babylonem egypti post
Alexādriā: postremo Venetias. Versus aut mediterraneā i Callicuti finib⁹ Narfingua
est oppidū eqs: elephātisq; referta in qua Cōiuges in uiroꝝ sepulchris cremant. Hec igr
oīa dei optimi benignitate & Hermanuelis regis uirtute nobis patefacta: q̄ iā ex fama p̄
uulgata p̄tim ēt ex i p̄ius regis epla quadā dep̄rēdunt: q̄ ad ultimū naues ēt. xxx. comi-
sit in adās utri aliquo modo. Taprobanā quā Cielā nūc uocāt explorēt quotādē cur um
qñq; dirigere spes erit haud longa. Sultān⁹ aut egypti erectū sibi dolēs uēctigal reli-
quoꝝ iā xp̄ianoꝝ Alexādriā hui⁹ grā mercis aduentū: p̄ximis ānis ad Iulū pontificē
oratorē denūtiatū misit nisi ap̄stineāt se quoq; Hierosolimitanū iter p̄bitur⁹. HVIVs
iraq; laudis emuli nautē hispani q̄ sub Fernādi regis auspiciis agūt duce Christophoro
Colūbo Anno Mccccxvi. a Gadib⁹ soluētēs ad. Dccc. milliaria inter Zephy⁹ & austrū
unā ex fortunatis Canariā reppierūt Canib⁹ magnis ut ait Plini⁹ unde nomen accepit
rū palinis Carioras ferētib⁹ nucēq; pinea ac melle refertā. Nūc aut in ea Saccharū cōfi-
ciūt. Rursus uero a Gadib⁹ pegrinātes quū p̄ scythiē clima remigare p̄berent^r p̄ Alexā-
dre⁹ fere parallū nō ad Antoccos ut lusitani set Perioecos n̄ros cursū dirigētes die. xx.
xiii. plures iuenerūt insulas par⁹ iter se distātes ultra fortunatas. xx. fere p̄: bus sitas Ex
his uni Hispani⁹ nomē indidere: p̄sulēq; nup̄ cōstituerē: alias uero Ioānā Canibulā la-
mna⁹ Dairā noīauere. In oib⁹ aut nudi agūt tñ palmarū frondib⁹ tecti colore albi her-
bise uctitāt sine lege sine deo: in q̄busdā ēt anthrophagi. In Canibula uero Amazonidū
reptū gen⁹ sic ēt sine uir⁹ s degūt eos tñ cā p̄lis adcerfentes: armis deniq; sese tuētēs. Peri-
bēt & auri plurimū hec ēt fere loca: set p̄ter oīa quā uūc bombicē seu psyllinū uocāt lignū
q̄ fulloniū qd̄ uerzinū appellāt. Monitra. n. de q̄b⁹ tā multa scriptorib⁹ licet nūq; uisa.
Ad hos igr Macedonū seu Romanorū neq; arma neq; nomen penetrare Ap̄forū autē
uoces puenisse q̄s credat^r set credere fas est: etenim in oēm terrā exiuit lon⁹ cor⁹ nisi sorte
ex Hieronymi snia uaticiniū id dies luculētis ap̄iat ut iā p̄spicim⁹ hoc tpe picnissimorū
regū amborū uirtute ac p̄uidētia q̄ ad hos oīs religiosos miserūt uiros. His adccedit Fer-
nādi regis catholici noua gloria q̄ hoc āno. MDV. classe in aphricā cū Petro Fernādo
missa ac i maris Hespiliētoꝝ: portu Saracenorū munitissimo Eidib⁹ septēbrib⁹ mirace-
leritate p̄ uim recepto spem plane dedit huic seculo oēm paulatim aphricā cū reliqua or-
bis ignota barbarie ad xp̄i synoridē ac Romani pontificis auctoritatē breui tpe deuen-
turam.

FINIS GAEOGRAPHIAE.

CHAPTER LXVII

THE TITLE TO THE NEW INDIES

As Columbus required the countenance of Princes to hold his discoveries, so those Princes required the seal of the Roman Pontiff not absolutely to possess but to maintain in peace their sovereignty in the New World.¹ There were two Spanish Am-

¹ The attitude of the Church ought not to be misunderstood. Its exercise of universal temporal dominion was no longer recognised or urged. Its confessed kingdom was spiritual. If it still spoke the temporal tongue, the obsolete words were interpreted spiritually or as a figure of speech. The expression used in nearly all Bulls, *Motu proprio non ad vestram vel alterius pro nobis super hoc nobis oblata petitionis instantiam*, is a mere form and without significance. As a matter of fact, it was at the particular instance of the Spanish Sovereigns that the Pope was now acting. Many Christian nations regarded the Church as peculiarly fitted for the exercise of judicial functions. Where could there be found a more acceptable arbiter than one who adjudicated by the consent of the parties at issue? It is the essence of authority. Spain and Portugal, two of the nations most devoted to the Roman Church, carried to its Head their individual interests and their international differences. Spain was not unmindful of her own independent sovereignty. She acknowledged no temporal control by the Pope over herself. No nation was more jealous of its rights. Only twenty years before this, she had thrust away from her coffers the hand of Rome, and that, too, when the object was purely ecclesiastical. The Cortes had protested against the appointment by Rome of foreign priests benediced upon their people, and the King notified the Court of Rome that no further provision would be made for foreigners. Rome has been falsely charged with arrogating to herself at the end of the fifteenth century absolute temporal dominion, and of deliberately dividing and parcelling the new regions of the world in Africa and Asia between two favoured nations. Neither of these counts will hold. In issuing the four Bulls the Pope was acting as arbiter, and whatever division of territory there was afterward between Spain and Portugal was their joint act.

When forms of speech become common they lose much of their significance. Down where the continent of North America is thinking of breaking away from its sister on the south, where the lands of Nicaragua become low and swampy, not many years ago was a tribe half-Indian and half-negro, dignified by the name of Moscos, or the Mosquito Nation. This nation once had title, or pretended to have title, to much of that strip of territory along which the proposed canal would have to pass. Indeed, when, years ago, Great Britain seized the Atlantic port of Nicaragua, the reason given was the "re-establishment of Mosquito rights and authorities." There was a breechless Mosquito chief who went by the name of Robert Charles Frederick. This

bassadors representing their Sovereigns at the Court of Rome, Bernardin de Carvajal and Ruiz de Medina. To these men letters were immediately forwarded by the Sovereigns instructing them to communicate the discovery to the Pope and to obtain from him the location of the new lands.¹ This power of

chief transferred, on January 24, 1839, whatever title he possessed to a man by the name of Shepherd, whose nationality was in dispute, and the Mosquito Bull began thus:

"We, Robert Charles Frederick, King of the Mosquito Nation, *of our special grace* and of our *certain knowledge* and *free motion* have given and granted by these presents, sealed with our seal, and do give and grant unto the said Samuel Shepherd . . ."

Should the United States come into possession of the said strip of land, this deed, or a copy attested by Great Britain, may be found among its titular curiosities.

¹ There does not seem to have been any special embassy sent to Rome for this purpose.

Bernardin de Carvajal was born at Palencia about 1456. He was made Bishop of Carthagene, and afterward was named Cardinal of Plasencia, in Spain, by Pope Alexander VI. He was a brother of Gareia Lopez Carvajal, a correspondent of Peter Martyr. In Epistle No. 155 (edition 1530), written to Garcia, Peter Martyr greatly extols the Cardinal. Epistle No. 161 is addressed to him personally from under date of June 11, 1495, and so also is Epistle No. 169, from Burgos, October 5, 1496; but, on November 30, 1496, there appears to have been some misunderstanding, for in a letter (Epistle No. 170) to Pomponius Lætus, under that date, Peter Martyr writes from Burgos:

"It is a law of nature that the smaller fish, unless they escape from the larger, will be devoured by them. Bernard Carvajal, an illustrious Spaniard, just crowned with the Cardinal's plume, moved by jealousy, thus throws himself in the way. He seeks from me by his own letter that whatever from this time on I write to my friends I shall send him likewise. It is not proper for me to refuse so powerful a personage. He has agreed to communicate to thee and to our friends, the Bishops of Braga and Pamplona, whatever thing I shall write to him. He is a learned man, a man ornamented with the highest virtues. He will not lie."

However, this same Cardinal had a way of advancing his interests. He held place, sometimes near the Papal throne and sometimes at an enforced distance, through the pontificates of Alexander VI., who had made him Cardinal, Pius III., Julius II., and Leo X.

Cardinal Bernardin de Carvajal was at the Court of Rome since December, 1484. He was deprived of his office and excommunicated by Julius II. in 1511, when he took part with the Emperor and with the King, Louis XII., against him. The monarchs called the Council at Pisa, which was opened September 1, 1511, and Bernardin de Carvajal, Cardinal of Santa Croce, was chosen to preside. Most of the prominent Cardinals, fearing naturally to take sides against the Pope, were absent; but enough Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots were present to make an imposing array. The Pope excommunicated Cardinal de Carvajal, and placed both Pisa and Florence under an interdict, the former city being subject to Florence, and the latter therefore held responsible for its delinquencies.

When Pope Leo X., on October 11, 1521, conferred upon England's King, Henry VIII., the title, *Fidei Defensor*,—Defender of the Faith,—the name of Bernardin Carvajal, Cardinal of Spain, appears as witness, the first signature directly under that of the Pope himself. The original Bull was mutilated by fire in the year 1731, but it is still preserved in the British Museum.

The same Bernardin de Carvajal delivered an oration on Wednesday, June 19, 1493, on the text from Isaiah xi.: "Vitus & Leo simil morabuntur: & puer paruulus minabit eos": ("The calf and the lion shall lie down together and a little boy shall watch them." This was at once issued in a printed form. It is a small quarto

the Pope to issue donations and to confirm the rights of kings and princes was as old as the first Councils of the Church when at Arles and Nice the Emperor Constantine and Sylvester, the Bishop of Rome, agreed as to some of the rights, powers, and privileges possessed by the Church and the Hierarchy.¹ No Princes ever were more profuse in their professions of loyalty to the Church than Ferdinand and Isabella. They fully earned the title of *Catholic Kings* bestowed upon them, by informal application, in these very donations.² Herrera makes their

of eight unnumbered leaves. In the verso of the sixth leaf, at the sixteenth line, one reads:

"Subegit quoq[ue] sub eis XP[s]i fortunatas infulas, quæ fertilitatē mirabilē esse confat. Oñdit & nuñ alias incognitas versus Indos quæ maxime ac plene orb[is]mundi p[re]ciosiss existimant: & XP[s]o p[ro]p[ter] regios iternuntios brevi paritura credunt."

"And Christ subjugated under them the Fortunate Islands whose fertility has been discovered to be something wonderful. And He has given them lately other islands unknown *toward the Indies* which may be regarded exceedingly and fully among the most precious things in the world. * And it is believed that they will shortly be acquired for Christ by the Royal Agents."

This is the earliest reference to the new discovery made in any oration or sermon, and is important as showing that there existed even at the very first reception of the news a distinction between Cathay and the Indies on the one hand, and the region in which the discoveries actually lay, that is, *toward the Indies*.

This quarto is assigned by Hain, No. 4545, to the press of Stephanus Planck; and by Panzer, Denis, and other bibliographers to the press of Besicken or Silber. Proctor, we think correctly, assigns it to the press of Planck. The copy in the British Museum is No. 3715 in Proctor's Index. Henry Harrisse bought for a few francs a fine example of this rare book.

¹ The donation of *all Italy* by Constantine to Sylvester has been denied by many. The Prefecture of Italy had consisted of three dioceses,—Italy, Illyricum, and West Africa. The diocese of Italy comprised two viceroys, the one under the Vicar of Rome, the other under the Vicar of Italy, with a residence at Milan. In the spring of the year 324 Constantine was said to have been baptised by the Pontiff, and four days afterward to have placed the whole of Italy under the control of Sylvester I. as a reward for the favour conferred upon him by the Church. The instrument of donation is by many regarded as not genuine. Twelve copies of this instrument were once in existence,—no two of them alike. It appears from two constitutions issued by him that in the spring of 324 he was at Thessalonica, and not at Rome. Most of the old writers report that Constantine was baptised at Nicomedia, when he lay at the point of death. We presume that those who hold to the donation would have West Africa go with Italy, and the islands in the Ocean-sea go with West Africa.

² There is doubt respecting the exact time when the Spanish Sovereigns first received this title. Gerónimo Zurita and some other Spanish historians give the close of the year 1496 as the date of the grant. In a letter (Epistle 158, edition of 1530, where it is wrongly dated MCCCCXCVIII) written to the Archbishop of Granada, and dated from Alcala, February 13, 1495, Peter Martyr says that he proposes thereafter to call his Sovereigns by that title, since it had been bestowed upon them by the Pope Alexander VI. for their services already performed in conquering the infidels and propagating the faith. While in the two Bulls, beginning *Inter Cetera*, of May 3 and 4, 1493, the Sovereigns are designated as Catholic Kings, they are not so called in either the Bull *Eximia Devotionis* of May 3 (4), 1493, or the Bull issued September 26, 1493. In the document issued by Alexander VI. under date of June 25, 1493, appointing Father Bernardo Boil to ecclesiastical duties in Española, allusion is

Majesties intimate in a letter to the Pope that their title to the new-found territory had been pronounced by great scholars good and sufficient, yet as dutiful children of the Church, they did not propose to advance farther in the matter until their rights should be confirmed by his Holiness. There is nothing but the unsupported statement of Herrera for this unusual self-assertion on the part of the Spanish Sovereigns, and it is not likely they ever expressed themselves in such a manner.¹ Herrera declares that the Ambassadors were to say to the Pope that the discoveries had been made without encroaching on the rights of Portugal, and that Columbus had been particularly charged by the Sovereigns not to come within one hundred leagues of the Mine of Gold or of Guinea or of any other port belonging to the Portuguese. Upon the receipt of the letter from the Spanish Sovereigns, a Bull was issued under date of May 3, 1493. This was followed by a supplementary document, also in the nature of a Bull, dated May 4, 1493, and on the same day a third was issued, all three relating to the same subject and all defining the donation to the Spanish Sovereigns. Navarrete published Bulls I. and II. in the year 1825. Bull No. III. was first published in Solorzano's *De Indiarum Jure*.² We may regard the Bulls published by Solorzano as authentic

made in the preamble to the Catholic Kings; but, later, when he speaks directly of his most dear son Ferdinand and his most dear daughter Helizabeth, the King and Queen of Castile and Leon, of Aragon and Granada, they are not called the *Catholic Kings*. On the other hand, in the Bull issued November 16, 1501, we read, *Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Carissimo in Christi Filio Ferdinando Regi et Carissime in Christo Filie Helizabeth Regine Hispaniarum Catholicis, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem*. Here is a clear use of a titular expression in an address.

¹ HARRISSE attributes, on the strength of Burchard, a tone of haughty censure for the Pope on the part of Lopez de Haro, speaking the sentiments of Ferdinand and Isabella, on the occasion of taking the oath of filial obedience on the Floral Field at Rome, June 12, 1493. The reference to certain of the Papal States harbouring the Moors seems hardly capable of being construed into reproach, and the allusion to the offices may relate to the grievance Spain long entertained in forcing on that country foreign priests. We apprehend Alexander VI. discovered nothing impertinent or defiant in the oration of De Haro. Surely there is nothing to suggest aught but filial obedience in the sermon delivered by Bernardin de Carvajal a week later. If this latter oration voiced the sentiments of the Spanish Sovereigns, they were humble, obedient, and grateful children of the Church.

² JOHANNES DE SOLORZANO PEREIRA—*Disputationem de Indiarum Jure Sive de Justa Indiarum Occidentalium Inquisitione et Retentione*.

Tribus Libris comprehensam. Matriti (Madrid). 1629-1639, folio, 2 vols. (See vol. i., p. 612.)

This work was reprinted at Lyons in 1672, folio, 2 vols., and a new edition was issued at Madrid in 1777, folio, 2 vols.

and as accurately reproduced in his work. The author distinctly declares of No. II., *Hactenus Alexander VI. Cujus Bulla Originalis in Regiis Archivis Servatur*. If this statement is correct, the original Bull No. II., known as the Bull *Inter Cetera*, and probably the others, just as they came from the Vatican, were as late as 1629 preserved in the royal archives of Spain¹ or in the archives of the Royal Council of the Indies. There are four Papal instruments or Bulls relating to the first discovery, of interest to the student. These are generally called the Columbian Bulls, and they are distinguished, as was the custom with like instruments, by their opening words.²

There have been few publications which have puzzled scholars more than these Bulls, three of which were issued within twenty-four hours of each other, all pertaining to the same subject, and to all appearances perfectly capable of being incorporated in a single document. The originals of these Bulls no longer exist. As we propose to examine the authorities for these Bulls and afterward to describe them, it will be well first briefly to identify them.

No. I. is the Bull *Inter Cetera*, dated May 3 (Quinto Nonas Maii), 1493.

¹ In his work, *Politica Indiana*, first printed at Madrid in 1648, in folio,—it being only a corrected or enlarged translation of his first work,—Solorzano speaks of the Bull being in the *Archivos del Real Consejo de las Indias*.

² These Papal Bulls are commonly distinguished in history by the opening words of their text immediately after the form of salutation. Thus the Bull of May 3 and the first one of May 4 are known as the Bulls *Inter Cetera*, while the third Bull is to be distinguished as the Bull *Eximia Devotionis*. Bull No. 4, dated September 26, 1493, is known as the Bull *Dudum Siquidem*.

The name Bull, or Bulla,—a bubble,—was given to the official piece of lead or capsule of wax, round or oval in shape, which marked the authority of Pope, Emperor, or Lord. To each of the Papal Bulls was attached a leaden bulla, hanging from the parchment document in threads of red and saffron-coloured silk. The document was then sealed with a seal of coloured wax, placed in a wooden box, suspended by a ribband of green silk and bearing the sign and signature of a certain apostolic notary. Such, indeed, was the Bull No. II. as described in the *Book of Privileges* of Columbus, and such undoubtedly were the first and the third documents, or Bulls No. I. and No. III. A Bull was sometimes familiarly called *codex sub plumbo*. A Bull might have a seal of gold instead of lead, as was the case when Charles IV., in 1356, issued his golden Bull.

A Brief was a Papal document issued generally under less important circumstances, and without a leaden seal. Instead of beginning with the Pope's name and *Episcopus servus servorum*, etc., it generally began, *Perpetuam rei memoriam*. The Bull was dated *Anno incarnationis Dominice*, and the Brief, *Anno a nativitate Domini*.

Pagina refers to the actual document itself. It may contain only a paragraph, or it may include any number of folios.

No. II. is the Bull *Inter Cetera*,¹ dated May 4 (Quarto Nonas Maii), 1493.

No. III. is the Bull *Eximie Devotionis*, dated, according to Solorzano, May 4, 1493 (May 3, Quinto Nonas Maii, in Vatican Register).

No. IV. is the Bull *Dudum Siquidem*, dated September 26 (6 Kal. Oct.), 1493.

Bulls I., II., and III. are of especial interest. These were issued at Rome May 3 and May 4, 1493, within twenty-four hours of each other, and delivered to a messenger who immediately set out for Barcelona, Spain, and who must have arrived by May 28, 1493, on which day, as we shall soon see, the Sovereigns seem to have read their title and to have understood their rights and powers. Duplicates of these Bulls were kept, or the original drafts were retained from which the finished documents were made. These were filed away or retained, as in our County Clerk offices, until such time as the clerks in the Vatican could copy them into the Register. The Papal Registers, or Letter Books, preserved in the Secret Archives of the Holy See, at the Vatican Palace in Rome, consist of not less than twelve thousand folio volumes, written partly on parchment and partly on paper. What are known as the Lateran Registers include some twenty-three hundred volumes, in which are inscribed the Bulls and Letters of the Popes from the time of Martinus V. to the reign of Gregory XVI., that is to say, from the year 1417 to 1831.² Presumably, where there was no urgency, the Bulls or Letters would be copied into the Registers before their delivery, but we imagine the process of copying was so slow that it was easier to make duplicates at the time, and then, at the

¹ Not only are there certain forms and expressions which are common to almost all Bulls, but we have found a number issued by the predecessors of Alexander VI., which, like these under discussion, begin, after the usual form of salutation, with *Inter Cetera*, *Eximie Devotionis*, and *Dudum Siquidem*. The Bull issued by Alexander VI. to the Spanish Sovereigns on November 16, 1501, commences *Eximie Devotionis*.

² Seven thousand four hundred volumes are devoted to recording the petitions and requests of potentates and individuals between the year 1352 and 1831. Two thousand volumes contain the Bulls and Letters of the Popes from the year 1198 to 1600. Such documents or registers as might belong to a period prior to the end of the twelfth century are for ever lost. The Avignon period (1316-1417) is contained in 350 volumes. The liberality of Pope Leo XIII., himself a scholar, has opened the classified records of the Vatican to students. The reader does not need to be told that there are still vast, unexplored fields of documents which one day will be accessible and which will illuminate history.

convenience of the clerks, to transcribe them in the volumes. In the year 1893 Mr. J. C. Heywood of Rome, Italy, issued from the Vatican Press a book of fac-similes of important documents relating to the history of America. The following is its title:

DOCUMENTA SELECTA
 E
 TABULARIO SECRETO VATICANO
 QUAE
 ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM
 ERGA AMERICAЕ POPULOS
 CURAM AC STUDIA
 TUM ANTE TUM PAULO POST INSULAS
 A CHRISTOPHORO COLUMBO REPERTAS
 TESTANTUR
 PHOTOTYPIA DESCRIPTA



TYPIS VATICANIS
 VIGINTI QUINQUE EXEMPLARIA
 ITA SUNT ADORNATA
 UT ILLUSTRIORIBUS TANTUM BIBLIOTHECIS
 DISTRIBUERENTUR

1893

Bulls I., II., and III. are photographed in this book from the original Registers in the Vatican, and we have reproduced them here in exact fac-simile. Bull IV. is not on record in the Vatican. Bulls II., III., and IV. are found printed for the first time in a work entitled *Disputationem de Indiarum Iure*, by Johannes de Solorzano Pereira,¹ printed at Madrid in 1629. It is in two folio volumes from the press of Franciscus Martinez, but only the first volume concerns us. Bull II. will be found on pages 608, 609, and 610; Bull III. on pages 612 and 613; Bull IV. on 613 and 614.

In the year 1825 Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete published at Madrid his *Coleccion de Los Viajes y Descubrimientos*. In volume ii. of this *Coleccion* are published Bulls I. and II. Bull I. is taken from

Copia Antigua en el Real Archivo de Simancas entre las Bullas sueltas, Legajo, num 4, corregida de mano del Bachiller Salmeron, que tuvo cargo de las escrituras latinas del Patronato Real en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos y del Emperador.

It is plain, then, that Navarrete could not find the original Bull No. I., with its leaden seal and silk threads. Bull II. is given by Navarrete, who says in parentheses ("Original en el Archivo de Indias en Seville"). Navarrete then proceeds to give a Spanish translation, *Segun la Publicó Don Juan de Solorzano en su Política Indiana*. If we assume that the Spanish historian Navarrete, instead of copying his text from Solorzano, really had before him the original, which he says was then (1825) in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, it is the last account we have of this famous original, and scholars have searched for it in vain.

Directly after Bull II., Solorzano publishes Bull III., introducing it into print for the first time. He says of this Bull, *Eodem ipso die edita, qua superior, Catholicis regibus ea omnia privilegia condedit*, etc. The Bull issued above is the *Inter Cetera* Bull of May 4, and this Bull III. is dated in Solorzano *Quarto Nonas Maii*, or May 4, 1493. It is plain then that Solorzano made no error or slip of the pen when he gave the date as May 4, since he says it was issued the *same day* as No. II., and it is very probable that the original Bull read *Quarto Nonas Maii*, and not *Quinto Nonas Maii*, May 3, as in the Vatican Register.

¹ Known in bibliography simply as Solorzano.

Solorzano then proceeds to give Bull IV., dated September 26, or *Sexto Kalend. Octobris 1493*. The original of Bull IV. is not to be found, nor is it recorded in the Vatican Registers. It is, however, generally accepted as genuine, and we give it here in its proper place, as we find it in Solorzano. That author does not take into account Bull I., issued May 3, perhaps regarding it, as some later writers have regarded it, as simply a draft of the principal Bull., issued the following day, and to which it bears so great a resemblance. We may, then, go back for our authority to two sources,—the Vatican Registers and the Spanish historian, Juan Solorzano. The former, other things being equal, would take authoritative precedence over the latter. The one is a secret but official register; the other is an open but authorised record. Solorzano began his investigations under the instructions and authority of the grandson of the Emperor Charles V., the pious Philip, and continued and finished his labours under Philip IV. When ready for the press, his book had to pass both the censorship of the ecclesiastical powers, receiving their permission to pass out into the world embodied in type, and the scrutiny of the Council of the Indies and the Royal Licentiates. These powers do not vouch for the correctness of the documents found within the covers of the work, but they give a certain substantial stamp to the good faith and honour of the author.

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE FIRST PAPAL BULL

BULL I

IN reproducing the fac-similes of Bulls I., II., and III., we have followed, not the order adopted by Heywood, but the actual order preserved in the Vatican Registers.

Bull I., *Inter Cetera*, dated Quinto Nonas Maii (May 3) is recorded as follows:

Bull I., Register Vaticanis, Tom. 775—begins	on verso of folio 42.
“ “ “ “ “ “ continues “ recto “ “	43.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ verso “ “	43.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ recto “ “	44.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ verso “ “	44.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ recto “ “	45.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ concludes “ verso “ “	45.

Bull II., *Inter Cetera*, dated Quarto Nonas Maii (May 4), 1493, is thus recorded:

Bull II., Register Vaticanis, Tom. 777, begins	on recto of folio 192.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ continues “ verso “ “	192.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ recto “ “	193.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ concludes “ verso “ “	193.

Bull III., *Eximiæ Devotionis*, dated Quinto Nonas Maii (May 3), 1493, is thus recorded:

Bull III., Register Vaticanis, Tom. 879, begins on recto of folio 234.
“ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ “ concludes on recto of folio 235.

There is a third source of authority for one of these Papal instruments, Bull II., the second of the Bulls *Inter Cetera*, dated *Quarto Nonas Maii*, May 4, 1493. This is found in the *Codex*, or *Book of Privileges*, compiled by Columbus himself. The

Codex, or book containing the rights, powers, and privileges of the Admiral, was prepared in his own house in the city of Seville, on Wednesday, January 5, 1502. Among the documents inserted in the book was a certified copy of a transcript of Bull II. This transcript was made in the house of Peter Garsie, Bishop of Barcelona, on Friday, July 19, 1493, and the Bishop certifies that it was made directly from the original:

“ To you and to each of you we make known by these presents that we have had in our hands, held, handled, seen and diligently inspected the Apostolic Letters of our most Holy Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord Alexander the Sixth, by Divine Providence, Pope, with his true Bull of lead hanging therefrom in threads of red and saffron coloured silk, in the manner of the Roman Court, &c, &c.”

This Barcelona transcript was again copied in the city of Seville, on December 30, 1501 (wrongly dated in the *Codex*, 1502), under the eye and by the authority of Pero Ruys Montana, Apostolic Notary. It was this second copy, the transcript of the transcript, which the Admiral had with him at his house on the fifth day of January in the year 1502. The first transcript, and the second as well, will be found to depend for authority on the clause found in most important Bulls:

“ *Verum*, quia difficile foret presentes litteras ad singulas quæque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus, ac motu et scientia similibus decernibus, quod illarum transumptis, manu publici, notarii inde rogati subscriptis et sigillo alicujus personæ in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ, seu curiæ ecclesiasticæ, munitis, ea prorsus fides in judicio et extra ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quæ presentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostense.”

“ But since it would be very difficult that these letters should be published in all those places in which it would be expedient to carry them, we wish and by like motion and knowledge we decree that copies of these subscribed by the hand of a public notary and by the seal of some person holding ecclesiastical dignity or by the seal of the ecclesiastical court, the same faith in places of judgment and beyond and in other places shall be accorded them, as would be accorded these [originals] if they should be exhibited or shown.”

The transcript discloses that D. Galletus was the scribe who wrote out the original Bull to which was affixed the leaden seal and silken threads. This is the same scribe whose name is appended to Bulls II. and III., but as these differ in chirography,

it is not easy to determine in whose hand was the original Bull II. to the Sovereigns. It has the signatures of both L. Amerinus and L. Podochatarus, either one or both of whom collated the original with the Vatican record. However this may be, notwithstanding the Apostolic Notary's testimony to the correctness of the transcript with the original, there are a hundred discrepancies, all unimportant, but which show that either the transcript did not agree with the original or that the original was not correctly copied on the Vatican Register. Both explanations are likely to be true.

The presence of this Bull in the *Codex*, or the *Book of Privileges*, of Columbus may lead the reader to conclude that it is the only important promulgation of the Pope, and where there seems to be a conflict between it and another or others, it should have preference because of incorporation among the documents and papers considered by Christopher Columbus as securing him his rights and privileges. The reason Columbus had it introduced here, we imagine, is simply that in it the Pope alluded to him as *Christophorus Columbus, a man worthy and much to be commended and well fitted for so great an undertaking*. This passage appears in no other Bull, and in the Paris example of the *Codex* some hand has drawn underneath these commendatory words a mark in red ink. Indeed, Columbus himself did not accept the limitations of its most important provision. Therefore, in our opinion, the presence of this particular Bull in the *Codex* has no significance beyond the Papal recognition of his merit and services, and his own desire to perpetuate for posterity these laudatory words.

Bull I., dated May 3, and the first to be recorded in the Vatican Register—volume 775, folios 42–45—opens with the Pope's declaration that among other things acceptable to God, the most important were the spreading of the Catholic religion, the salvation of souls, and the subjection of barbarous nations and their introduction into the true faith; then recognising the Catholic Sovereigns as Catholic Kings, he recites the purpose existing in their minds for some time before the conquest of Granada of searching for and discovering some remote and unknown islands and lands not hitherto found by others in order to induce the inhabitants thereof to profess the Catholic faith, but

which purpose was delayed in its execution by the conquest of Granada; the conquest of Granada being accomplished, the Spanish Sovereigns are declared to have despatched Christopher Columbus to find these remote lands, in a sea in which no one had hitherto navigated; and that through Divine aid, he did find certain most remote islands and *continental lands* in *western regions* toward the Indies, which no one had before found, and in which there were many inhabitants going naked but fitted for conversion; the said Columbus had caused a stronghold to be built, leaving in it Christians who were to guard it and search for other remote islands and lands; and in the islands already discovered are gold, spices, and other precious things; all these things, particularly the spreading of the Catholic faith, induced the Pope to give, concede, and assign to the Spanish Sovereigns all and singular the lands and islands discovered and to be discovered by their messengers which were not or might not be under the dominion of any Christian ruler; the Sovereigns were ordered to send to the said lands good, learned, and competent men; no one of whatsoever rank, degree, or quality was to go to the said islands and lands after that they should have been discovered and taken into possession, for trading purposes or for any other purpose, without the authority of the Spanish Sovereigns; it is then declared that since the Portuguese kings had obtained grants, privileges, and concessions in parts of Africa, Guinea, and the Mine of Gold, and had discovered and acquired other islands, the Spanish Sovereigns were to enjoy the same privileges as assuredly as if they were all expressed and inserted in the present Bull and the Pope extended and enlarged these privileges to them; this was followed by the *Non Obstante* clause which appears in nearly all Papal letters; and this in turn by the equally customary authority to make copies of the Bull for convenient reference.

This we believe to be a fair *résumé* of the document. Some have regarded this as an unpromulgated instrument, the matter in the succeeding Bull, *Inter Cetera*, being considered as covering the same ground and as being more definite in its terms. Some, on the other hand, regard this as the definitive document to which the others were emendatory. Whatever its after-influence or status, there can be no doubt that this was a formal Papal utterance. The registers in all probability were not

written up until long after the original documents had been issued, and then from duplicates which to-day are either lost or exist in unknown corners of the vast repository of books and documents in the Vatican. If this Bull had never been promulgated, it would never have been entered on the Register. If it was rendered null and void by some subsequent utterance, that utterance must have issued the same day, or the following day, in Bulls II. and III., and the short interval would have been ample to prevent its entering the official record. It has all the indications of a formal document. Indeed, of the two documents, *Inter Cetera* Bull I. is more elegantly and carefully entered, with more signs of formality than Bull II. Besides the signature on the sinister margin opposite its opening sentence of L. Podochatarus, the Pontifical Secretary, it bears four attesting signatures, that of the scribe, N. Casanovi; the collator, A. de Campania, and the witnesses, B. Capatinus and D. ———. Bull II. was entered with only the signature of its scribe, D. Galletus, and its collator, L. Amerinus. The scribe records that it was attested by either himself or Amerinus on behalf of the Reverend in Christ, A. Moccialis. It is true that when the Spanish Sovereigns received Bull II. it bore more signatures than appear on the Register, but so likewise did Bull I., or any Bull which was formally inscribed on parchment. We are only speaking of the formalities of entry, and the appearance of the original Vatican Registry indicates that of the two, Bull I. was more fully, carefully, and formally entered than Bull II. But that it was formally promulgated is evident from the language of Bull III., in which it is said that certain matters, *prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur*,—*as is contained more fully in our Bulls heretofore issued*. We conceive a *littera confecta* to be a document finished and complete, and therefore, *signed, sealed, and delivered*. In this case, of course, it was not yet in the hands of its destined recipients, but to all intents and purposes it was promulgated and was possessed of legal life. As we shall presently point out, it is our belief that Bull III. was subsequent in its issue to both the Bulls we have here numbered I. and II., but in any event it was subsequent to Bull I., and therefore referred to it as an existing, living document.¹

¹ The plural form, *litteræ*, was often used in its collective sense, referring to the contents of a single document, but generally as *preinsertæ* or *præsentes litteræ*, as *ad*
VOL. I.—17.

We notice, first, that Alexander VI. knew that the Spanish Sovereigns for some time before the conquest of Granada had entertained the purpose of searching for "remote islands and lands remote and unknown." This must have been interesting intelligence to Columbus. If the Admiral believed this, how cruel must have seemed the despair of his waiting and the cold deferring of his hopes! The Pope knows nothing of the grand idea of Christopher Columbus, of the conception of his purpose, of the never faltering fidelity to that project. The credit of the discovery all goes to the Sovereigns. *Sic vos non vobis!* The Pope declares that the lands for which the Sovereigns were contemplating a search were unknown lands, therefore they were not the lands to which Marco Polo went, the lands Paolo Toscanelli described, the lands for which Columbus himself said he was searching. But the title to these lands already discovered was bestowed upon the Spanish Sovereigns, and they were to have such other lands as their messengers might discover *when those messengers or captains had discovered them*. They were to have title to the lands already discovered *per nuncios vestros* or *to be discovered* in the future *per nuncios vestros*. What is this but title by discovery? Grotius himself never made so plain, so beautiful an exposition of this law now promulgated from the seat of St. Peter. That there may be no doubt as to the limitations of the grant, when a clause is inserted to secure the possession and complete enjoyment of these lands to Spain, all persons of whatever degree or station, except those holding authority from the Sovereigns, are forbidden to go *ad insulas et terras præditas postquam per vestros nuntios seu ad id missos inventæ et receptæ fuerint*,—*to the said islands and lands after that they shall have been discovered and after that they shall have been possessed by your messengers or by those sent for that purpose*. Not only by the express terms of this grant were the lands to be discovered first, but to secure the benefits of the discovery, they must be possessed, that is to say, occupied. An international *suos præsentis litteræ exhiberentur*. Still, there are instances where the word *litteræ* is used for a Papal document itself without a qualifying phrase; but here again the instances happen to be found in Briefs rather than in Bulls. We have at hand a volume printed in the year 1490, containing a collection of Papal documents issued from the pontificate of Eugenius III. in 1145 to the year 1490 in the interests of a certain religious Order, in which subjects referred to as *in litteris* include grants, privileges, and prohibitions promulgated in several separate previous Bulls. The phrase, *in confectis litteris*, certainly suggests two or more separate documents.

court of to-day could not make a more just award. That his Holiness had in mind the occupation or actual possession as pre-requisite to the validity of title is suggested by his reference to the fortress at La Navidad, which he understood to be a settlement and headquarters for expeditions searching for other lands. The Sovereigns were to have their possessions confirmed to them in the same way and with the same largeness as those held by the Portuguese in the regions of Africa, Guinea, and the Mine of Gold had been confirmed to them. In all the provisions of this Bull the reader will find no limitations of territory, no demarcation line, no division of the world. While the lands discovered by Columbus are said to be in the Western regions *toward* the Indies, the lands to which title was guaranteed, so far as the expression of any limitation is concerned, might lie anywhere in the wide world, provided no other Christian prince held them in dominion. By inference, the lands to be discovered in the future should be in the direction and somewhat in the neighbourhood of the lands already discovered and occupied, that is, in the Western regions and toward the Indies; yet this is not stated in the grant. But the important point to which the reader's attention is particularly directed is the enunciation by what was then the highest earthly authority of the doctrine of title by right of discovery and occupation. Discovery was not of itself sufficient. The lands discovered must be occupied. The title to the new islands and lands in the Western regions rested on discovery and on occupation. The new lands were not a gift from the Pope except in the language of the ritual. The Pope simply announced his award based upon an actual performance and dependent upon future performances by those to whom the award was made.¹

¹ This Bull I., as it stands and stripped of its mediæval phraseology, is a magnificent document, an enlightened utterance securing for an active nation the fruits of its enterprise and preserving for another nation the enjoyment of its acquired rights. Nor was this doctrine new. In the grants to the King and Prince of Portugal, made many years previous, they were to have title to lands when *invenientur et acquiruntur*. Immediate possession came with discovery, but *acquirere* conveys an idea of obtaining something beyond that already in possession.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE SECOND PAPAL BULL

BULL II

ON the following day, May 4, 1493, the Pope issued a second Bull, also beginning with the words *Inter Cetera*, and which was largely copied from the one preceding. This is known in history as the Demarcation Bull. It traverses in its early part the same ground as Bull I., except that Christopher Columbus is called *a worthy man, much to be commended and fitted for so great an undertaking*, words which seem adequate for a faithful sailor in the forecastle, but scarcely warm enough for a Pinzón or a De la Cosa. The lands actually discovered are called *islands and continental lands*, and are described as in the Ocean-sea, and not as *per partes occidentales ut dicitur versus Indios*, as in the first Bull. Then is inserted the clause giving, granting, and assigning to the Sovereigns and their heirs and successors,—

“ . . . omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas, versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et constituendo unam lineam a polo artico, scilicet septentrione, ad polum antarticum, scilicet meridiem sive terræ firmæ et insulæ inventæ et inveniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcumque partem: quæ linea distet a qualibet insularum quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo-Verde centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem, ita quod omnes insulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ reperiendæ, detectæ et detegendæ, a præfata linea versus occidentem et meridiem per aliud regem aut principem christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ usque ad diem nativitatis domini nostri Yhesu Christi proximæ præteritum in quo incipit Annus præsens MCCCCLXXXX tertius, quando fuerunt per nuntios et capitanes vestros inventæ eliquæ prædictarum insularum . . . ”

“ . . . all the islands and continental lands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, toward the west and south, establishing and constituting a line from the Arctic Pole, that is to say, from the North,

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to the Antarctic Pole, that is to say, to the South, including the continental lands and islands found and to be found which are toward India or toward *whatsoever part it may be*, which line may be distant from whatever one you may wish of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde one hundred leagues toward the West and South; and so we do give and assign by the terms of this present Bull all the islands and continental lands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered from the same line toward the West and South, not actually possessed by any other King or Christian Prince, even to the day of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from which begins the present year 1493, when some of the aforesaid islands have been found by your messengers and captains . . .”

The Bull then preserves the *ſus Quæſitum* of any Christian Prince who, under previous donations, grants, and assignments, *actualiter præfatis insulas aut terras firmas possederit usque ad prædictum diem Nativitatis Domini Nostri Yhesu Christi*. This last passage, inserted purposely at this point in this Bull where the main passage is merely a quotation from Bull I., is of the utmost importance to our interpretation of this document, and to it we will presently revert. The order is then repeated for the sending of pious and skilled persons to the new lands for the conversion of the inhabitants. Next, all persons of whatsoever condition or rank, are strictly prohibited from going without the special licence of the Spanish Sovereigns,—

“ . . . ad insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas versus occidentem et meridiem, fabricando et constituendo lineam a polo artico ad polum antarticum, sive terræ firmæ et insulæ inventæ et inveniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores et Cabo Verde centum leucis versus occidentem et meridiem, ut præfertur . . .”

“ . . . to the islands and continental lands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, toward the west and south, establishing and constituting a line from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole whether the continental lands and islands found and to be found are toward India or toward any other or toward whatsoever part, which line may be distant from whichever you may wish of these islands which are commonly called the Azores and Cape Verde, one hundred leagues toward the West and South, as aforesaid . . .”

The prohibitive clause no longer contains the provision found in the first Bull that persons are forbidden going to the islands,—

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"præditas postquam per vestros nuntios seu ad id missos inventæ et receptæ fuerint": "after that they shall be found and occupied by your messengers or by those sent for that purpose."

Here, then, is the injustice done Portugal, and which we believe was one of the causes of the issuing the same day of Bull III., which in a measure corrected the injustice. In Bull I., Portugal was not obliged to have actually been in possession and occupation of all the territory to which she believed herself entitled under the Papal grants, and the Spanish Sovereigns were only protected in their discoveries after that they were in actual possession and occupation. In this second Bull the Portuguese are to be protected only when in actual possession and occupation prior to December 25, 1492, and the Spanish Sovereigns were protected from encroachment even on lands not yet actually found, possessed, or occupied by them, and this last immunity is accentuated by the omission of the vital words found in Bull I. Alexander VI. was a Spaniard. He had been a successful lawyer before the elevation of his uncle, Calixtus III., to the Chair invited him to ecclesiastical honours. He knew the use of words and, observing the clerical insertion of certain phrases which hampered Spain but protected Portugal, it would seem he changed in his second Bull these passages so that Portugal was no longer justly protected and Spain had larger liberty. In the first Bull Portugal was protected against Spanish princes, sailors, merchants, wherever her discoveries had been made. In the second Bull she was compelled practically to have colonised any islands in that territory prior to Christmas Day in the year 1492. It was an *ex-post-facto* law at best, since the Papal statute only was passed four months later, on May 4, 1493. In the first Bull Spain was to have title only to what she found and possessed and occupied, and what she in the future should find, possess, and occupy. In the second Bull she should have whatever she found, unless she beheld in those regions a monument bearing date previous to December 25, 1492, and which had been set up and was then surrounded with the homes of colonists sent out by some Christian Prince (Portugal).

We are aware that Richard Eden, who first put this Bull into English in 1555,¹ and others since him, read *quando fuerint*

¹ As a matter of fact, Eden, in his English translation of the *Decades of the Newe Worlde Wrytten by Peter Martyr* (London, 1555), quotes, on folio 167, the original

. . . . *inventæ* for *quando fuerunt* . . . *inventæ*, as it actually is in Bull II. The word is written *fuerūt*, contracted from *fuerunt*, the perfect indicative, and taken in connection with the temporal adverb *quando* can have no other meaning than that at that time some of the islands had been discovered by the messengers of Spain, prior to December 25, 1492, referring to the only late Spanish discovery, that made by Columbus. It may well be expected that this Bull would not be acceptable to Portugal. The most remarkable feature contained in the instrument is the so-called line of demarcation. It contained within itself all reasonable elements of confusion. The islands of the Azores, Cape Verde, and the islands of Cape Verde were Portuguese possessions. Spain apparently was to select any spot between these two points from which to begin to count one hundred leagues, and the spot being selected, a line running north and south was to be passed through it. And then what? Absolutely nothing,—except by inference! The inference is that to the westward and southward of this line, Spain might make her discoveries. The Spanish Sovereigns could not take land west or south of this line that belonged to Christian princes, so, by inference, they *could* take land west or south of this line if it did *not* belong to Christian princes. But so far as defined rights, privileges, and prohibitions are expressed, Spain might cross the line to the eastward a thousand times. The line is drawn, but it does not bar. This is said not to quibble, but to indicate how loosely the document was drawn. The most certain thing about it was the probability that it would raise doubt, cause discussion, require interpretation, and demand repeal. The act was defective. It failed to connect the clause of limitation with the clause of donation. The Spanish Sovereigns were particularly informed that their title to land which might be discovered in the future was to be good no matter whether that land lay “toward India or toward another region or toward whatsoever region” it lay. A strict legal construction of this passage, taken together with the failure to connect the two clauses of gift and prohibition, would seem to clothe the Spanish Bull in Latin, and gives correctly the perfect indicative, *fuerunt*, but translates it as if it were the future-perfect indicative.

The collector must know that, in this edition of 1555, this Bull is dated on the verso of folio 170, 1593 for 1493. Let him also look for a map, *Brevis Exactaque Moscoviæ Descriptio*, before folio 249. It is frequently lacking.

Sovereigns with authority to go to the coast of Africa or eastward to the region where lay the Moluccas, and nothing could have prevented the possession of such lands, except a previous actual occupation, a virtual colonisation by some Christian prince.

But if the legal definitions are uncertain, the geographical definitions are impossible. No sober terrestrial meridian could be south and west of any steady piece of land. If it was drawn from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole when it reached one hundred leagues to the south of any given point, it would be a dot, and not a line. We can invoke the ghostly aid of inference and say that the Sovereigns were to make discoveries and hold possessions west and south after they had passed one hundred leagues westward (but here again, *southward* must be associated with its sister *westward*) of some selected land between Cape Verde and the most westerly of the Azores.¹

The Spanish Sovereigns were permitted, according to the strict letter of the document, to draw this line through any of the islands of the Azores or through any of the Cape Verde Islands. The expression *from pole to pole* means nothing more than *a straight line*. Such a long-drawn line was admirably adapted for purposes of measurement, but in this instance it had no application north of the Azores or south of the islands of Cape Verde. It was an attempt geographically to fix a term or bound, not necessarily and literally all the way from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole, but wherever it was set up it must be on a line which ran straight from pole to pole,—that and nothing more. No one now can believe that the Pope intended to designate for a possible starting-point Cape Verde on the coast of Africa, but rather the islands off Cape Verde, and which were known as the Cape Verde Islands. If the line was drawn from pole to pole through Cape Verde, the beautiful Portuguese islands of Flores and Corvo, at fourteen degrees to the westward, would have belonged to Spain, except, of course, for the defect in the Bull in not legally connecting the clause constituting the line with the clause granting a title to lands. The inconsistency of this is apparent. What the Pope intended to permit was that the Spanish Sovereigns might consider available for their choice all the islands of

¹ The geographical description of the several islands in question, as given on page 105, may aid us in this argument.

CAPE VERDE.

Latitude 14° 43' North. Longitude 17° 34' West of Greenwich, 11° 17' West of Cadiz, 8° 26' West of Lisbon.

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS.

Bôa Vista. Latitude 14° 20' North. Longitude 22° 20' West of Greenwich, 16° 4' West of Cadiz, 13° 12' West of Lisbon.

[The most easterly.]

Sant' Antao. Latitude 17° 20' North. Longitude 25° 30' West of Greenwich, 19° 13' West of Cadiz, 16° 22' West of Lisbon.

[The most westerly.]

AZORES.

Santa Maria. Latitude 36° 55' North. Longitude 25° 6' West of Greenwich, 18° 49' West of Cadiz, 15° 58' West of Lisbon.

[The most easterly.]

Flores. Latitude 39° 55' North. Longitude 31° 16' West of Greenwich, 25° West of Cadiz, 22° 8' West of Lisbon.

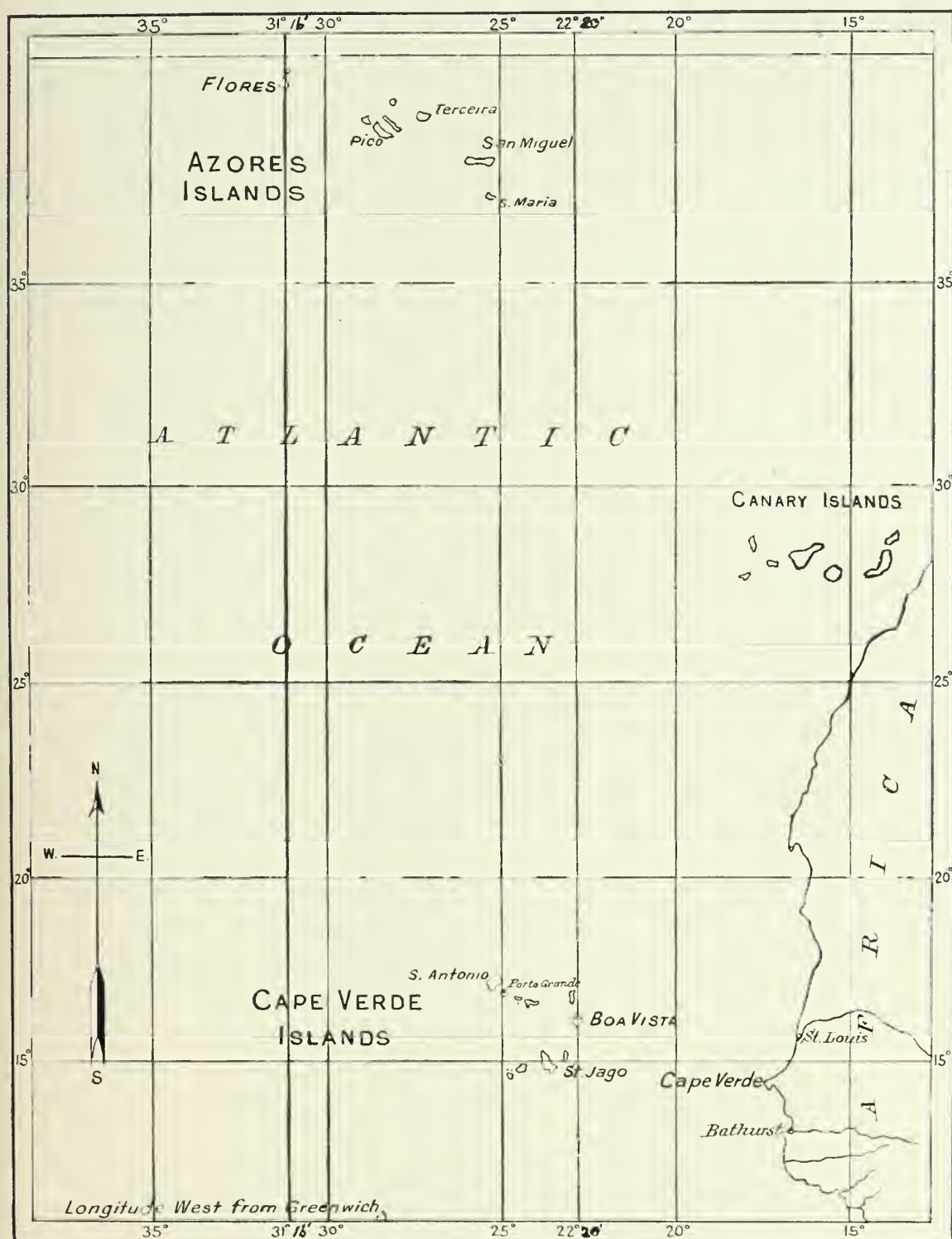
[The most westerly.]

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the Azores *and* all the islands of Cape Verde, and then, having considered these all as candidates for a starting-point, they might select any one of them they chose through which to draw a line from pole to pole, to the westward and southward of which (by inference,—but only by inference, remember) they might feel themselves free to make discoveries. What island would the Spanish Sovereigns be likely to select? Freedom of choice gives to a child the biggest apple and to a king the largest territory. A sovereign thinks and plans and struggles for his kingdom as a man does for himself or his family. The largest field, the deepest stream, the farthest boundary, for these a monarch and a pioneer will contend with equal eagerness. The Pope expected that the Sovereigns would make this meridian line pass through the most easterly of the Cape Verde Islands. Thus, had the Sovereigns selected for their meridian the island of Bôa Vista of the Cape Verde group, lying in longitude $22^{\circ} 20'$ west of Greenwich, or $4^{\circ} 46'$ west of Cape Verde, their one hundred leagues to the westward would be counted before they reached the meridian of the island of Flores, lying in longitude $31^{\circ} 16'$ west of Greenwich, or $8^{\circ} 56'$ west of the meridian passing through the island of Bôa Vista. Therefore, assuming that Spain had elected to make her eastern limitation as distant as possible under the grant, in order to have the widest possible field for discovery, she would have been entitled to a whole or a part of the island of Flores, if this island was not actually colonised¹ at the time. The Pope was not in possession of that exact geographical

¹ It is difficult to establish the date when the most westerly islands of the Azores group, Flores and Corvo, were colonised. A certain Fleming, Willem van der Haagen, whose name the Portuguese kindly softened to Da Silveira, and which in English we should possibly write Underwood, sometime about the year 1470, or a few years after that date, was appointed by Doña Maria de Vilhena, a Lisbon dame to whom they were first conceded, to settle with a colony on both these islands. After a trial of seven years, Da Silveira gave up his office and settled permanently on the island of San Jorge. We do not know if his colony abandoned the island at that time.

In connection with the island of Corvo, the reader will find in early books reference to the story that on that island the first discoverers found a huge equestrian statue. It is described as the figure of a man bareheaded, mounted on a gigantic steed without a saddle, the man's left hand holding the horse's mane, his right extended and pointing prophetically to the west. The further information was given that it stood on a slab of the same stone from which it was carved and bore an inscription in an unknown language, and the early writers ascribed the entire composition to the Carthaginians or Phœnicians. This has been explained by a natural phenomenon, and the somewhat forced resemblance is only the grotesque configuration of a volcanic rock, and thus the mysterious statue, like the mysterious Pilot, never pointed to Spaniard or Portuguese the pathway to discovery.



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knowledge which would have enabled him to establish the distance between two meridians, the one passing through the eastern end of the Cape Verde group and the other passing through the western end of the Azores group. But in a general way he believed that one hundred leagues would cover this distance. Therefore, when he established his line, it was not for the purpose of creating a meridian west of the Azores, but, considering the two groups of islands lying out in the Atlantic to the west of Europe and Africa, belonging to that Christian Prince, the King of Portugal, he believed he was simply confirming and repeating his admonition not to take territory belonging to Portugal. We imagine he never thought of creating a line of demarcation, other than would be created by defining the Portuguese possessions in the Atlantic north of the Equinoctial line and west of Europe and Africa. He thought his line of one hundred leagues westward from the line the Spaniards were likely to draw would include Portuguese possessions in the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The expression "100 leagues west of any islands of the Azores and Cape Verde" was only another form of saying "all the islands of the Azores and of Cape Verde."¹

This interpretation will be found to be in accord with, *first*, the fact that the Spanish Sovereigns never assumed that the line of one hundred leagues drawn by the Pope began at the westward of the Azores. In their letter to Columbus, dated from Barcelona, May 28, 1493, the Sovereigns say:

¹ There has been an attempt to show that Pope Alexander VI. made a contribution to science in fixing a line of demarcation one hundred leagues westward of the Azores. Alexander von Humboldt, we believe, first called attention to this appropriate division in the fixing of the line between the Old and New Worlds, but attributed its suggestion to the Discoverer. When Columbus, on his third voyage, considered certain physical phenomena, he observed that, crossing toward the west a line drawn from the north to the south, at a distance of one hundred leagues from the islands of the Azores, the ships seemed to mount gently an upward grade, the sea took on a new appearance, the air grew more soft and temperate, the needle in the compass moved to the west, and the heavens above changed their astral pictures. Truly, it would have been a proper and scientific line of demarcation, but, nevertheless, it never was made.

Of course, Columbus was speaking of being one hundred leagues west of a line, which, as it ran from pole to pole, ran through the Azores, but he himself never sailed in a westerly direction from those islands. He returned that way from his first voyage, but not through kindly seas.

If science, at the close of the fifteenth century, knew any such secure and stable boundary, why was it not adopted at Tordesillas and 270 leagues counted westward from its meridian instead of 370 leagues from a starting-point upon which geographers and scientists could never quite agree?

“E es nuestra merced é voluntad que hayades é tengades vos, é despues de vuestros dias vuestros hijos é descendientes é subcesores, uno en pos de otro, el dicho oficio de nuestro Almirante del dicho mar Océano, que es nuestro, que comienza por una raya ó linea que Nos habemos fecho marcar que pasa desde las islas de los Azores á las islas de Cabo Verde, de Septentrion en Austro, de polo á polo; por manera, que todo lo que es allende de la dicha linea al Occidente, es nuestro é nos pertenece.”

“And it is our will and pleasure that you shall have and hold, and after your days, your sons and descendants and successors, one after the other, the said office of our Admiral of the said Ocean-sea, which is ours, which commences by a term or line which we have had marked, which passes FROM the Azores Islands TO the Cape Verde Islands, from North to South, from Pole to Pole, so that all which is beyond the said line to the west, is ours and belongs to us.”

If the Sovereigns believed there existed a barrier one hundred leagues westward of the Azores, out in the Ocean-sea, to the eastward of which they might not pass, they would have been obliged, as obedient children of the Church, to make mention of it. No such barrier did exist. If the Sovereigns had understood that they were to draw, or that the Pope had drawn, a line one hundred leagues westward from the Azores, they would not have described it as running *from* the Azores *to* the Cape Verde Islands, an easterly direction.

The Sovereigns had complied with the order of the Pope, and had drawn the line, not one hundred leagues westward from the most westerly of these islands of the Azores, but *from* (the western end of) the Azores *to* (the most easterly of) the Cape Verde Islands, thus including or intending to include all the islands of both groups, and giving them the right of discovery to the westward of this line. Thus the *line* drawn by the Sovereigns corresponds with the *line* drawn by the Pope.

Second. Our interpretation will be found to accord with that of Christopher Columbus himself. The Admiral employed legal talent to pass upon his rights, and shortly before setting out on his fourth voyage he copied in his own hand the opinion which had been rendered him, and this will be found given in our chapter on “The Handwriting of Columbus.” In this opinion occurs the following passage:

“Por vuestro privilegio y capitulacion parece que S. A. os fizieron su Almirante del mar Océano, el qual fizieron marcar por una raya que pasa de las yslas del Cabo Verde aquellas de los Açores de Polo á Polo” : “It

appears from your privilege and capitulation that their Highnesses made you their Admiral of the Ocean-sea, which they caused to be marked by a line which passes from the islands of Cape Verde to those of the Azores from Pole to Pole."

Here the lawyers mention the eastern term or line first, but we may read the passage thus: a line which passes *from* the first of the Cape Verde Islands *to* and through the last of the Azores. Even as it stands, alluding as it does to the line actually drawn by the Spanish Sovereigns, the line is understood to include within the easterly line and the westerly line of one hundred leagues all the Portuguese possessions of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. Thus the Pope and the Sovereigns and the Admiral all thoroughly understood the matter and no one of them ever suspected that the distance of one hundred leagues was to be measured in a westerly direction from the western coast of the most westerly of the islands of the Azores.

In the Majorat created by Columbus February 22, 1498, we read:

"Y plugo . . . a Sus Altezas de me hacer su Almirante en el mar Océano, allende de una raya imaginaria que mandaron señalar sobre las islas de Cabo Verde y aquellas de los Azores, cién leguas que pase de Polo á Polo" : "And it pleased their Highnesses to appoint me their Admiral of the Ocean-sea beyond an imaginary line which they ordered to be drawn upon the islands of Cape Verde and those of the Azores, a hundred leagues, which passes from Pole to Pole."

In the Testament and Codicil of Christopher Columbus, executed May 19, 1506, he confirmed and included and repeated, in the very words, this provision of a previous Will:

"Ansí plugo á SS. AA. que yo hubiese en mi parte de las dichas Indias, Islas é tierra-firme, que son al Poniente de una raya que mandaron marcar sobre las Islas de los Azores y aquellas del Cabo Verde, cien leguas, la cual pasa de Polo á Polo. . . ." : "Thus it pleased their Highnesses that I should have for my part of the said Indies, islands and continental lands, which are situated to the west of a line which they ordered drawn upon the islands of the Azores and those of Cape Verde, a hundred leagues, which passes from pole to pole. . . ."

The language in both these documents is describing the particular line which we have already heard the Sovereigns say *passes from the Azores Islands to the Cape Verde Islands*. While

the Sovereigns do not mention the distance drawn between the two islands, Columbus mentions it in both his *Majorat* and *Codicil*, as do also his lawyers, and this line is one hundred leagues. To draw a line—presumably a straight line—one hundred leagues long, we must have two points, one from which we start and one at which we complete the hundred leagues. In each instance Columbus understood this line to be drawn upon or over or above starting from the Cape Verde Islands, and running upon, over, or above the last of the Azores, as in the *Majorat*, or starting from the Azores, the line was drawn upon or over or above the Azores until it rested upon or over or above the Cape Verde Islands, as in the *Testament*, the line being in both instances one hundred leagues long, and in each case the islands between these two lines being the same. There are really two lines to be considered in the Pope's Bull,—the one running from pole to pole through the Cape Verde Islands, and the other running from pole to pole one hundred leagues to the westward and passing through the Azores. Between these two lines were supposed to lie the Portuguese islands of the Azores and Cape Verde. The Ocean-sea began to the westward of these possessions, and from this place of beginning the Sovereigns commenced to count their rights as given by the Pope, and from the place of beginning the Admiral commenced to count his privileges as given by the Sovereigns.

Third. Our interpretation makes it clear why in the Treaty of Tordesillas, when a line of demarcation was established by treaty, on June 7, 1494, no reference whatsoever is made to a line of demarcation established by the Pope. If this had existed, as it is represented in history to have existed, the Commissioners for Spain and Portugal would have recognised that they were simply to extend a line of demarcation already fixed at one hundred leagues, two hundred and seventy farther to the westward, but such a line is utterly ignored and the business is undertaken as if *de novo*.

The provision that the line should be distant from any island of the Azores or from any of the Cape Verde Islands one hundred leagues toward the south, was doubtless another attempt to include all the Portuguese possessions in these two groups of islands. But no two parallel lines, that is to say, running east and west, drawn one hundred leagues apart, could be made to

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include within their limits the most northerly island of the Azores, *Corvo*, and the most southerly of the Cape Verde Islands, *Brava*. The two parallels on which lie these two islands are $25^{\circ} 35'$ distant the one from the other. However this may be, there are strong indications that both Spain and Portugal considered that the former might go to the south and make discoveries in regions the latter had long regarded as reserved for the Portuguese. Portuguese diplomats were at Barcelona in the ensuing summer, and it appears from the following passage in a letter written by the Sovereigns to Columbus on September 5, 1493, that they feared just such southern explorations.¹

"Y porque despues de la venida de los Portugueses en la platica que con ellos se ha habido, algunos quieren decir que lo que está en medio desde la punta que los Portugueses llamaran de Buena Esperanza, que está en la rota que agora ellos llevan por la Mina del Oro é Guinea abajo fasta la raya que vos dijistes que debia venir en la Bula del Papa, piensan que podrá haber Islas y aun Tierra-firme, que segun en la parte del sol que está se cree que serán muy provechosas y mas ricas que todas las otras." . . .

"And as, since the coming of the Portuguese, in the discussions which have been held with them, some seek to say that between the Cape which the Portuguese call Good Hope, on the route which they follow in going to the Mine of Gold and Guinea, down as far as the line which you said ought to come in the Bull of the Pope, they think that there will be found islands and continental lands, which from their situation under the sun may be believed to be very profitable and richer than all the others. . . .—"

The Admiral, from the letter, appears to have thought that the Cape Verde Islands comprised the southern boundary line of the Portuguese possessions in the Atlantic. The Sovereigns seem to have adopted this same view, and then they repeat to Columbus what some of their Portuguese visitors suggested, that somewhere between this southern Portuguese boundary line and the Cape of Good Hope might be found islands and continental lands where the sun shone the most fiercely, the earth held the most precious riches. If there were regions in the south richer than Columbus had found in the west, then Spain herself wanted them.

¹ This entire letter will be found in the Appendix. It is interesting to catch the tone of nervous excitement which is breathed in every line. The Sovereigns fear lest some Portuguese vessel may sail away to the Western lands and make discoveries before they do. At the same time they cunningly suggest that they may find even richer lands to the south along the African coast, and that if this is likely, further Papal concessions may be obtained.

CHAPTER LXX

THE THIRD PAPAL BULL

BULL III

THE issuing of this second *Inter Cetera* Bull probably aroused protests upon the part of Portugal. It has not, we believe, been definitely ascertained that Portugal had at that moment special Ambassadors at the Roman Court. Immediately upon the accession of Alexander VI. to the Chair, August 11, 1492, Portugal, like other Christian kingdoms, sent representatives to Rome to congratulate the newly made Pope and to render an assurance of obedience. This function was not always performed with haste. King John II. had appointed for this duty Pedro da Sylva, Grand-Commander of Aviz. It is doubtful if he reached Rome until the following year, but the historian, Ruy de Pina, tells us that Sylva was to meet at Rome Ferdinand d'Almeida, Bishop of Ceuta, and Diego de Sousa, Bishop of Porto, who were already in that city. Harrisson assumes that these two ecclesiastics were resident Ambassadors from Portugal at the Court of Rome, and were there in the spring of 1493 when the great discovery had been reported in Europe and when the Bulls relative thereto were issued. Certainly this second Bull contained matter to excite the Portuguese representatives. The first Bull, that issued the previous day, had protected the interests of Portugal. Her title to discoveries made and to be made was secured to her. Spain could have nothing but what she actually discovered and possessed. Portugal must have recognised that her sister State was entitled to the fruits of her enterprise. Her own rights being expressed and confirmed in the same document which made the grant to Spain, seemed to her Ambassadors just and adequate. But now, suddenly, another Bull (II.) is issued,

which, while apparently preserving her rights, through the protection to other discoveries made by Christian Princes, and even going so far as to fix a boundary line which fenced in for her the islands of the Azores and Cape Verde,—to which no one had ever entered claim,—in reality gave Spain rights in the regions of the eastern Atlantic, of Africa, and of the Indies to the eastward around the Cape of Good Hope; which released Spain from the necessity of actually discovering, possessing, and colonising before she could claim possible territory, and which transferred these heavy conditions to the back of Portugal. The mention of a line one hundred leagues from somewhere and stretching from pole to pole did not trouble Portugal. It meant no more to her than that the Pope had preserved to her between two straight lines, one hundred leagues apart, her islands of the Azores and of Cape Verde. If the provisions of Bull I. were liberal to Spain and just to Portugal, the provisions of Bull II. made excessive and prodigal grants to Spain while they untied concessions and opened gates threatening infinite harm to the cause of Portugal. Whose mariners first passed those dark and forbidding headlands on the African coasts? Were they not Portuguese sailors? Because she had not taken the shortest way to the East, was there to be no memory of Cape Bojador, of the Mine of Guinea, of the Cape of Good Hope? Did no one in Rome remember the pious and virtuous Prince called the Navigator? Was not King John a Christian King? If we are invoking the imagination to hear words of protest, it is because there was an immediate action which can only be accounted for by a strong, vigorous dissent on the part of Portugal.

In the Court of Rome at the end of the fifteenth century were gathered the most acute, alert, diplomatic intelligences in the world. Not only the greater nations, like France, Germany, and England, but the smaller States like Venice, Naples, and Milan, each had its ambassador, ministers, or agents. Not only were the political States represented, but the many religious orders had their individual agents. For every public commissioner, each government and each society had its secret informer. Moreover, the Papal Court was the religious, political, social, and scientific centre of the world. Even commerce bore its licences with the seal of the ring and trade flourished or declined at the word of the Church. Portugal had no acknow-

ledged enemies. If she had acquired new possessions, they had not yet attracted the cupidity of other nations. Spain was in the midst of intrigue, negotiations, and contentions. She was at that very moment listening to the appeal of Naples that she would enter into war against France. It was not strange, then, under these circumstances, that even if the ears of the Portuguese agents had been heavy, some friendly mouth should have carried the purport of this document so unjust to the interests of their nation. Accordingly, that same day, May 4, 1493, the Pope issued another Bull, which we have ventured to call No. III.

This Bull begins with a recognition by the Pope of the affection and faith of the Spanish Sovereigns for the Church of Rome—*Ecclesia Romana*—and their praiseworthy search for remote and unknown lands and islands which made for the glory of God and the propagation of the Empire of Christ; it then records the fact that *on this very day* the Pope had given to the said Spanish Sovereigns all the remote and unknown *continental lands* and islands toward the *Western regions* and the Ocean-sea, found or to be found by the Spanish Sovereigns, or by their messengers sent for that purpose, as is contained in his Bulls heretofore issued in connection with his grants; it then recites that the Kings of Portugal have received from the Apostolic See divers privileges and grants, and have discovered and acquired under similar charter other islands in the regions of Africa, Guinea, and the Mine of Gold, and that this present Bull confers on the Spanish Sovereigns the *same* gifts, privileges, exemptions, liberties, powers, immunities, letters, and indulgences as were granted the Kings of Portugal, the purport of which grants are to be held as if expressed word for word in this present Bull; it then introduces the usual *non obstante* clause, followed by that providing for its further promulgation by means of copies, and ends with the familiar warning against the infringement of the Charter under the penalty of the Indignation of St. Peter and St. Paul.

This Bull III. is dated on the Vatican Register *Quinto Nonas Maii*, or May 3. In Solorzano's *De Indiarum Jure*, published in 1629, it is dated *Quarto Nonas Maii*, or May 4. But, as we have seen, this Bull was entered upon the Vatican Register subsequent to the other two Bulls. Bull I. is found in volume 775,

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Bull II. in volume 777, and Bull III. in volume 879. We believe that there were two copies of each Papal instrument, the original written in full with its Bulla or seal, as the case might be, and which was delivered to the person for whom it was issued; the other was held until such time as it could be entered permanently in the Register. When the entry received the verification from the Papal Notary, the second or duplicate copy became of no value, and went the way of unneeded papers. This will account for the unrewarded search in the Vatican and Lateran files. The duplicates were supposed to be copied into the Register in the order in which they were issued, but this order was not always maintained. It is difficult to believe that part of volume 775, the whole of 776, and a large part of 777 could have been filled with documents, Bulls, Briefs, or Letters, which were issued between our Bull I., May 3, and Bull II., May 4. Much more is it unlikely that the contents of one hundred and two volumes could have been issued on the same day, May 4, between the publication of Bull II. and Bull III. An examination of the volumes in the Vatican Register containing two of these Bulls discloses the fact that strict chronological order was not followed in entering other documents in their immediate neighbourhood:

In Volume 775, folios 38-39 are dated quarto-decimo Kl. Aprilis, 1492.

“ “ “ “ 40-42 “ “ Sept. Idus Decembris, 1492.

(Bull I.)

“ “ “ “ 42-45 “ “ Quinto Nonas Maii, 1493.

“ “ “ “ 45-47 “ “ Quarto Kl. Jan., 1492.

“ “ “ “ 47-48 “ “

“ “ “ “ 49-50 “ “ Kal. Februarii, 1492.

“ “ 777, “ 186-189 “ “ Tertio Idus, Sept., 1492.

“ “ “ “ 190-191 “ “ Secund. Nonas, Feb., 1492.

(our Bull II.)

“ “ “ “ 192-193 “ “ Quarto Nonas Maii, 1493.

“ “ “ “ 193-194 “ “ Sexto-decimo Kal. Maii, 1493.

“ “ “ “ 195-196 “ “ Decimo Sept. Kal. Apr., 1492.

But so far as we have been able to ascertain, no Bull was entered in the Register prior to some other *Bull relating to the same subject and part of the same transaction*, which latter bore a subsequent date. While two instruments, entirely disconnected in subject-matter, might have unnatural sequence in their entry,

instruments forming parts of a whole would be entered in what appeared to the notaries or clerks their logical and chronological order. Thus, in our opinion, Bull III., although wrongly dated, *Quinto Nonas Maii* for *Quarto Nonas Maii*, was regarded as coming after Bulls I. and II., and accordingly was entered in the Register subsequent to them. Solorzano was not in Rome, and nowhere intimates that he ever saw the Papal Registers, while he does intimate that the documents he saw and copied were the originals then preserved in the Spanish Archives. So far as we can determine from his book, he had no knowledge of Bull I., but he dates Bull III. *Quarto Nonas Maii*, and gives it its proper place after Bull II., bearing the same date.

The second paragraph begins with the adverb *Hodie*,—*hodie*—on this day. It is employed here as a locative ablative. It modifies and defines the action. “*Hodie omnes et singulas terras firmas et insulas . . . donavimus. . . .*” “To-day [say the Sovereigns] we have given [you] all and singular the continental lands and islands.” If we turn to Bull I., issued on May 3, we find the Sovereigns saying:

“*Omnes et singulas terras et insulas . . . donamus* : We do give you all and singular the lands and islands. . . .”

In Bull II., issued May 4, we find the Sovereigns using the same expression:

“*Omnes et singulas insulas et terras firmas . . . donamus* : We do give you all and singular the islands and continental lands.”

We have, then, a right to infer that Bull III. using the form *donavimus* is subsequent to both Bulls using the form *donamus*. And we have the right to infer that Bull III. refers to a prior instrument which used the expression *terræ firmæ* instead of *terræ* alone, and Bull II., dated May 4, alone of the two Bulls I. and II., uses in the donative clause the expression *terræ firmæ*, or continental lands. We are aware that Bull III. says that the continental lands and islands given to-day lie *versus partes occidentales*, and that the reader might therefore be inclined to regard Bull III. as referring to Bull I. rather than Bull II., since Bull I. speaks of the lands lying *per partes occidentales* and Bull II. speaks of the lands as lying *versus occidentem et meridiem*. But the fact remains that *continental lands*, in so many words,

are granted in Bull II., and not in Bull I. Moreover, a little farther along in Bull III. we read:

“. . . prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continentur: as are more fully contained in our Bulls heretofore issued.”

The use of the word *litteræ* here seems to us to cover two or more documents. Bulls I. and II. enlarged on the purposes of the Catholic Sovereigns in searching for new lands, on the fact of the discovery, on the person making the discovery, on the rich products revealed by the discovery, on the benefits to flow from the discovery,—all these things were omitted or briefly touched upon in the present Bull, because their repetition is unnecessary, they being contained *in nostris inde confectis litteris*.

The moral and legal effect of this third Bull would be to place matters where they were prior to the issuing of Bull II. It is just such a response as we might expect to the protestations of Portugal. It restores the rights of Portugal and says to Spain, “You are to have exactly the rights conferred upon Portugal,—no more and no less.” Portugal knew her own rights, privileges, immunities, and limitations, and by that token she could interpret the rights, privileges, immunities, and limitations granted by this instrument to Spain. It announced again the doctrine of title by discovery and occupation. Actual temporal dominion was essential for the holding of territory by any Christian Prince, and Spain is to hold title under like conditions. The privilege to the Spanish Sovereigns in Bull II. of sailing “toward India or toward another region or toward whatsoever regions” is withdrawn, and now the lands granted are *versus partes occidentales et mare oceanum*, toward the Western regions and the Ocean-sea. Portugal is satisfied. But is Spain satisfied?

CHAPTER LXXI

THE FOURTH PAPAL BULL

BULL IV

THE Spanish Sovereigns had sent their diplomatic agent, Lope de Herrera, to the King of Portugal, with the announcement that they were fitting out an expedition for the occupation and settlement of the land discovered. Rumours were thick in Spain that the Portuguese were fitting out a fleet to make discoveries and to maintain their rights in making discoveries in the regions visited by the Spanish under Columbus. When interrogated by Lope de Herrera, John II. declared that the Portuguese only wanted that each should have what belonged to him,—“que cada uno tenga lo que le pertenece.” He agreed, however, to send ambassadors to Spain to discuss these matters, and bound himself to suffer none of his ships to sail to the Western lands for at least sixty days after his representatives should have reached Barcelona. Agreeable to his promise, King John sent his ambassadors or special messengers, Dr. Pero Diaz and Ruy de Pina, to treat with King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. These messengers arrived at Barcelona only on August 15, 1493. The letter of the Sovereigns, dated September 5, 1493, to Columbus, from which we have already quoted, advises the Admiral of the arrival of these messengers and of the subject discussed. This letter discloses two facts,—first, the Sovereigns have their minds absorbed in the new expedition, and apparently have apprehended the full purport of the Bulls, particularly of the third. But all three lay before them; the first confirming their title to the new lands but guarding the interests of Portugal, the second disregarding the rights of Portugal and conferring lavish grants to the Catholic Sovereigns, and the third wiping out the

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extravagant concessions to Spain and again recognising the rights of Portugal. A reading of Bull II. opened the eyes of Spain to the possibilities of territorial acquisition under its provisions. They read Bull III. and beheld these possibilities vanishing. And when the Portuguese messengers came to Spain and declared that there were possibilities of finding islands and continental lands in the Atlantic between Cape Verde and the Cape of Good Hope, lands richer than Guinea and the Mine of Gold, those vanished possibilities proved a serious disappointment. But there was hope. The Admiral was urged to give his opinion as to this probability, and the Sovereigns say, "If the affair is such as they think here, *the Bull may be corrected.*" What Bull? Not Bull II. of May 4, for if that instrument with its lavish bestowments was still a living law in the feature of its latitude for discoveries *versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcumque partem*, it needed no amendment, correction, or enlargement. But if there were to be Spanish discoveries and Spanish acquisitions made toward *that other part* where the Portuguese said they thought there were rich lands, then the powers in Bull III. were insufficient. Therefore Bull III. must be corrected. And this is precisely what was done. The Sovereigns were at Barcelona and Columbus was at Cadiz fitting out his ships for his second voyage. There was not time for correspondence. The "affair" was sufficiently probable to justify their communicating immediately with the Pope, and on September 26, 1493, the very day the Admiral with his fleet of seventeen vessels bade farewell to his Spanish and Venetian escorts which had accompanied him the day before down the river, and set sail out into the undreaded sea, Alexander VI. at Rome issued his Bull *Dudum Siquidem*, which we call Bull IV.

This new Bull begins by re-enacting the right to all and singular the islands and continental lands discovered or to be discovered toward the west and south; it then proceeds to notice the contingency that some of the Spanish expeditions might go to the south and find their way to India; and the Pope, wishing to add to his favours shown the Sovereigns by yet other favours, provides for this contingency by giving and granting all and singular the islands and continental lands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, which in sailing toward the west.

or south may be or shall be or shall appear whether they are actually in western or in southern regions, whether in the eastern regions or in the regions of India; the Sovereigns are permitted to take bodily possession of such lands and to defend them against any opposing person and all persons without authority from the Sovereigns are forbidden to navigate to these regions, to fish there, or to search for lands; and these are to be held notwithstanding grants and constitutions made to Kings or Princes or Royal Infantes.

The usual *non obstantur* clause is enlarged by the introduction of the word *Infantes* to cover the special case of Prince Henry, under whom discoveries were made by the Portuguese, and to whom and his King grants and charters were issued by the Holy See. If Portugal raised a protesting voice when Bull II. was issued, we can imagine her state when this new document, Bull IV., was promulgated.

This Bull, it should be said, has not been found upon the Vatican Register, nor is the original known to be in existence, but it is accepted as genuine by scholars and historians. The original Bull was long on file in the Royal Archives at Simancas,¹ and on August 30, 1554, it was translated into the Castilian tongue by the Secretary, Diego Gracian de Aldrete. Solorzano printed this Bull in the original Latin in his *De Indiarum Jure*, published at Madrid in the year 1629, at which time the Bull must still have been on file in the Archives. When Navarrete published his *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, at Madrid, in 1825, he gave only the Spanish translation by the Secretary Gracian, from which we infer that the original was not available, as he gives both the Bulls *Inter Cetera*, Bulls I. and II., in the original Latin.²

The Portuguese Ambassadors returned to their own country to receive further instructions from the King. The Spanish Sovereigns, however, sent to him on November 2, 1493, two Ambassadors, Garcia Lopez de Carvajal, brother of Bernardin and a

¹ A few miles south-west of Valladolid, where Columbus breathed his last, is the walled town of Simancas, in which stands the *Archivo General del Reino*, the repository to-day of thirty million documents arranged in eighty thousand separate packages, and these do not include the Archives of the Indies, which, in the eighteenth century, were removed to Seville.

² Harriette thinks that Solorzano translated the Spanish copy into Latin, because his work was written wholly in that language.

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correspondent of Peter Martyr, and Pedro de Ayala, afterwards Ambassador to England. It has been thought that during this embassy, a proposition was made by Portugal looking toward a settlement of their differences, and practically outlining the plan afterward adopted, but the scheme of King John seemed to be directed toward a parallel line, as well as a meridian line, both passing through the Canaries, the territory and sea east and south thereof to be conceded to Portugal. Early in the following spring, March 8, 1494, Commissioners were appointed by King John to go to Barcelona and incorporate his views in a formal treaty. The Spanish Ambassadors had then been returned some time, as we find Peter Martyr addressing Garcia de Carvajal at Plasencia early in February of that year. These Portuguese Commissioners were three eminent men, Ruy de Sousa, his son João de Sousa, and Arias de Almadana. The Spanish Court was moving from town to town, at Saragossa in the beginning of the year 1494, passing from there to Tordesillas, thence to Valladolid, and from Valladolid to Medina del Campo, and it was to this last-mentioned town that the Portuguese messengers betook themselves for personal converse with the Sovereigns. Finally, on June 5, 1494, three Commissioners were named by the Spanish Sovereigns, Don Henrique Henriquez, Principal Mayordomo, Don Gutierrez Cardenas, Comendador Mayor, and Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, who were ordered to meet with the three distinguished Portuguese Commissioners at the neighbouring town of Tordesillas, and there to negotiate a treaty. This was done, and there, on the seventh day of June in the year 1494, through their agents, two European nations mapped out for themselves two separate *spheres of influence*, announcing then a doctrine, the modern name for which is *hinterland*,¹ a doctrine which divided the globe between them, giving to the one what the other did not want and which justly

¹ The doctrine of *hinterland* is defined to be an *international agreement between two or more peoples by which there is fixed a topographical line of demarcation within which one nation may exercise sovereignty to the exclusion of the other party or parties to the agreement*. The definition included the establishment of spheres of reciprocal interest.

This doctrine, the first international law ever applied to the New World, did belong emphatically to America, and must ever be regarded historically in reciting the laws, international and municipal, which earliest governed. If there was a physical line of demarcation, there was also a moral line, and this was binding only on such peoples as were parties to the arrangement.

belonged to neither until it had first of all been found and possessed as unoccupied territory. No Pope made this division. It was the agreement of two peoples only, and therefore binding upon no other nations in all the world than the Kingdom of Spain and the Kingdom of Portugal.

Rodolphus Alexander & Consilio in filio Ferdinando Regis
 Car. in filio Johanne Regine Castell. Legionis ara
 gonum & Granat. Salus & pax vobis divine
 maiestatis insignia opa & cordis in dextera habet illud
 profecto potissimum vobis ut fides catholica &
 christiana religio vris profectim temporibus exaltetur
 & habeat amplius & dilatetur animarum salus
 procuratur ac Barbari nationes opprimantur
 & ad fidem ipsam redeantur donec cum nostris
 Barba pax eadem humana fraternitas deinceps in
 pace imperantibus evocari possint cognoscant nos
 & vestros catholicos reges & principes quibus omni
 fuisse novimus & multis praeclara gesta tot pax in
 ora notissima & monstrant ut dum id optent
 Sed omni conatu studio & diligentia nullis laboribus
 nullis impensis nullisq. parcendo piculis & propriis
 omnium offendentis offere ac omnium aum idem
 omnesq. conatus ad hoc in ducunt deicere quod admo
 dum impio regni & patriae astringuntur omnino
 fodimus temporibus pios cum tanta divini vobis
 gloria sua testatur digne duamur noverunt
 & debemus illa vobis respondere & favorabiliter
 respondere q. que huiusmodi omnium & laudabilis
 ac immortalis deo accepti propositi in deo fundari
 no. ac ipsius de bonis & impij christi propagatione

CHAPTER LXXII

THE VATICAN REGISTER

BULL I

[*Transliteration*]

“ALEXANDER &c, carissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando regi et carissime in Christo filie Helisabeth regine Castelle, Legionis, Aragonum et Granate illustribus, salutem &c. Inter cetera divine maiestati beneplacita opera et cordis nostri desiderabilia illud profecto potissimum existit, ut fides catholica et christiana religio nostris presertim temporibus exaltetur & ubilibet ampliatur et dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac Barbare nationes deprimantur & ad fidem ipsam reducantur. Unde cum ad hanc sacram Petri Sedem, divina favente clementia, meritis licet imparibus, evocati fuerimus, cognoscentes vos tamquam veros catholicos reges et principes, quales semper fuisse novimus, et a vobis preclara gesta toti pene iam orbi notissima demonstrant, ne dum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio et diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo, efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum omnesque conatus ad hoc iam dudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio regni Granate a tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos cum tanta divini nominis gloria facta, testatur; digne ducimur non immerito et debemus illa vobis etiam sponte et favoribiliter concedere, per que huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile ac immortalis Deo acceptum propositum in dies ferventiori animo, ad ipsius Dei honorem et imperii christiani propagationem

BULL I

[*Translation*]

“Alexander &c [the Bishop, servant of the servants of God] to our most dear son in Christ, Ferdinand the King, and to our most dear daughter in Christ, Helizabeth, Queen, illustrious [Princes] of Castile, Leon, Aragon and Granada, greeting, &c [the apostolic blessing].

“Among other works acceptable to the Divine Majesty and desirable to our hearts this especially appears the most powerful, that the Catholic faith and the Christian religion, particularly in our times, shall be exalted and everywhere increased and extended, whereby the salvation of souls may be secured and barbarous nations subjugated and brought to the faith itself. And whereas we are called to the Holy Seat of Peter with the divine favour although with merits far inferior: and recognising you as true and Catholic Kings and Princes, such as we have always known you, and as your noble and most praiseworthy deeds have already shown to all the world, and knowing that not merely you desired this but strove to accomplish it with all your efforts, study and diligence, sparing no labours, expenses or dangers even to the shedding of your own blood, dedicating your entire mind and all your efforts to those things as by the recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens in these very days testifying with such glorious deeds to the Divine Name [and whereas], we regard you as worthy and that we ought of our own free will graciously to graft you the means by which more fervently you may be enabled to daily prosecute a purpose so acceptable to Almighty God, to the honour of God himself and the propagation

propterea volentes: Sicut accipimus q. nos qui dicitur
amino propositas aliquas terras et insulas remotas
& incognitas ac p. alios habemus no. regas quoniam
et minime ut illas fucolas et habitatores ad eam
viam nostram nostram refidam catholice profectum redirent
habemus investigatione et inquisitione quod non
grante plurimum omnes huiusmodi gentes et
vires propositas nostras ad opus nostrum p. ducere ut
quintus Sed tunc dicitur domino placuit regno
profecto regno nostras duxerunt nostras ad
plura viderunt plurimum Christophori Colon in navigis
et homines ad similia instans no. omne moribus
p. gentes ac gentes duxerunt ut terras remotas
et incognitas huiusmodi p. nostras habemus na-
vigantibus no. fuerit diligenter inquirunt q. tunc
vires auxilio sua et terra diligenter p. partes
omnes ut de nostris nostris in mari oceano
navigantes costas insulas remotissimas et terras
diversas que p. alios habemus nostras no. fuerunt in
vires inquirunt quod plurimum gentes p. nostras
vires et ut apparet vires inquirunt nostras
vires nostras inquirunt et ut p. nostras vires
possunt opinari gentes ipsi in insulis et terris p. nostras
habentibus vires vires nostras in aliis p.

prosequi valeatis. Sane accepimus quod vos, qui dudum animo proposueratis aliquas terras et insulas remotas et incognitas ac per alios hactenus non repertas querere et invenire, ut illarum incolas et habitatores ad colendum redemptorem nostrum et fidem catholicam profitendam reduceretis, hactenus in expugnatione et recuperatione ipsius regni granate plurimum occupati, huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis. sed tandem, sicut domino placuit, regno predicto recuperato, volentes desiderium vestrum adimplere, dilectum filium Christoforum Colon cum navigiis et hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus et periculis ac expensis destinastis, ut terras remotas et incognitas huiusmodi per mare, ubi hactenus navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquirerent. qui tandem, divino auxilio, facta extrema diligentia, per partes occidentales, ut dicitur, versus Indos in mari Oceano navigantes, certas insulas remotissimas et etiam terras firmas, que per alios hactenus reperte non fuerant, invenerunt; in quibus quamplurime gentes pacifice viventes et, ut asseritur, nudi incedentes, nec carnibus vescentes, inhabitant; et, ut prefati nuntii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipse in insulis et terris predictis habitantes credunt unum deum creatorem in celis esse

of the Christian Empire. And as now we understand that you have for a long time proposed to search and to find certain lands and islands remote and unknown and up to this time not discovered by others for the purpose of bringing their natives and inhabitants to the worship of our Redeemer and to the profession of the Catholic faith, you having been hitherto much occupied in storming and recovering the Kingdom of Granada, wherefore you were unable to conduct your holy and praiseworthy purposes to a successful issue: but now at last since it has pleased the Lord, the aforesaid Kingdom being recovered and wishing to fulfil your desires, you have selected [our] beloved son Christopher Columbus with ships and men equipped for such purposes, not without great labours and dangers and expenses, that they might seek diligently lands remote and unknown by the sea where hitherto it had not been navigated, who by the help of God, diligent search being made, navigating in the Ocean-sea in the western regions as it is said toward the Indies, found certain most remote islands and also continental lands, which up to that time had not been discovered by others, in which as it is asserted dwell many nations, living peacefully, going naked and not eating flesh. And, so far as your said messengers are able to judge, these people living in the said islands and lands believe that there is in the heavens one God and Creator

et ad fidem catholicam implendum et totius mundi
 imbucendum satis ipsi iudicatur persequi et si ordi-
 natus nomen salvatoris d. n. i. x. p. in terris et insulis
 predictis fructu inducantur et profectus Christianorum
 in una et principalibus insulis predictis in una horum.
 dabo montem in quo montes spinos qui domum iurant
 in infidelitatem et ut alias insulas et terras nostras et
 ingenuitas inquirimus populi istius et edificare
 fons in quibus quia insulas et terras in reportis unum
 avomata et alie quas plurime nos per nos duntaxat
 Deumque qualitate representamus: unde omnes diligenter
 et profectus fidei catholice exaltatione et dilatatione
 per domum Catholicos reges et principes consensu
 mox proposita in qua clar. me. regum terras
 et insulas predictas illarum incolis et habitatoribus
 divina favente clementia subiacet et ad fidei catho-
 licam reducere nos in huiusmodi unum factum
 et laudabile propositum plurimum in domino comen-
 dantes ac cupientes ut illud ad debitu finem perducatur
 et ipsum nomen salvatoris in in partibus illis maxime
 hortamur nos plurimum in domino et per omnia laudem
 susceptione qua maxime aptius obligat et hoc et in ista
 inferioris d. n. i. x. p. attente requirimus ut
 in expeditione huiusmodi omni prosequi cupimus

ac ad fidem catholicam amplexandum et bonis moribus imbuendum satis apti videntur; spesque habetur quod, si erudirentur, nomen salvatoris domini nostri Yhesu Christi in terris et insulis predictis facile induceretur. Ac prefatus Christoforus in una ex principalibus insulis predictis iam unam turrin satis munitam, in qua certos Christianos, qui secum iverant, in Custodiam, et ut alias insulas et terras remotas et incognitas inquirerent, posuit, construi et edificari fecit: in quibus quidem insulis et terris iam repertis aurum, aromata et alie quamplurime res pretiose diversi generis et diverse qualitatis repperiuntur: unde omnibus diligenter et presertim fidei catholico exaltatione et dilatatione Prout decet catholicos reges et principes, consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum clare memorie regum, terras et insulas predictas illarumque incolas et habitatores vobis, divina favente clementia, subicere et ad fidem catholicam reducere.¹ Nos igitur huiusmodi vestrum sanctum & laudabile propositum plurimum in domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur & ipsum nomen Salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos plurimum in domino, et per Sacri lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis apostolicis obligati estis, et viscera misericordie domini nostri Yhesu Christi attente requirimus, ut cum expeditionem huiusmodi omnino proseguere et assumere

and seem sufficiently fitted to be imbued with the Catholic faith and good manners. And as hope is entertained that if they should be taught, the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ would be easily introduced into the said lands and islands. And as the said Christopher hath already constructed and caused to be erected a stronghold sufficiently fortified in one of the principal aforesaid islands, in which he hath placed certain Christians who had gone with him that they might guard the same and that they might seek other islands and lands remote and unknown, in which islands and lands already discovered are found gold and spices and many other precious things of different kinds and of different qualities. Wherefore all these things being diligently considered, and particularly the uplifting and spreading of the Catholic faith, as is becoming in Catholic Kings and Princes after the manner of your predecessors, Kings of illustrious memory, and since you propose by divine favour to subject to us and to lead to the Catholic faith the said lands and islands, their natives and inhabitants:—therefore, We, commending your laudable purpose in the Lord and desiring that this end may be accomplished and that the very name of our Saviour may be promulgated in these parts, we do exhort you much in our Lord and by the receiving of the sacred baptism in which you are under apostolic obligation and by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, we do strictly require you that when you prosecute an expedition in this way

¹ In Bull II., after *reducere*, the word *proposuistis* is introduced, but it is not in the Vatican copy of Bull I.

promerente orthodoxo fidei zelo intendatis p[ro]p[ri]os m[un]dum
humana imp[er]is dogm[ati]s ad p[ro]p[ri]am p[ro]fessionem
suscipienda m[un]dum vobis et d[omi]n[u]m n[ost]r[u]m p[ro]m[er]e
n[ost]r[u]m laboris ulla m[un]dum t[em]p[or]e n[ost]r[u]m detinere p[ro]p[ri]e
p[ro]p[ri]am d[omi]n[u]m q[uod] d[omi]n[u]s omnipotens c[on]m[un]is n[ost]r[u]m p[ro]p[ri]am
p[ro]p[ri]am: Et ut tunc n[ost]r[u]m p[ro]p[ri]am ap[er]t[ur]
p[ro]p[ri]am legibus d[omi]n[u]m lib[er]is et a[n]d[er]is app[er]t[ur]
m[un]dum p[ro]p[ri]o n[ost]r[u]m ad v[est]ram vel a l[ib]eris p[ro] vobis
S[ed] hoc n[ost]r[u]m oblat[ur] p[ro]p[ri]am i[n]statu s[ed] de n[ost]r[u]m
m[un]dum lib[er]alitate n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m d[omi]n[u]m ac d[omi]n[u]m p[ro]p[ri]am
p[ro]p[ri]am om[n]is et singulas terras et imp[er]is p[ro]p[ri]am
S[ed] incognitis et l[ib]eris p[ro]p[ri]am n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
et n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m quo sub d[omi]n[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
temp[or]ali aliquos d[omi]n[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
m[un]dum omnipotens d[omi]n[u]m n[ost]r[u]m p[ro]p[ri]am
vicariatus x[risti] qua p[ro]p[ri]am n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
illaz d[omi]n[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
et n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
et n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
m[un]dum n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
app[er]t[ur] n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
illaz n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
et om[n]ia p[ro]p[ri]am n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m
p[ro]p[ri]am n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m n[ost]r[u]m

prona mente orthodoxe fidei zelo intendatis, populos in huiusmodi insulis degentes ad christianam professionem suscipiendam inducere velitis et debeatis, nec pericula, nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequetur. Et ut tanti negotii provintiam, apostolice gratie largitate donati, liberius et audacius assumatis, motu proprio, non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis super hoc nobis oblate petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate et ex certa Scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine, omnes et singulas terras et insulas predictas, sic incognitas et hactenus per nuntios vestros repertas et reperiendas in posterum, que sub Dominio actuali temporali aliquorum dominorum christianorum constitute non sint, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa ac Vicariatus Yhesu Christi, qua fungimur in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis, Civitatibus, castris, locis et villis, iuribusque et iurisdictionibus ac pertinentiis universis, vobis hereditibusque et successoribus vestris, Castelle et Legionis regibus, in perpetuum, auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium, donamus, concedimus et assignamus, vosque ac heredes et successores prefatos de illis investimus, illarumque dominos cum plena, libera et omnimoda potestate, auctoritate et iurisdictione facimus, constituimus et deputamus; Decernentes nihilominus per

with a mind fixed on the orthodox faith, you will endeavour to lead the people of these islands to receive the Christian profession [and you ought not to let them], nor should dangers or labours deter you at any time, firm in hope and fixed in faith that the omnipotent God will happily conduct your efforts: and when the Apostolic favour being given you, that you may more freely and boldly undertake so great a business, we of our own free will and not at your instance or on the petition of any other person presented to us on your behalf, but of our own pure liberality and of our infallible knowledge and in the plenitude of our apostolic power, we do give, concede and assign in perpetuity by Apostolic authority and by the terms of these presents, by the authority of omnipotent God granted to us through Saint Peter and as the Vicar of Jesus Christ whose we are on earth, all and singular, the said lands, and islands unknown and up to this time discovered and to be discovered in the future by your messengers, which are not under the actual temporal dominion of any Christian Lords; with all their dominions, cities, camps, places and farms, with all the rights and jurisdictions belonging thereto, to you, your heirs and successors, Kings of Castile and Leon and we make, constitute and depute you and your said heirs and successors lords of these with full, free and absolute power, authority and jurisdiction; decreeing nevertheless by

in uniusmodi donatione georgione assignantur et uniusmodi
interim nulli quodam principi usque quodam subleto
intelligi possit nisi infirmum debet. Et magis madomus
nobis in virtute sanctae obediencie ut dicitur et polle
centum et non dubitamus pro nostra magis ditione
et regi magnanimitate nosque facturos ad hoc
impulsi ad predictas vias pro bono et digne timore debet
nosque reportos ad instruendum modas et fuitatibus pro
patos infirmos catholice et bonis moribus instruendum
deserviam debetis omni digne diligenter impio
adhibere. Et quibusque personis et causis que
statos gerunt. et vel condicione omni recte. Et omne
prima qua corpe et transformine manant distribuit
inhibentes ut ad impulsos et nos ad predictas post
nostros munus omni adieci missos in mente et et
cepti fuerint pro meritis huius vel quibus aliade
causa accedat profumae ab ipso cum arbitrio et
dignos. Nos predictos huius opus. Regum
et domini portugallie Regis imperatoris apostolice
et memorie cum et alios impulsos omni et recte
apostolica et sua approbatione et acquiescentia et et
apostolica et diversa privilegia gratis libenter
et immunitas et exemptiones et indulgentias et
habebitis ac fructus et redditus eius predictos ut

huiusmodi donationem, concessionem, assignationem et investituram nostram nulli christiano principi ius quesitum, sublatum intelligi posse aut auferri debere. Et insuper mandamus vobis, in virtute sancte obediencie, ut, sicut etiam pollicemini, et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos, ad terras et insulas predictas viros probos et deum timentes, doctos, peritos et expertos ad instruendum incolas et habitatores prefatos in fide catholica et bonis moribus imbuendum, destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in premissis adhibentes. Ac quibuscumque personis etiam cuiuscumque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis late sententie pena, quam eo ipso, si contrafecerint, incurrant, districtius inhibemus ne ad insulas et terras predictas, postquam per vestros nuntios seu ad id missos invente et recepte fuerint, pro mercibus habendis vel quavis alia de causa accedere presumant absque vestra ac heredum et successorum vestrorum predictorum licentia speciali. Et quia etiam nonnulli Portugalie Reges in partibus. africe, Guinee et minere auri ac alias insulas similiter etiam, ex concessione apostolica eis facta, reppererunt et acquisiverunt, et per Sedem apostolicam eis diversa privilegia, gratie, libertates et immunitates, exemptiones et indulta concessa fuerunt. Nos vobis ac heredibus et successoribus vestris predictis, ut

this our donation, concession, assignment and investiture, that the legal right of no Christian Prince shall be understood to be taken away or ought to be taken away from him. And moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience and also as you have promised and as we do not doubt you will do from your great devotion and by reason of your royal generosity, to send to the said lands and islands good men, fearing God, learned skilful and expert for the instruction and imbuing the said natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith and in good manners, giving themselves with all diligence to the work; and we distinctly prohibit all persons whatsoever of whatever dignity, station, degree, order or condition under the penalty of broad excommunication which they shall incur by the act itself if they do anything to the contrary, from going for the purposes of selling goods or for any other purposes whatsoever to the said islands and lands after they shall be found and possessed by your messengers or by those sent for this purpose, without your special licence or that of your said heirs and successors. And because some Portuguese Kings under Apostolic concession made to them have discovered and acquired other islands similarly in the regions of Africa, Guinea and the Mine of Gold, and since there have been diverse privileges and grants, liberties and immunities, exemptions and indulgences conceded them by the Apostolic Chair, now we upon you and your said heirs and successors

in insulis et terris per vos repertis et reperiendis huiusmodi omnibus et singulis gratiis, privilegiis, exemptionibus, libertatibus, facultatibus, immunitatibus et indultis huiusmodi, quorum omnium tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum presentibus insererentur haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis, uti, potiri et gaudere libere et licite possistis ac debeatis, in omnibus et per omnia perinde ac si vobis ac heredibus et successoribus predictis specialiter concessa fuissent, motu, auctoritate, scientia et apostolice potestatis plenitudine similibus, de specialis dono gratie indulgemus, illaque in omnibus et per omnia ad vos; heredes ac successores vestros predictos extendimus pariter et ampliamus. Non obstantibus ¹ et ordinationibus, apostolicis, nec non omnibus illis que in litteris desuper editis concessa sunt, non obstare ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque; in illo, a quo imperia et denominationes ac bona cuncta procedunt, confidentes, quod, dirigente, domino actus vestros, si huiusmodi sanctum et laudabile ² negotium prosequamini, brevi tempore, cum felicitate et gloria totius populi christiani, vestri labores et Conatus exitum felicissimum consequentur. Verum, quia difficile foret presentes litteras ad singula queque loca in quibus expediens fuerit deferri, volumus, ac motu et scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transumptis, manu publici notarii inde rogati subscriptis et sigillo alicuius persone in ecclesiastica dignitate constitute, seu curie ecclesiastice, munitis, ea prorsus fides in iudicio et extra ac alias ubilibet

desire to

bestow the same in the islands and lands discovered by you and to be discovered, all and singular grants, privileges, exemptions, liberties, powers, and immunities, the purport of the whole of which is to be considered as expressed and inserted as sufficiently as if they were inserted word for word in these presents, which you are to possess and ought to possess and enjoy, freely and lawfully in all things and in all ways as if they should have been especially conceded to you, your said heirs and successors, we grant this as a special gift, by the motion, authority and knowledge and in the like plenitude of apostolic power and at the same time we extend and enlarge these things in all things and in all ways to you, your said heirs and successors, notwithstanding [constitutions] and apostolic ordinances and all other things which are conceded in Bulls before issued and notwithstanding whatsoever other things to the contrary, confiding in Him from whom power and dominion and every good thing comes, that directed by the Lord, if you prosecute this in this way this sacred and praiseworthy project, your labours and efforts will shortly find a most happy issue with the congratulations and glory of all christian peoples: but since it would be difficult that these letters should be published in all those places in which it might be expedient to carry them, we wish and by like motion and knowledge we decree that copies of these subscribed by the hand of a public notary and by the seal of some person holding ecclesiastical dignity, and by the seal of the ecclesiastical court, the same faith in places of judgment and beyond and in whatever other places

¹ Here the scribe omitted the word *constitutionibus*, which was inserted on the margin in the hand of L. Podochatarus or L. Amerinus.

² Here the scribe wrote the word *propositum*, which he erased, substituting for it the word *negotium*.

adhibeatur, que presentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibite vel ostense. Nulli &c nostre exhortationis, requisitionis, Donationis, concessionis, assignationis, investiture, facti, constitutionis, deputationis, mandati, inhibitionis, indulti, extensionis, ampliacionis, voluntatis et decreti infringere &c. si quis &c. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, anno &c. MCCCCLXXXIII. quinto nonas maii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

“Coll. A DE CAMPANIA.

“N: CASANOVIA.

“Gratis &c. de nostri &c.

“B. CAPITINIS.

“D. STEVARIO.”

shall be accorded them as would be accorded to these originals if they had been exhibited or shown. For no man, &c, [shall it be lawful] to infringe [this charter] of our caution, requirement, donation, grant, assignment, investiture, deed, constitution, deputation, command, prohibition, indulgence, extension, enlargement, will and decree [or rashly dare aught to the contrary] if any one, &c, [shall presume to attempt this, let him know that he will incur the resentment of Almighty God and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul]. Done in Rome at Saint Peter's in the year, &c, [of the incarnation of our Lord] 1493, May 3, in the first year of our pontificate.

“Coll. A DE CAMPANIA.

“N: CASANOVIA.

“Gratis. By order of our most sacred Lord and Pope.

“B. CAPITINIS.

“D. STEVARIO.”

Super L

BULLA II.

[*Transliteration*]

"Alexander, &c.,¹ carissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi, et carissimæ in Christo filiæ Helisabeth Reginae Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, Siciliæ et Granatæ, illustribus, Salutem &c.² Inter cetera Divinæ majestati beneplacita opera, et cordis vestri³ desiderabilia, illud profecto potissimum existit, ut fides Catholica, et Christiana lege,⁴ nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur, ac ubilibet ampliatur et dilatetur, animarumque salus procuretur, ac barbære nationes deprimantur et ad fidem ipsam reducantur. Unde cum ad tam⁵ sacram Petri Sedem Divina favente clementia meritis licet imparibus evocati fuerimus, cognoscentes vos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges et Principes, quales⁶ fuisse novimus, et a vobis præclare gesta toti pene jam Orbi notissima demonstrant, ne dum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio et diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem animum vestrum omnesque conatus ad hoc jamdudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio regni Granatæ a tyrannide Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Divini nominis gloria, facta testatur, digne ducimus non immerito et debemus illa vobis etiam sponte⁷ et favoribiliter concedere, per quæ hujusmodi sanctum et laudabile ac immortalis Deo acceptum propositum in dies ferventiori animo ad ipsius Dei honorem et imperii Christiani propagationem prosequi valeatis. Sane accepimus, quod vos, qui dudum animo proposueratis aliquas insulas et terras firmas remotas et incognitas, ac per alios hactenus non repertas, quærere et invenire, ut illarum incolas et habitatores ad colendum Redemptorem nostrum et fidem Catholicam profitendum reduceretis, hactenus in expugnatione et recuperatione ipsius regni Granatæ plurimum occupati, hujusmodi sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequivistis; sed tandem, sicut Domino placuit, regno prædicto recuperato, volentes desiderium adimplere vestrum, dilectum filium Christoforum Colon virum utique dignum et plurimum commendandum,⁸ ac tanto negotio aptum, cum navigiis et hominibus ad similia instructus, non sine maximis laboribus et periculis ac expensis destinastis, ut terras firmas et insulas remotas et incognitas hujusmodi, per mare ubi hactenus navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem Divino auxilio, facta extrema diligentia, in mari Oceano navigantes, certas insulas remotissimas, et etiam terras firmas, quæ per alios hactenus repertæ non fuerant, invenerunt,

¹ *Episcopus, servus servorum Dei.*

² *Et Apostolicam benedictionem.*

³ *Nostri* in Codex or *Book of Privileges* of Columbus.

⁴ In the Codex this reads *religio*.

⁵ *Hanc* in Codex.

⁶ In the margin the word *semper* is inserted in the hand of L. Amerinus or L. Podochatarus.

⁷ The scribe repeated the words, *sponte et favo*.

⁸ Under this passage in the Codex, some contemporary hand—doubtless that of the Admiral himself, since it resembles his work—has drawn a red line underneath this recognition of the worth of Columbus.

BULL II

[*Translation*]

“Alexander ¹ [the Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God] to our most dear son in Christ, Ferdinand the King, and to our most dear daughter in Christ, Helizabeth, Queen, illustrious [Princess] of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily and Granada, Greeting and [the Apostolic blessing].

“*Among other works* acceptable to the divine Majesty and desirable to your [our] hearts this especially appears the most powerful, that the Catholic faith and the Christian law [religion], particularly in our times, shall be exalted and everywhere increased and extended, whereby the salvation of souls may be secured and barbarous nations subjugated and brought to the faith itself: and whereas, we are called to the Holy Seat of Peter with the divine favour although with merits far inferior: and recognising you as true Catholic Kings and Princes, such as we have [always] known you and as your noble and most noteworthy deeds have already shown to all the world, and knowing that not merely you desired this but also strove to accomplish it with all your efforts, study and diligence, sparing no labours, expenses or dangers even to the shedding of your own blood, dedicating your entire mind and all your efforts to these things as by the recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens in these very days testifying with such glorious deeds to the Divine Name;[and whereas] we regard you as worthy and that we ought of our own free will graciously to grant to you the means by which you may be able to prosecute daily to the honour of God Himself and the propagation of the Christian Empire, your purpose so acceptable to the immortal God. And as now we understand that you have proposed to search and to find certain islands and continental lands remote and unknown not hitherto discovered by others for the purpose of bringing their natives and inhabitants to the worship of our Redeemer and to the profession of the Catholic faith, you having been hitherto much occupied in storming and recovering the Kingdom of Granada, wherefore you were unable to conduct your holy and praiseworthy purpose to a successful issue. But now at last, since it has pleased the Lord, the aforesaid Kingdom being recovered and wishing to fulfil your desires, you have selected [our] beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man worthy and much to be commended, and well fitted for so great an undertaking, with ships and men equipped for such purposes, not without great labours and dangers and expense, that they might seek diligently lands remote and up to this time unknown, *by the sea where hitherto it had not been navigated*: who by the help of God, diligent search being made, navigating in the Ocean-sea found certain most remote islands and also continental lands which hitherto have not been discovered by others

¹ We give in brackets the matter which we suppose to have been in the original Bull, as transmitted to the Sovereigns, but which the scribe omitted here as merely the usual forms.

claw L

in quibus quamplurimæ gentes pacifice viventes, et ut asseritur nudi incedentes, nec carnibus vescentes, inhabitant; et, ut præfati nuncii vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipsæ in insulis et terris prædictis habitantes credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Celis esse, ac ad fidem Catholicam amplexandum et bonis moribus imbuendum satis apti videntur; spesque habetur, quod, si erudirentur, nomen Salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi in terris et insulis prædictis facile induceretur. Ac præfatus Christophorus in una ex principalibus insulis prædictis, jam unam turrim satis munitam, in qua certos Christianos, qui secum iverant, in custodiam, et alias insulas et terras firmas remotas et incognitas inquirerent, possuit, construi et edificari fecit. In quibus quidem insulis et terris jam repertis aurum, aromata, et aliæ quamplurimæ res pretiosæ diversi generis et diversæ qualitatis reperiuntur. Unde omnibus diligenter et præsertim fidei Catholicæ exaltatione et dilatatione prout decet Catholicos Reges et Principes, consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum ¹ memoriæ Regum, terras firmas et insulas prædictas, illarumque incolas et habitatores vobis divina favente clementia subicere et ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos igitur, hujusmodi vestrum sanctum et laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, et ipsum nomen Salvatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos plura in Domino, et per sacri lavacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati ² estis, et viscera misericordiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi actente ³ requirimus, ut cum expeditionem hujusmodi omnino proseguiri, et assumere prona mente orthodoxæ Fidei zelo intendatis, populos in hujusmodi insulis et terris degentes ad Christianam Religionem suscipiendam inducere velitis, et debeatis, nec pericula nec labores ullo unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaque ⁴ conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequetur. Et ut tanti negotii provinciam ⁵ Apostolicæ gratiæ largitate donati liberius et audatius ⁶ assumatis, motu proprio, non ad vestram vel alterius pro vobis super hoc nobis oblata petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra merâ liberalitate, ⁷ et ex certa scientia, ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas versus Occidentem et Meridiem, fabricando et constituendo ⁸ unam lineam a polo Artico, ⁹ scilicet

¹ The word *etiam* is inserted on the margin, in the hand of L. Amerinus or L. Podochatarus.

² Here the scribe inserted the wrong word and erased it.

³ *Attente* in the Codex.

⁴ *Fiduciaque* in the Codex.

⁵ *Provinciam* in the Codex.

⁶ *Audacius* in the Codex.

⁷ Here the scribe again inserted the wrong word, as if he had written *libertate* (as the word really is in the Codex), but it is erased.

⁸ This is also *constituendo* in the Codex.

⁹ *Artico* and *Antartico* are also so written in the Codex.

and in which, as it is asserted, dwell many nations living peacefully, going naked and not eating flesh, and as your messengers seem to think that these people dwelling in the islands and the aforesaid lands believe that there is in the heavens one God, the Creator, and seem sufficiently fitted to be imbued with the Catholic faith and good manners; and as hope is entertained that if they are taught, the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ may be easily introduced into the said lands and islands: and since the said Christopher hath already constructed and caused to be erected a stronghold sufficiently fortified in one of the principal aforesaid islands in which he hath placed certain Christians who went with him that they might guard the same and that they might seek other islands and continental lands remote and unknown: in which islands and lands already discovered are gold, spices and many other precious things of different kinds and of different qualities: Wherefore, all these things being diligently considered and particularly the uplifting and spreading of the Catholic faith as is becoming in Catholic Kings and Princes after the manner of your predecessors of illustrious memory, and since you propose by divine favour to subject to us and to lead to the Catholic faith all the continental lands and the aforesaid islands and their natives and inhabitants:—

“Therefore, WE, commending your laudable purpose in the Lord and desiring that this end may be accomplished and that the very name of our Saviour may be promulgated in these parts, do exhort you much in our Lord and by the receiving of the sacred baptism in which you are under Apostolic obligation and by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, we do strictly require you that when you prosecute an expedition in this way with a mind fixed on orthodox faith you will desire to lead the people of these islands and lands to receive the Christian religion and you ought not [to be deterred] nor should dangers or labours deter you at any time, firm in hope and fixed in faith that the Omnipotent God will happily conduct your efforts: And that the Apostolic favour being given you, you may more freely and boldly undertake so great a business, we of our own free will and not at your instance or at the petition of any person but of our own pure liberality and of our infallible knowledge, and in the plenitude of our Apostolic power, we do *give, concede and assign to you, your heirs and successors all the islands and continental lands* found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, toward the west and south, establishing and constituting a line from the Arctic pole, that is to say

Septentrione, ad polum Antarticum, scilicet Meridiem, sive terræ firmæ et insulæ inventæ et inveniendæ sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcumque partem; quæ linea distet a qualibet Insularum, quæ vulgariter nuncupantur delos Azores et ¹ Cabo vierde, centum leucis versus Occidentem et Meridiem; ita quod omnes insulæ et terræ firmæ repertæ et reperiendæ, detectæ et detegendæ a præfata linea versus Occidentem et Meridiem per aliud Regem aut Principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possessæ usque ad diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proxime preteritum, in quo incipit annus præsens MCCCCLXXXX tertius, quando fuerunt per Nuntios et Capitaneos vestros inventæ aliquæ prædictarum insularum, auctoritate omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato Petro concessa, ac Vicariatus ² Jesu Christi, qua fungimur ³ in terris, cum omnibus illarum dominiis, civitatibus, castris, locis et villis, juribusque et jurisdictionibus ac pertinentiis universis, vobis, hereditibusque et successoribus vestris Castellæ et Legionis Regibus in perpetuum tenore præsentium donamus, concedimus et assignamus: vosque et heredes ac successores præfatos illarum dominos, cum plena, libe a et omnimoda potestate, auctoritate et jurisdictione, facimus, constituimus et deputamus; decernentes nihilominus per hujusmodi donationem, concessionem et assignationem nostram nulli Christiano Principi, qui actualiter præfatas insulas aut terras firmas possederit usque ad predictum diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, jus quæsitum sublatum intelligi posse aut auferri debere. Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ut sicut etiam pollicemini, et non dubitamus pro vestra maxima devotione et regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos ad terras firmas et insulas prædictas viros probos et Deum timentes, doctos peritos et expertos, ad instruendum incolas et habitatores præfatos in fide catholica et bonis moribus imbuendum destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in ⁴ præmissis adhibentes. Ac quibuscumque personis, cujuscumque dignitatis, Imperialis ⁵ et Regalis, status, gradus, ordinis, vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna, quam eo ipso, si contrafecerint, incurrant, districtibus inhihemus ne ad insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, detectas et detegendas, versus Occidentem et Meridiem, fabricando et constituendo ⁶ lineam a polo Artico ad polum Antartico, sive terræ firmæ et insulæ

¹ In the *Bullarum Collectio* (Rome, 1743, folio), the Spanish conjunction *y* is used.

² Here the scribe has evidently written *Christi* and crased the word.

³ With continued carelessness the scribe has erased his first attempt to write the word *fungimur*.

⁴ Here the scribe wrote the word *insuper* and erased it.

⁵ The scribe omitted the word *etiam*, and the corrector Amerinus or Podochatarus inserted it on the margin.

⁶ It is important to know that in the Codex this word is written as here, while in the *Bullarum Collectio* it is printed *construendo*, and all writers have followed that authority. It is an evidence of the word being correct, as in this fac-simile. The same remark applies to the words *Artico* and *Antartico*, instead of *Arctico* and *Antarctico*, as in the printed *Bullarum Collectio*.

from the north, to the Antarctic pole, that is to say to the south, including the continental lands and islands found and to be found which are toward India or toward whatsoever part it may be, which line may be distant from whatever one you may wish of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde, one hundred leagues toward the west and south: and so we do give and assign in perpetuity by the terms of this present Bull all the islands and continental lands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered from the said line toward the west and south not actually possessed by any other King or Christian Prince even to the day of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from which begins the present year, MCCCCLXXXX three, *when some of the aforesaid islands had been found by your messengers and captains*, by the authority of the omnipotent God granted to us in St. Peter and in which we act as the Vicar of Jesus Christ on the earth, with all their dominions, cities, castles, places and farms with all the rights and jurisdictions belonging thereto, to you and your heirs and successors the Kings of Castile and Leon: we make, constitute and depute you and your said heirs lords thereof with full, free and absolute power, authority and jurisdiction; decreeing nevertheless by this, our grant, concession and assignment that no Christian Prince who hath actually possessed the said islands or continental lands unto the beforesaid day of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall be understood to have their rights taken away or ought to have them taken away. And, moreover, we command you in the virtue of sacred obedience, as also you have made promise and as we do not doubt you will do from your great devotion and by reason of your royal generosity, to send to the said lands and islands good men, fearing God, learned, skilful and expert for the instruction and imbuing the said natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith and in good manners, giving themselves over with all diligence to the work; and to all persons whatsoever of whatever dignity, whether imperial or royal, of whatever station, degree, order or condition, under the penalty of sentence of broad excommunication which they shall incur by the act itself if they do anything to the contrary, we strictly forbid going for the purposes of selling goods or for any other purpose whatever to the islands and lands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered toward the west and south making and establishing a line from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic pole whether the continental lands or islands

[illegible]

College & Ammiration

inventæ et inveniendæ sint versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcumque partem; quæ linea distet a qualibet insularum, quæ vulgariter noncupantur delos Azores et ¹ Cabo Verde, centum leucis versus Occidentem et Meridiem, ut præfertur; pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia de causa, accedere præsumant absque vestra ac heredum et successorum vestrorum prædictorum licentia speciali; non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque: in illo, a quo imperia et dominationes ac bona cuncta procedunt, confidentes, quod dirigente ² actus vestros, si hujusmodi, sanctum et laudabile propositum prosequamini, brevi tempore, cum felicitate et gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores et conatus exitum felicissimum consequentur. Verum, quia difficile foret præsentis literas ad singula quæque loca, in quibus expediens fuerit, deferri, volumus, ac motu et scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transumptis, manu ³ publici notarii inde rogati subscriptis, et sigillo alicujus personæ in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutæ seu Curie Ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in judicio et extra ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ vel ostensæ. Nulli ergo, ⁴ &c. nostræ commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, assignationis, constitutionis, deputationis, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis et voluntatis infringere, ⁵ &c. Si quis, ⁶ &c. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, anno ⁷ MCCCC-LXXXX tertio, quarto nonas Maii, Pontificatus nostri anno primo. Gratis, de mandato Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ. Pro Reverendissimo A. de Mocciallis, &c.

“ D. GALLETUS.

“ Collata. L. AMERINUS.” ⁸

¹ In the *Bullarum Collectio* the Spanish conjunction *y* is used; but in the Codex, as here, the Latin conjunction appears.

² In both the Codex and the *Bullarum Collectio* the word *domino* is found preceding *actus*, and undoubtedly it is here omitted through the carelessness of the scribe.

³ The scribe has erased a contracted word.

⁴ In the Codex and *Bullarum Collectio* these words follow: *Omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam.*

⁵ We may insert: *Vel ei ausu temerario contraire*,—the usual form.

⁶ We may insert: *Autem hoc attentare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum*,—the usual form.

⁷ We may insert: *Incarnationis Dominicæ.*

⁸ Harris identifies this corrector as Giovanni or Giacomo Amerinus, both of whom were clerks for Apostolic letters, but this man's Christian name certainly begins with *L*, so we must look for a third Amerinus.

L. Podochatarus is Ludovico Podocataro, afterward Bishop of Nicosia.

D. Galletus is Dominico Galetti, the Apostolic scribe, who died in 1501.

found and to be found are toward India or toward any other or toward whatsoever part, which line may be distant from which-ever you may wish of these islands which are commonly called the Azores and Cape Verde, one hundred leagues toward the west and south as has been said, without the special licence of you, your heirs and successors: notwithstanding the constitutions and other Apostolic ordinances whatsoever to the contrary: trusting in Him from whom proceed empires and dominions and every good thing, that the Lord directing your course if you persevere in a sacred and praiseworthy project of this character, your labours and efforts will shortly find a most happy issue with the congratulations and glory of all Christian peoples. But since it would be very difficult that these letters should be published in all those places in which it would be expedient to carry them, we wish and by like motion and knowledge we decree that copies of these subscribed by the hand of a public notary and by the seal of some person holding ecclesiastical dignity or by the seal of the Ecclesiastical Court, the same faith in places of judgment and beyond and in other places shall be accorded them as would be accorded these if they should be exhibited or shown. Therefore for no man [shall it be lawful] to infringe this charter of our commendation, caution, requirement, donation, grant, assignment, constitution, appointment, decree, order, prohibition and will [or rashly dare aught to the contrary] If any one [shall presume to attempt this let him know that he will incur the resentment of Almighty God and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul].

“Done in Rome at St. Peter’s in the year [of the incarnation of our Lord] MCCCCLXXX three, on the fourth of the Nones of May [May 4] and in the first year of our pontificate.

“Free. By order of our most sacred Lord and Pope.

“D. GALETTI.

“Compared. L. AMERINUS.”

Alexander et Carissimus in xpo filio Ferdinando Regi et Carissime
 in xpo filie Elisabeth Regine Castellae Legionis Aragonum
 et Principis Illustris Statu et Examine de iurisdictione suarum
 et integre fidei quibus nos et Romanam reuerentiam catharam non
 indigne merentur ut illa vobis favorabiliter concedamus p[er] que
 sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum et opus meritorium in
 querendis terris et insulis remotis ac incognitis videlicet melius
 et facilius ad honorem omnipotentis dei et supremi christi
 propagationis ac fidei catholice exaltationis proficere valeatis
 Nos siquidem omnes et singulas terras firmas et insulas
 remotas et incognitas versus partes Occidentales et maris
 Oceanum consistentes per vos seu nuntios vestros ad id
 propterea non sine magno laboribus periculis et impensis
 destinatos reportas et rependas impensis que sub actuali
 Domini temporali etque Domini christiani constituto
 non essent cum omnibus illarum Domini Comitibus febris
 Locis villis iuribus et iurisdictionibus vniuersis vobis
 heredibusque et successoribus vestris Castellae et Legionis
 Regibus in perpetuum motu proprio et ex certa scientia
 ac de ap[osto]lice potestatis plenitudine donamus concessimus
 et assignamus prout in iuris inde constitutis plenius
 continetur Cum autem alias nonnullis Portugallie
 Regibus qui in partibus Africe Guineae ymere cum
 et alias insulas etiam in similibus concessione et donatione
 ap[osto]lica non facta repererimus et acquisuerimus per sedem
 ap[osto]licam diuersa privilegia gratis libertates immunitates
 exemptionis facultates breues et indulgentias concessas fuimus
 Nos volumus etiam prout dignum et conueniens existit
 vos heredesque et successoribus vestris predictis non minus
 gratie prerogatiuis et favoribus prosequi agetis finis
 non ad vram vel alterius pro vobis nobis super hoc
 oblatis petitionibus instantiam sed de nostra mera liberalitate
 et eisdem scientia et ap[osto]lice potestatis plenitudine vobis ac
 heredibus et successoribus vestris predictis ut in insulis et

BULLA III

[*Transliteration*]

“Alexander ¹ &c, Carissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando Regi, et Carissime in Christo filiæ Elizabeth Reginæ Castellæ, Legionis, Aragonum, et Granatæ, illustribus, salutem &c.² Eximæ devotionis sinceritas et integra Fides, quibus Nos et Romanam reveremini Ecclesiam, non indigne merentur, ut illa vobis favoribiliter concedamus, per quæ Sanctum et laudabile propositum vestrum et opus inceptum in quærendis terris et insulis remotis, ac incognitis indies melius et facilius ad honorem Omnipotentis Dei, et Imperij Christiani propagationem, ac fidei catholicæ exaltationem proseguere valeatis. Hodie siquidem omnes et singulas terras firmas, et insulas remotas et incognitas, versus partes Occidentales, et mare Oceanum consistentes, per vos, seu nuntios vestros, ad id propterea non sine magnis laboribus, periculis et impensis destinatos, repertas et reperiendas in posterum, quæ sub actuali dominio temporali aliquorum dominorum christianorum constitutæ non essent, cum omnibus illarum dominijs, civitatibus, castris, locis, villis, juribus et jurisdictionibus universis, vobis, hæredibusque et successoribus vestris Castellæ et Legionis Regibus in perpetuum, motu proprio, et ex certa scientia, ac de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine donavimus, concessimus et assignavimus, prout in nostris inde confectis litteris plenius continetur. Cum autem alias nonnullis Portugalliæ Regibus, qui in partibus Africæ, Guineæ et Mineræ Auri, ac alias Insulas etiam in similibus concessione et donatione apostolica eis facta reppererunt et acquisiverunt, per sedem apostolicam diversa privilegia, gratiæ, libertates, Immunitates, exemptiones, facultates, litteræ et Indulta concessa fuerint. Nos volentes etiam prout dignum et conveniens existit vos, hæredesque et successores vestros prædictos, non minoribus gratijs, prærogativis et favoribus proseguere. Motu simili, non ad vestram, vel alterius pro vobis nobis super hoc oblata petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, ac eisdem scientia et apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, vobis ac hæredibus et successoribus vestris prædictis, ut in Insulis et

¹ We fill in the omissions which, of course, were intentional, from the transcript made by Solorzano from the original Bull.

Servus servorum Dei.

² *Apostolicam benedictionem.*

BULL III

[Translation]

“Alexander, &c, to his most dear son in Christ, Ferdinand the King, and to his most dear daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon and Granada, illustrious [Princes] greeting, &c:

“The sincerity of your distinguished devotion and the absolute faith with which you reverence us and the Roman Church, not unworthily merit that we should favourably grant that to you by which you may be able to daily prosecute your holy and laudable purpose and the work begun in seeking land and islands remote and unknown, more successfully and easily to the honour of Almighty God and the propagation of the Christian Empire and the exaltation of the Catholic faith. Whereas, this day, of our own motion, knowledge and the fulness of Apostolic power, we *gave, granted and assigned*, according as they are contained more fully in our Bulls issued on that account, all and each of *the continental lands and islands remote and unknown, toward the Western regions and lying in the Ocean-sea discovered or to be discovered hereafter by you or by your messengers appointed for that end*, not without great labours, dangers and expenses, which are not at present under the power of some Christian Princes, with all their dominions, cities, castles, places, farms and jurisdictions for you, your heirs and successors Kings of Castile and Leon for ever: but since at another time, by the Apostolic power certain privileges, favours, liberties, immunities, exemptions, powers, Bulls and indulgences were granted to several Portuguese Kings, who by like grant and Apostolic donation made to them, discovered and acquired other islands in the regions of Africa, Guinea and the Mine of Gold: We, wishing also as appears worthy and convenient that you, your said heirs and successors may have no less privileges, prerogatives and favours [now therefore], by a like motion, not at your instance nor on the petition of any other person presented concerning this thing in your behalf, but of our pure liberality as well of infallible knowledge and in the fulness of Apostolic power, do grant to you and to your said heirs and successors that in the islands and

terris p[er] hoc seu nomine d[omi]ni hactenus receptis huius et rep[er]endis
 Impostis omnibus et singulis gratijs privilegijs exemptionib[us]
 libertatib[us] facultatib[us] immunitatib[us] fructib[us] et redditib[us]
 Regibus Portugallie concessis huius quor[um]cunq[ue] tenore
 et s[ecundu]m verbum ad verbum p[re]dictis inferrentur haberi
 volumus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis ut p[er]petuo
 gaudere libere et libere possitis et debitis in omnib[us] et p[er]
 omnia p[er]inde ac si omnia illa voluisset hereditate et futuris
 nobis tunc p[re]dictis p[re]sentiter concessa fuissent aut si p[re]dictis
 tenore p[re]dictis de p[re]dictis donec p[re]dictis monitionibus illar[um] in
 omnibus et p[er] omnia omnia ad hoc heredesq[ue] ac successores
 d[omi]ni p[re]dictos extendimus p[er]petuo et ampliamus ac r[e]p[er]it
 modo et forma p[er]petuo inordinamus non obstantib[us]
 constitutionibus et ordinationibus ap[er]tis necno omnibus
 illis que in his Portugallie Regibus concessis huius
 concessa sunt non obstantib[us] ceterisq[ue] contrarijs quibuscunq[ue]
 Quia quia difficile foret p[re]dictis lras ad singula quor[um]cunq[ue]
 loca in quibus expedire fuerit differe[n]t[er] volumus ac motu
 et p[re]sentia similib[us] determinamus q[uo]d illar[um] transumptib[us] manu
 publici Notarij inde rogati subscriptis et sigillis aliorum
 p[er]sonar[um] in testat[ur] dignetur constituti seu Curie cathedra
 munitis ea p[ro]p[ri]is fidei indubia in iudicio et extra ac alias
 vtiliter adhibeatur que p[re]dictis adhibeatur si essent exhibiti
 vel ostense. Nulli ergo etc. n[ost]re indulti p[re]sentis
 p[re]sentis ampliationis concessione voluntatis et decreti
 infringere etc. Si quis etc. Datt Rome apud Sanctum Petrum
 Anno d[omi]ni millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio
 Quinto Non[is] iunij Pont[ificatus] m[agist]ri Anno primo

Gratias & mag[is] s. d. n. pp

J. M.

D. Gallus

Collat. / 10. Croton.

terris per vos, seu nomine vestro hactenus repertis huiusmodi et reperiendis in posterum, omnibus et singulis, gratijs, privilegijs, exemptionibus, libertatibus, facultatibus, Immunitatibus, litteris et Indultis Regibus Portugalliæ concessis, huiusmodi, quorum omnium tenores ac si de verbo ad verbum præsentibus insererentur, haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis, uti, potiri et gaudere libete et licite possitis et debeatis in omnibus et per omnia, perinde ac si omnia illa vobis ac hæredibus et successoribus vestris præfatis, specialiter concessa fuissent auctoritate apostolica tenore præsentium de spetialis dono gratiæ indulgemus illaque in omnibus et per omnia ad vos hæredesque, ac successores vestros prædictos extendimus pariter, et ampliamus, ac eisdem modo et forma perpetuo concedimus. Non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis: nec non omnibus Illis, quæ in litteris Portugalliæ Regibus concessis huiusmodi, concessa sunt, non obstare, cæterisque contrarijs quibuscumque. Verum quia difficile foret, præsentibus litteras ad singula quæque loca, in quibus expediens fuerit, deferri, volumus, ac motu et scientia similibus decernimus, quod illarum transumptis manu publici Notarij inde rogati subscriptis et sigillo alicuius personæ in ecclesiastica dignitate, constitutæ, seu Curia Ecclesiasticæ munitis, ea prorsus fides in dubia, in Iudicio et extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quæ præsentibus adhiberetur, si essent exhibitæ, vel ostensæ. Nulli ergo,¹ &c, nostrorum indulti, extensionis, ampliacionis, concessionis, voluntatis, et decreti Infringere² &c. Si quis &c.³ Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum anno &c, millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio.

“Quinto Nonas Maij, Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

“Gratis. De mandato sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ.

“D. GALLETUS.

“JOHANNES NILIS.

“Collata. JO. CROTHON.”

¹ *Omnino hominum liceat, hanc paginam.*

² *Vel ei ausi temerario contraire.*

³ *Autem hoc attentare præsumperit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius, se noverit incursum.*

lands now discovered for you and in your name or to be discovered in this way hereafter, with all and each the favours, privileges, exemptions, liberties, powers, immunities, Bulls and indulgences granted in this way to the Kings of Portugal, the tenor of all of which as if they were inserted word for word in these presents we wish you to have, that you may freely enjoy and legally possess them in like manner as if all these things were particularly granted to you, your said heirs and successors, we give by Apostolic authority as a gift of special favour and we *at the same time extend and enlarge* and grant in like manner and for ever these things in general and for all to you, your said heirs and successors. Notwithstanding Apostolic constitutions and ordinances as well as in all those granted in Bulls given in the same way to the Kings of Portugal, and notwithstanding whatsoever other and contrary things. And indeed because it would be very difficult that these letters should be published in all those places in which it would be expedient to carry them, we wish and of like motion and knowledge we decree, that copies of these subscribed by the hand of a Public Notary and by the seal of some person holding ecclesiastical dignity or by the seal of an ecclesiastical Court and that the same faith in cases of uncertainty, in judgment or beyond or elsewhere be given it as would be given to these presents if they should be exhibited and shown.¹ Therefore it shall be lawful for no man to infringe this writing of our indulgence, extension, enlargement, concession, will and decree or to dare to do aught to the contrary. But if any one should presume to attempt this, he shall know he will incur the resentment of Almighty God and of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome in Saint Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, the fourth of the Nones of May [May 4] in the first year of our pontificate.

"Free.² By order of our most Holy Lord the Pope.

"D. GALLETUS.

"JOHANNES NILIS.

"Compared. JOHANNES CROTHON."

¹ We have filled in the document with the matter given by Solorzano, which, as it is only a regular form, is likely to have been in the original as sent to the Sovereigns.

We have also italicised a few words of particular importance to arrest the attention of the reader.

² A respectable revenue was derived from the issuing and copying of Bulls and Papal letters. The word *gratis* is used to show that no charge was made for this and the other Bulls of May 3 and 4.

Christopher Columbus

BULLA IV

[From Solorzano's *De Indiarum Jure*]

“Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio Ferdinando regi et charissime in Christo filie Helisabeth regine Castelle, Legionis, Aragonum et Granate illustribus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Dudum siquidem omnes et singulas insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas versus occidentem et meridiem, que sub actuali dominio temporali aliquorum dominorum christianorum constitute non essent, vobis heredibusque et successoribus vestris Castelle et Legionis regibus in perpetuum motu proprio et de certa scientia ac de apostolice potestatis plenitudine donavimus, concessimus et assignavimus: vosque ac heredes et successores prefatos de illis investimus; illarumque dominos cum plena, libera et omnimoda potestate, auctoritate et iurisdictione constituimus et deputavimus, prout in nostris inde confectis litteris, quarum tenorem, ac si de verbo ad verbum presentibus insererentur, haberi volumus pro sufficienter expressis, plenius continetur. cum autem contingere posset quod nuntii et capetanei aut vassalli vestri versus occidentem et meridiem navigantes, ad partes orientales applicarent, ac insulas et terras firmas, que inde fuissent vel essent, reperirent, nos volentes etiam vos favoribus prosequi gratiosis, motu et scientia ac potestatis apostolice plenitudine similibus, donationem, concessionem, assignationem et litteras predictas, cum omnibus et singulis in eisdem litteris contentis clausulis ad omnes et singulas insulas et terras firmas inventas et inveniendas, ac detectas et detegendas, que, navigando aut itinerando versus occidentem aut meridiem huiusmodi, sint vel fuerint aut apparuerint, sive in partibus occidentalibus vel meridionalibus et orientalibus et Indie existant, auctoritate apostolica, tenore presentium in omnibus et per omnia, perinde ac si in litteris predictis de eis plena et expressa mentio facta fuisset, extendimus pariter et empiamus. vobis ac heredibus et successoribus vestris predictis per vos, vel alium seu alios, corporalem, insularum ac terrarum predictarum possessionem propria auctoritate libere apprehendendi ac perpetuo retinendi, illasque adversus quoscumque impediētes etiam defendendi, plenam et liberam facultatem concedentes, ac quibuscumque personis, etiam cuiuscunque dignitatis, status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis late sententie pena, quam contrafacientes eo ipso incurrant, districtius inhibentes, ne ad partes predictas ad navigandum piscandum, vel inquirendum insulas vel terras firmas, aut quovis alio respectu seu colore, ire, vel mittere quoquomodo presumant, absque expressa vel speciali vestra ac heredum et successorum predictorum licentia. non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis, ac quibusvis donationibus, concessionibus, facultatibus et assignationibus per nos vel predecessores nostros, quibuscunque regibus vel principibus, infantibus, aut quibusvis aliis personis, aut ordinibus et militiis de predictis partibus, maribus, insulis atque terris, vel aliqua eorum parte, ex quibusvis causis, etiam pietatis vel fidei aut redemptionis captivorum, et aliis quantumcunque urgentissimis, et cum

“Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to our most dear son in Christ Ferdinand the king and to our most dear daughter in Christ Helizabeth the queen, illustrious [princes] of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Granada salutation and the apostolic benediction. Since a while ago we of our own motion, infallible knowledge and fulness of apostolic power, gave, granted and assigned in perpetuity to you, your said heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, all and singular islands and continental lands discovered and to be discovered toward the west and south which had not been brought under the actual temporal dominion of some Christian Lords [we invest you and your said heirs and successors with these]. We have created and deputed you as lords thereof with full, free and ample power, authority and jurisdiction as contained more fully in our letters issued heretofore, the purport of which we wish to have considered as sufficiently expressed as if inserted word for word in these presents; but since it is possible to happen that your messengers, captains or subjects navigating west and south may direct themselves to the eastern parts and may find islands and continental lands which were or had been there [known], we, wishing to add to you similar favours by our motion, knowledge and fulness of apostolic power, do at the same time extend and enlarge our donation, grant, assignment in said Bulls, with the clauses all and singular contained in the said bulls, to all and singular islands and continental lands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, which in navigating or journeying toward the west or south in this way may be or shall be or shall appear to be existing either in the western regions or in the southern and eastern regions or in India and by the tenor of these presents in all things and in all ways as if full and express mention had been made concerning them in the said Bulls. Granting to you and your said heirs and successors in themselves or by any other or others, the full and free power of taking and for ever holding bodily possession of the said islands and lands by your own free authority and also of defending these against any obstructing persons whomsoever, we strictly forbidding any persons whomsoever, of whatever dignity, station, degree, order or condition under the broad penalty of the sentence of excommunication ¹ which they shall incur by going contrary to this very order, from going or sending in any way or under any pretext or excuse to the said parts for navigating, fishing or seeking the islands and continental lands, without your express or special licence or that of your said heirs and successors. Notwithstanding constitutions, apostolic ordinances and whatever donations, grants, powers, and assignments by us or by our predecessors to kings, or princes, or Infantes, or to any other persons whomsoever or to the [religious] civil and military rulers of the said regions, seas, islands and lands or for any part of the same, out of whatever motives as well of piety or of faith or for the redemption of captives or for whatsoever other most urgent motives, with

¹ *Lata sententia*—the sentence of excommunication incurred *ipso facto* as distinguished from that which takes effect only after formal sentence pronounced by the Pope or an ecclesiastical court—*ferenda sententia*.

quibusvis clausulis etiam derogatoriarum derogatoriis, fortioribus, efficacioribus et insolitis, etiam quascunque sententias, censuras et penas in se continentibus, que suum per actualem et realem possessionem non essent cortite effectum, licet forsan aliquando illi quibus donationes et concessiones huiusmodi facte fuissent, aut eorum muntii, ibidem navigassent. Quos tenores illarum etiam presentibus pro sufficienter expressis et insertis habentes, motu, scientia et potestatis plenitudine similibus omnino revocamus, ac quo ad terras et insulas per eos actualiter non possessas pro infectis haberi volumus, nec non omnibus illis que in litteris predictis volumus non obstare, ceterisque contrariis quibuscunque. Datum Rome, apud sanctum Petrum, anno incarnationis dominice millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo tertio, sexto kalendas octobris, pontificatus nostri anno secundo."

whatsoever clauses, also with whatsoever disparagements, the strongest, most efficacious and excessive in character, also containing in themselves whatsoever sentences, censures, and punishments which have not had effect by their own actual and positive possession, even if by chance at some time those to whom donations and grants of this kind had been made, or through messengers, had navigated to those regions. Regarding the purport of those Bulls as sufficiently expressed and inserted in these presents, we by like motion, knowledge and fulness of power, revoke them in all particulars and we wish them to be regarded as cancelled in respect to lands and islands not actually possessed by them, and we wish this notwithstanding what may be in the said Bulls and whatsoever other things to the contrary.

"Done at Rome in Saint Peter's in the year of our Lord's incarnation, 1493, September 26, the second year of our pontificate."

CHAPTER LXXIII

TEXT OF THE TREATY OF TORDESILLAS

“D. JUAN, por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Portugal, del Algarbe, de aquen y de alen, de la mar en Africa, Señor de Guinea. A cuantos esta Carta vieren hacemos saber, que por Ruy de Sousa, Señor de las villas de Sagres y Berenguel, y D. Juan de Sousa, su hijo, nuestro Almotacen mayor, y el Licenciado Arias de Almadana, Corregidor de los fechos ceviles en nuestra Corte y de nuestro Desembargo, todos del nuestro Consejo, que enviamos con nuestra embajada y poder á los muy altos y muy excelentes y poderosos D. Hernando y Doña Isabel por la gracia de Dios, Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Secilia, de Granada, &c, nuestros muy amados y preciados Hermanos, sobre la diferencia de lo que á Nos y á ellos pertenesce en lo que hasta siete dias del mes de Junio de la fecha de esta capitulacion estaba por descubrir en el Mar Océano, fué tratado y capitulado por Nos y en nuestro nombre, por virtud de nuestro poder con los dichos Reyes y Reina de Castilla, nuestros hermanos, y con Don Henrique Henriquez, su Mayordomo mayor, y L. Gutierre de Cárdenas, Comendador mayor de Leon, y su Contador mayor, y con el Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, todos del su Consejo, y en su nombre por virtud de su poder: en la cual dicha capitulacion los dichos nuestros Embajadores y Procuradores, entre las otras cosas, prometieron que dentro de cierto término en ella contenido, Nos otorgariamos, confirmariamos, jurariamos, retificariamos y aprobariamos la dicha capitulacion por nuestra Persona; y queriendo Nos cumplir, y cumpliendo todo lo que así en nuestro nombre fue asentado y capitulado y otorgado acerca de lo suso dicho, mandamos traer ante Nos la dicha escriptura de la dicha capitulacion y asiento para la ver y examinar; el tenor de la cual, *de verbo ad verbum*, es esta que se sigue:

“En el nombre de Dios Todopoderoso, Padre, Hijo, Espíritu Santo, tres Personas realmente distintas y apartadas, y una sola esencia Divina: Manifiesto y notorio sea á todos cuantos este público instrumento vieren, como en la villa de Tordesillas, á siete dias del mes de Junio, año del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil cuatrocientos noventa y cuatro años, en presencia de Nos los Secretarios, Escribanos y Notarios públicos, adelante escriptos, estando presentes los honrados Don Henrique Henriquez, Mayordomo mayor de los muy altos y muy poderosos Príncipes los Señores

D. Fernando y Doña Isabel por la gracia de Dios, Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Secilia, de Granada, &c., y de D. Gutierre de Cárdenas, Comendador mayor de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina, y el Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, todos del Consejo de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Secilia, de Granada, &c., sus Procuradores bastantes de la una parte: y los honrados Ruy de Sousa, Señor de Sagres y Berenguel, y D. Juan de Sousa, su hijo, Almotacen mayor del muy alto y muy excelente Señor el Rey, D. Juan, por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Portugal y de los Algarbes, de aquen y de alen, de la mar en Africa, y Señor de Guinea: y Arias de Almadana, Corregidor de los fechos ceviles en su Corte y de su Desembargo, todos del Consejo del dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, y sus Embajadores y Procuradores bastantes, segun ambas las dichas partes lo mostraron por las cartas de poder y procuraciones de los dichos Señores sus constituyentes, de las cuales su tenor, *de verbo ad verbum*, es este que se sigue: D. Fernando y Doña Isabel por la gracia de Dios, Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Sicilia, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega, de Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Algeciras, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Canaria; Conde y Condesa de Barcelona, y Señores de Vizcaya y de Molina; Duques de Atenas y de Neopatria; Condes de Rosellon y de Cerdania; Marqueses de Oristan y de Gociano, &c. Por quanto el Sereníssimo Rey de Portugal, nuestro muy caro y muy amado Hermano, envió á Nos por sus Embajadores y Procuradores Ruy de Sousa, cuyas son las villas de Sagres y Berenguel, y D. Juan de Sousa, su Almotacen mayor, y Arias de Almadana, su Corregidor de los fechos ceviles en su Corte, y de su Desembargo, todos de su Consejo, para platicar y tomar asiento y concordia con Nos y con nuestros Embajadores y personas en nuestro nombre, sobre la diferencia que entre Nos y el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, nuestro Hermano, es sobre lo que á Nos y á él pertenece de lo que hasta agora está por descubrir en el mar Océano: Por tanto, confiando de vos D. Henrique Henriquez, nuestro Mayordomo mayor, y Don Gutierre de Cárdenas, Comendador mayor de Leon, nuestro Contador mayor, y el Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, todos de nuestro Consejo, que sois tales personas que guardareis nuestro servicio, y que bien y fielmente hareis lo que por Nos vos fuere mandado y encomendado; por esta presente Carta vos damos todo nuestro poder cumplido en aquella manera é forma que podemos y en tal caso se requiere, especialmente para que por Nos y en nuestro nombre y de nuestro herederos, súbditos y naturales de ellos, podais tratar, concordar y asentar, y hacer trato y concordia con los Embajadores del Sereníssimo Rey de Portugal, nuestro hermano, en su nombre, cualquier concierto é limitacion del mar Océano, ó concordia sobre lo que dicho es, por los vientos y grados de Norte y Sur, y por aquellas partes, divisiones y lugares de seco y de mar y de la tierra que á vos bien visto fuere, y así vos damos el dicho poder para que podais dejar al dicho Rey de Portugal y á sus Reinos y subcesores, todas las mares, islas y tierras que fueren y estuvieren dentro de cualquier límite y demarcacion de costas, mares, islas y tierras que fincaren y que-

daren. Y otrosí, vos damos el dicho poder para que en nuestro nombre y de nuestro herederos y subcesores de nuestros Reinos y Señoríos, súbditos, naturales de ellos, podáis concordar y asentar y recibir y acabar del dicho Rey de Portugal y de los dichos sus Embajadores y Procuradores en su nombre, que todos las mares, islas y tierras que fueren ó estovieren dentro el límite y demarcacion de las costas, mares y islas y tierras que quedaren por Nos y por nuestros subcesores, y de nuestro Señorío y conquista, sean de nuestros Reinos y subcesores de ellos, con aquellas limitaciones y exenciones, y con todas las otras cláusulas y declaraciones que á vosotros bien visto fuere; y para que sobre todo lo que dicho es, y para cada cosa y parte de ello, y sobre lo á ello tocante, y de ello dependiente, y á ello anexô y conexô en cualquier manera podades hacer y otorgar, concordar y tratar, y rescibir y aceptar en nuestro nombre, y de los dichos nuestros herederos y subcesores, y de todos nuestros Reinos y Señoríos, súbditos y naturales de ellos, cualesquier capitulaciones, contratos y escripturas con cualesquier vínculos, actos, modos, condiciones y obligaciones y estipulaciones, penas, submisiones y renunciaciones que vosotros quisieredes, y bien visto vos fuere; y sobre ello podáis hacer y otorgar, y hagáis y otorgueis todas las cosas y cada una de ellas, de cualquier naturaleza y calidad, gravedad é importancia que sean ó ser puedan, aunque sean tales que por su condicion requieran otro nuestro singular y especial mandado, y de que se debiese de hecho y de derecho hacer singular y expresa mencion, y que Nos, siendo presentes podriamos hacer y otorgar y rescibir. Y otrosí, vos damos poder cumplido para que podáis jurar y jureis en nuestras animas, que Nos y nuestros herederos y subcesores y súbditos y naturales y vasallos adquiridos y por adquirir, ternemos y guardaremos y cumpliremos, y que ternán, guardarán y cumplirán realmente, y con efecto todo lo que vosotros así asentáredes, capituláredes y juráredes y otorgáredes y afirmáredes, cesante toda cautela, fraude, engaño, ficion y simulacion, y así podáis en nuestro nombre capitular, asegurar y prometer que Nos en persona aseguraremos, juraremos, prometeremos y otorgaremos y firmaremos todo lo que vosotros en nuestro nombre cerca de lo que dicho es, seguráredes, prometiéredes y capituláredes dentro de cualquier término y tiempo que á vos bien pareciere, y aquello guardaremos y cumpliremos realmente y con efecto, y bajo las condiciones y penas y obligaciones contenidas en el contrato de las partes entre Nos y el dicho Serenísimo Rey, nuestro Hermano, hechas y concordadas, y bajo todas las otras cosas que vosotros prometieredes, las cuales desde agora prometemos de pagar, si en ellas incurrieremos. Para lo cual, todo y cada una cosa y parte de ello, vos damos el dicho poder con libre y general administracion, y prometemos y aseguramos por nuestra fe y palabra Real de tener y guardar y cumplir Nos y nuestros herederos y subcesores, todo lo que por vosotros acerca de lo que dicho es en cualquiera forma y manera fuere hecho y capitulado y jurado y prometido, y prometemos de lo haber por firme, rato y grato, estable y valedero, agora y en todo tiempo y siempre jamas, y que no iremos ni vendremos contra ello, ni contra parte alguna de ello Nos ni nuestros herederos y subcesores por Nos

ni por interpositas personas, directe ni indirete, bajo alguna color ni causa, en juicio, ni fuera de él, bajo obligacion expresa que para ello hacemos de todos nuestros bienes patrimoniales y fiscales, y otros cualesquier de nuestros vasallos y súbditos y naturales, muebles y raices, habidos y por haber; por firmeza de lo cual mandamos dar esta nuestra Carta de poder, la cual firmamos de nuestros nombres y mandamos sellar con nuestro sello. Dada en la Villa de Tordesillas á cinco dias del mes de Junio de mil cuatrocientos noventa y cuatro años. YO EL REY. YO LA REINA. Yo Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Secretario del Rey é de la Reina, nuestros Señores, la fice escribir por su mandado.

“D. Juan por la gracia de Dios, Rey de Portugal y de los Algarbes, de aquen y de alen, de la mar en Africa, y Señor de Guinea: A cuantos esta Carta de poder y procuracion vieren, hacemos saber: que por cuanto por mandado de los muy altos y muy excelentes poderosos Príncipes el Rey D. Fernando y Reina Doña Isabel, Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Sicilia, de Granada, &c., nuestros mucho amados y preciados Hermanos, fueron descubiertas y halladas nuevamente algunas islas, y podrán adelante descubrir y hallar otras islas y tierras, sobre las cuales unas y otras, halladas y por hallar, por el derecho y razon que en ello tenemos, podria sobrevenir entre nosotros y nuestros Reinos y Señorios, súbditos y naturales de ellos, debates y diferencias, que nuestro Señor no consienta, y nos place por el grand amor y amistad que entre nosotros hay, y por se buscar, porcurar y conservar mayor paz y mas firme concordia y sosiego, que la mar en que las dichas islas estan y fueren halladas, se parta y marque entre nosotros en alguna buena, cierta y limitada manera: Y porque Nos al presente no podemos en ello entender en persona, confiando de vos Ruy de Sosa, Señor de Sagres y Berenguel y D. Juan de Sosa, nuestro Almo acen mayor y Arias de Almadana, Corregidor de los fechos ceviles en nuestra Corte y de nuestro Desembargo, todos del nuestro Consejo, por esta presente Carta os damos todo nuestro poder cumplido y autoridad y especial mandado, y vos hacemos y constituimos á todos juntamente y á cada uno de vos *in solidum*, en cualquier manera, si los otros fueren impedidos, nuestros Embajadores y Procuradores en aquella mas ampla forma que podemos, y en tal caso se requiere general y especialmente; en tal manera que la generalidad no derogue á la especialidad, ni la especialidad á la generalidad, para que por Nos, y en nuestro nombre y de nuestros herederos y subcesores y de todos nuestros Reinos y Señorios, súbditos y naturales de ellos podais tratar, concordar y asentar, y hacer tratos y asientos con los dichos Rey y Reina de Castilla, nuestros Hermanos, ó con quien para ello su poder tenga, cualquier concierto y asiento y limitacion, demarcacion, é concordia sobre el mar Océano, islas y tierra-firme que en ello hobiere, por aquellos términos de vientos y grados de Norte y Sur, y por aquellas partes, divisiones y lugares de seco y de mar y de tierra que á vos bien pareciere. Y así vos damos el dicho poder para que podais dejar y dejeis á los dichos Rey y Reina, y á sus Reinos y subcesores todos los mares, islas y tierras que fueren y estuvieren dentro de cualquier límite y demarcacion que á los

dichos Rey y Reina quedaren: y así vos damos el dicho poder para que en nuestro nombre y de nuestros subcesores y herederos y de todos nuestros Reinos y Señoríos, súbditos y naturales de ellos, podais con los dichos Rey y Reina, ó con sus Procuradores concordar, asentar y rescibir y acabar, que todos los mares, islas y tierras que fueren y estuvieren dentro de los límites y demarcacion de costas, mares, islas y tierras que por Nos y por nuestros subcesores quedaren, sean nuestros y de nuestro Señorío y conquista, y así de nuestros Reinos y subcesores de ellos, con aquellas limitaciones y excepciones de nuestras islas, y con todas las otras cláusulas y declaraciones que vos bien pareciesen. El cual dicho poder damos á vos los dichos Ruy de Sousa y D. Juan de Sousa y el Licenciado Almadana, para que sobre todo lo que dicho es, y sobre cada una cosa y parte de ello, y sobre lo á ello tocante y de ello dependiente, y á ello anexô y conexô en cualquier manera, podais hacer, otorgar, concordar, tratar y destratar, rescibir y aceptar en nuestro nombre, y de los dichos nuestros herederos y subcesores, y de todos nuestros Reinos y Señoríos, súbditos y naturales de ellos, cualesquier capítulos y contratos y escripturas, con cualesquier vínculos, pactos, modos, condiciones y renunciaciones que vos quisieredes, y á vos bien visto fuere, y sobre ello podais hacer y otorgar, y hagais y otorgueis todas las cosas, y cada una de ellas, de cualquier naturaleza y calidad, gravedad y importancia que sean ó ser puedan, puesto que sean tales que por su condicion requieran otro nuestro singular y especial mandado, y que se debiese de hecho y de derecho hacer singular y expresa mención é que Nos, siendo presentes, podríamos hacer y otorgar y rescibir. Y otrosí, vos damos poder cumplido para que podais jurar y jureis en nuestra alma, que Nos y nuestros herederos y subcesores y súbditos y naturales y vasallos, adquiridos y por adquirir, tendremos, guardaremos y cumpliremos, tendrán y guardarán y cumplirán realmente y con efecto todo lo que vos ansí asentaredes y capituláredes y juráredes y otorgáredes y afirmáredes, cesante toda cautela, fraude y engaño y fingimiento, y así podais en nuestro nombre capitular, asegurar y prometer, que Nos en persona aseguraremos, juraremos, prometeremos y firmaremos todo lo que, vos en el sobre dicho nombre, acerca de lo que dicho es, asegurarédes, prometiédes y capituláredes dentro de aquel término y tiempo que vos bien pareciere, y que lo guardaremos y cumpliremos realmente y con efecto, bajo las condiciones, penas y obligaciones contenidas en el contrato de las paces entre Nos hechas y concordadas, y bajo todas las otras que vos prometieredes y asentaredes en el sobredicho nuestro nombre, las cuales desde agora prometemos de pagar y pagaremos realmente y con efecto, si en ellas incurriéremos. Para lo cual todo y cada cosa y parte de ello vos damos el dicho poder con libre y general administracion, y prometemos y aseguramos por nuestra fe Real, de tener y guardar y cumplir, y así nuestros herederos y subcesores, todo lo que por vos acerca de lo que dicho es en cualquier forma y manera, fuere hecho, capitulado y jurado y prometido; y prometemos de lo haber por firme, rato y grato, estable y valedero, desde agora para en todo tiempo, y que no iremos ni vendremos, ni irán ni vendrán contra ello ni contra parte

alguna de ello en tiempo alguno, ni por alguna manera por Nos, ni por sí, ni por interpositas personas, direte ni indirete bajo alguna color ó causa en juicio ni fuera de él, sobre obligacion expresa que para ello hacemos de los dichos nuestros Reinos y Señoríos, y de todos los otros nuestros bienes patrimoniales y fiscales y otros cualesquier de nuestros vasallos y súbditos y naturales, muebles y raíces, habidos y por haber. En testimonio y fe de lo cual vos mandamos dar esta nuestra Carta firmada para vos y sellada con nuestro sello. Dada en nuestra Ciudad de Lisboa á ocho días de Marzo. Ruy de Piña lo fizo, Año del Nacimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil cuatrocientos noventa y cuatro años. El Rey.

“Y luego los dichos Procuradores de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Secília, de Granada, &c.; y del dicho Señor Rey de Portugal y de los Algarbes, &c., dijeron: Que por quanto entre los dichos Señores sus constituyentes hay cierta diferencia sobre lo que á cada una de las dichas partes pertenesce de lo que hasta hoy día de la fecha de esta capitulacion está por descubrir en el mar Océano: por tanto, que ellos por bien de paz y concordia, y por conservacion del debdo é amor que el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal tiene con los dichos Señores Rey y Reyna de Castilla, de Aragon, &c.: á sus Altezas place, y los dichos sus Procuradores en su nombre, y por virtud de los dichos sus poderes, otorgaron y consintieron que se haga y asigne por el dicho mar Océano una raya ó línea derecha de Polo á Polo, del Polo Artico, al Polo Antártico, que es de Norte á Sur, la cual raya ó línea é señal se haya de dar y dé derecha, como dicho es, á trescientas setenta leguas de las islas de Cabo Verde para la parte de Poniente por grados ó por otra manera, como mejor y mas presto se pueda dar, de manera que no será mas. Y que todo lo que hasta aquí tenga hallado y descubierto, y de aquí adelante se hallare y descubriere por el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal y por sus navíos, así islas como tierra-firme desde la dicha raya arriba, dada en la forma suso dicha, yendo por la dicha parte de Levante dentro de la dicha raya á la parte de Levante ó de Norte ó de Sur de ella, tanto que no sea atravesando la dicha raya, que esto, sea y quede y pertenezca al dicho Señor Rey de Portugal y á sus subcesores para siempre jamas. Y que todo lo otro, así islas como tierra-firme, halladas y por hallar, descubiertas y por descubrir, que son ó fueren halladas por los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Aragon, &c., y por sus navíos, desde la dicha raya dada en la forma suso dicha, yendo por la dicha parte de Poniente despues de pasada la dicha raya para el Poniente ó al Norte Sur de ella, que todo sea y quede y pertenezca á los dichos Señores Rey é Reina de Castilla y de Leon, &c., y á sus subcesores para siempre jamas.

“Item: los dichos Procuradores prometan y aseguran, en virtud de los dichos poderes, que de hoy en adelante no enviarán navíos algunos los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Leon, &c., por esta parte de la raya á la parte de Levante aquen de la dicha raya que queda para el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, á la otra parte de la dicha raya que queda para los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Aragon, &c., á descubrir y buscar tierra ni islas algunas, ni á contratar, ni rescatar, ni á con-

quistar en manera alguna; pero que si aconteciese que yendo así aquende la dicha raya los dichos navíos de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, &c., hallasen cualesquier islas ó tierras en lo que así queda para el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, y para sus herederos para siempre jamas, que sus Altezas lo hayan de mandar luego dar y entregar. Y si los navíos del dicho Señor Rey de Portugal hallaren cualesquier islas y tierras en la parte de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, &c., que todo lo tal sea y quede para los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, é de Aragon &c. y para sus herederos para siempre jamas, y que el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal lo haya luego de mandar dar é entregar.

“Item: para que la dicha linea ó raya de la dicha particion se haya de dar y dé derecha é lo mas cierta que ser pudiere por las dichas trescientas setenta leguas de las dichas islas de Cabo Verde á la parte de Poniente, como dicho es, es concordado é asentado con los dichos Procuradores de ámbas las dichas partes, que dentro de diez meses primeros siguientes, contados desde el dia de la fecha de esta capitulacion, los dichos Señores constituyentes hayan de enviar dos ó cuatro carabelas, una ó dos de cada parte, ó mas ó menos segund se acordare por las dichas partes que sean necesarias, las cuales para el dicho tiempo sean juntas en la isla de Gran Canaria, y envíen en ella cada una de las dichas partes personas así Pilotos como Astrólogos y Marineros, y cualesquier otras personas que convengan: pero que sean tantos de una parte como de otra, y que algunas personas de los dichos Pilotos y Astrólogos y Marineros, y personas que sepan de los que enviaren los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Aragon, &c, que vayan en los navíos que enviare el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal é de los Algarbes, &c.; y asimismo algunas de las dichas personas que enviare el dicho Sereníssimo Rey de Portugal, vayan en el navío ó navíos que enviaren los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, y de Aragon, tantos de una parte como de otra, para que juntamente puedan mejor ver y reconocer la mar y los rumbos y vientos y grados de Sur y Norte, y asignar las leguas sobredichas; tanto que para hacer el señalamiento y límite concurren todos juntos los que fueren en los dichos navíos que enviaren ambas las dichas partes, y llevaren sus poderes, los cuales dichos navíos todos juntamente continuen su camino á las dichas islas de Cabo Verde, y de ahí tomarán su rota derecha al Poniente hasta las dichas trescientas setenta leguas, medidas como las dichas personas acordaren que se deben medir, sin perjuicio de las dichas partes, y allí donde se acabare se haga el punto y señal que convenga por grados de Sur ó de Norte, ó por singladuras de leguas, ó como mejor se pudiere concordar: la cual dicha raya asignen desde el dicho Polo Artico al dicho Polo Antartico que es de Norte á Sur, como dicho es: y aquello que así asignaren lo escriban y firmen de sus nombres las dichas personas que así fueren enviadas por ambas las dichas partes, los cuales han de llevar facultad y poder de las dichas partes cada una de la suya para haver la dicha señal y limitacion, y hecha por ellos, siendo todos conformes, que sea habida por señal é limitacion perpetuamente para siempre jamas, para que

las dichas partes, ni alguna de ellas, ni sus subcesores para siempre jamas no la puedan contradecir, ni tirar ni remover en tiempo alguno ni por alguna manera que sea ó ser pueda. Y si caso fuere que la dicha raya y límite de Polo á Polo, como dicho es, topare alguna isla ó tierra-firme, que al comienzo de tal isla ó tierra, que así fuere hallada, donde tocare la dicha raya, se haga alguna señal ó torre, y que en derecho de la tal señal ó torre, se continúe de allí adelante otras señales por la tal isla ó tierra en derecho de la dicha raya, los cuales partan lo que á cada una de las dichas partes pertenesciere de ella, y que los súbditos de las dichas partes no sean osados los unos de pasar á la parte de los otros, ni los otros á la de los otros, pasando la dicha señal y límite en la tal isla y tierra.

“Item: Por cuanto para ir los navíos de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, &c. desde sus Reinos é Señoríos á la dicha su parte, allende la dicha raya, en la manera que dicho es, es forzado que hayan de pasar por las mares de esta parte de la raya que quedan para el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal; por ende es concertado y asentado que los dichos navíos de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Leon y de Aragon, &c. puedan ir y venir y vayan y vengan libre, segura y pacíficamente, sin contradicion alguna por los dichos mares que quedan por el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, dentro de la dicha raya en todo tiempo, y cada y cuando sus Altezas y sus subcesores quisieren y por bien tuvieren, los cuales vayan por sus caminos derechos y rotas desde sus Reinos para cualquier parte que esté dentro de su raya y límite donde quisieren enviar á descubrir y conquistar y contratar, y que lleven sus caminos derechos por donde ellos acordaren de ir, por cualquier cosa de la dicha su parte, é no puedan apartarse, salvo que el tiempo contrario les hiciere apartar, tanto que no tomen ni ocupen antes de pasar la dicha raya cosa alguna de lo que fuere hallado por el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal en la dicha su parte, y si alguna cosa hallaren los dichos sus navíos antes de pasar la dicha raya, como dicho es, que aquello sea para el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, y sus Altezas le hayan luego de mandar y entregar. E que porque podrá ser que los navíos y gentes de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Leon, &c., ó por su parte, habrán hallado hasta veinte dias de este mes de Junio en que estamos de la fecha de esta capitulacion, algunas islas y tierra-firme dentro de la dicha raya que se ha de hacer de Polo á Polo por línea derecha en fin de las dichas trescientas setenta leguas contadas desde las dichas islas de Cabo Verde al Poniente, como dicho es, es concordado y asentado por tirar toda duda, que todas las islas y tierra-firme que serán halladas y descubiertas en cualquier manera hasta los dichos veinte dias de este dicho mes de Junio, aunque sean halladas por navíos é gentes de los dichos Rey y Reina de Castilla y Aragon, &c., con tanto que sean dentro de las doscientas cincuenta leguas primeras de las dichas trescientas setenta leguas contadas desde las dichas islas de Cabo Verde al Poniente para dicha raya en cualquier parte de ellas para los dichos Polos, que serán halladas dentro de las dichas doscientas cincuenta leguas, haciéndose una raya ó línea derecha de Polo á Polo donde se acabaren las dichas doscientas cin-

cuenta leguas, sea y quede para el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal y de los Algarbes &c., y para sus subcesores y Reinos para siempre jamas, y que todas las islas y tierra-firme que hasta en los dichos veinte dias de este mes de Junio en que estamos fueren halladas y descubiertas por los navíos de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Aragon &c., sean para ellos y para sus subcesores y sus Reinos para siempre jamas, como es y ha de ser suyo lo que hallaren así allende de la dicha raya de las dichas trescientas setenta leguas que quedan para sus Altezas, como dicho es, aunque las dichas ciento veinte leguas sean dentro de la dicha raya de las dichas trescientas setenta leguas que quedan para el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal y de los Algarbes, &c., como dicho es. Y si hasta los dichos veinte dias de este dicho mes de Junio no fuere halladas por los dichos navíos de sus Altezas cosa alguna dentro de las dichas ciento y veinte leguas, y de allí adelante hallaren, que sea para el dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, como en el capítulo suso escrito es contenido. Lo cual todo que dicho es, y cada una cosa y parte de ello, los dichos D. Henrique Henriquez, Mayordomo mayor, y D. Gutierre de Cárdenas, Comendador mayor, y el Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, Procuradores de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de Sicilia, de Granada, &c., por virtud de dicho su poder que arriba va incorporado; y los dichos Ruy de Sousa y D. Juan de Sousa, su hijo, y Arias de Almadena, Procuradores y Embajadores de dicho muy alto y muy excelente Príncipe el Señor Rey de Portugal y de los Algarbes, daquen y dalen mar en Africa y Señor de Guinea: y por virtud del dicho su poder que arriba va incorporado, prometieron y aseguraron en nombre de los dichos sus constituyentes, que ellos y sus subcesores y Reinos y Señorios para siempre jamas, tendrán y guardarán y cumplirán realmente y con efeto, cesante todo fraude, cautela y engaño, ficion ó simulacion, todo lo contenido es esta capitulacion, y cada una cosa y parte de ello será guardado y cumplido y ejecutado como se ha de guardar y cumplir y ejecutar todo lo contenido en la capitulacion de las paces hechas y asentadas entre los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y de Aragon &c., y el Señor D. Alfonso. Rey de Portugal, que santa gloria haya, y el dicho Señor Rey que agora es de Portugal su Hijo, siendo Príncipe el año pasado de mil quatrocientos setenta y nueve años, y bajo aquellas mismas penas, vínculos, firmezas y obligaciones, segun y en la manera que en la dicha capitulacion de las dichas paces se contiene: Y obliganse que las dichas partes, ni alguna de ellas, ni sus subcesores para siempre jamas, no irán ni vendrán contra lo que de suso es dicho y especificado, ni contra cosa alguna, ni parte de ello, directe ni indirecte, ni por otra manera alguna en tiempo alguno, ni por alguna manera pensada ó no pensada que sea ó ser pueda, bajo las penas contenidas en la dicha capitulacion de dichas paces, y la pena pagada ó no pagada ó graciosamente remitida: que esta obligacion, capitulacion y asiento, sea y quede firme, estable y valadera para siempre jamas; para lo cual todo así tener y guardar y cumplir y pagar los dichos Procuradores en nombre de los dichos sus constituyentes, obligaron los bienes cada uno de su parte, muebles y raices, patrimoniales y fiscales y de sus súbditos y vasallos,

habidos y por haber, y renunciaron cualesquier leyes y derechos de que se puedan aprovechar las dichas partes y cada una de ellas para ir ó venir contra lo suso dicho ó contra alguna parte de ello. Y para mayor seguridad y firmeza de lo suso dicho juraron á Dios y á Santa María, y á la señal de la Cruz ✠, en que pusieron sus manos derechas, y las palabras de los Santos Evangelios donde quiera que mas largo son escriptas en las almas de los dichos sus constituyentes, que ellos y cada uno de ellos tendrán y guardarán y cumplirán todo lo suso dicho, y cada una cosa y parte de ello realmente y con efecto, cesante todo fraude, cautela, engaño, ficion y simulacion, y no lo contradirán en tiempo alguno ni por alguna manera, bajo el cual dicho juramento juraron de no pedir absolucion ni relajacion de ello á nuestro muy Santo Padre, ni á otro ningun Legado ni Prelado que la pueda dar, y aunque de propio motu la den, no usarán de ella; antes por esta presente capitulacion suplican en el dicho nombre á nuestro muy Santo Padre que su Santidad quiera confirmar y aprobar esta dicha capitulacion, segun en ella se contiene, y mander expedir sobre ello sus Bulas á las partes ó cualquier de ellas que las pidiere, é incorporar en ellas el tenor de esta capitulacion; poniendo sus censuras á los que contra ella fueren ó pasaren en cualquier tiempo que sea ó ser pueda. Y asimismo los dichos Procuradores en el dicho nombre se obligaron bajo la dicha pena y juramento que dentro de cien dias primeros siguientes, contados desde el dia de la fecha de esta capitulacion, darán la una parte á la otra, y la otra á la otra, la aprobacion y ratificacion de esta dicha capitulacion escriptas en pergámino, y firmadas de los nombres de los dichos Señores sus constituyentes, y selladas con sus sellos de cño pendientes; y en la escriptura que hubieren de dar los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla y Aragon, &c, haya de firmar, consentir y autorizar el muy esclarecido é Ilustrísimo Señor Príncipe D. Juan su hijo: de lo cual todo que dicho es, otorgaron dos escripturas de un tenor, tal una como la otra, las cuales firmaron de sus nombres, y las otorgaron ante los Secretarios y testigos abajo escriptos para cada una de las partes la suya, y cualquier que pareciere valga como si ambas dos pareciesen, que fueron hechas y otorgadas en la dicha Villa de Tordesillas el dia, mes y año suso dicho. Don Henrique, Comendador mayor. Ruy de Sousa. D. Juan de Sousa. El Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado. Licenciado Arias. Testigos que fueron presentes, que vieron aquí firmar sus nombres á los dichos Procuradores y Embajadores, y otorgar lo suso dicho y hacer el dicho juramento, el Comendador Pero de Leon, el Comendador Fernando de Torres, vecinos de la Villa de Valladolid, y el Comendador Fernando de Gamarra, Comendador de Zagra é Cenete, Continuos de la casa de los dichos Señores Rey y Reina, nuestros Señores, y Juan Suarez de Sequeira y Ruy Leme y Duarte Pacheco, Continuos de la casa del dicho Señor Rey de Portugal para ello llamados. E yo Fernand Alvarez de Toledo, Secretario del Rey y de la Reina nuestros Señores y de su Consejo, y su Escribano de Cámara y Notario público en su Corte y en todos sus Reinos y Señorios, fuí presente á todo lo que dicho es en uno con los dichos testigos, y con Esteban Baez, Secretario del dicho Señor Rey de Portugal, que por autoridad que los dichos Rey y Reina nuestros Señores, le dieron

para dar fe de este auto en sus Reinos, fué asimesmo presente á lo que dicho es, y de ruego y otorgamiento de todos los dichos Procuradores y Embajadores que en mi presencia y suya aquí firmaron sus nombres, este público instrumento hice escribir, el cual va escripto en estas seis hojas de papel de pliego entero, escriptas de ambas partes con esta en que van los nombres de los sobredichos, y mi signo, y en fin de cada plana va señalado de la señal de mi nombre y de la del dicho Esteban Baez, y en fe de ello hice aquí esta mi señal que es tal. En testimonio de verdad. Fernand Alvarez. E yo el dicho Esteban Baez que por autoridad que los dichos Señores Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon &c., me dieron para hacer público en todos sus Reinos y Señoríos juntamente con el dicho Fernand Alvarez, á ruego y requerimiento de los dichos Embajadores y Procuradores, á todo presente fuí, y por fe y certeza de ello aquí de mi pública señal asigné, que es tal.

“La cual dicha escriptura de asientos y capitulacion y concordia arriba incorporada, vista y entendida por Nos la aprobamos, alabamos, confirmamos, otorgamos y ratificamos, y prometemos de tener, guardar y cumplir todo lo suso dicho en ella contenido, y cada una cosa y parte de ello, realmente y con efecto, cesante todo fraude, cautela, ficcion y simulacion, y de no ir ni venir contra ello, ni contra parte de ello en tiempo alguno ni por alguna manera que sea ó ser pueda; y para mayor firmeza juramos á Dios y á Santa María, y á las palabras de los Santos Evangelios, donde quiera que mas largamente son escriptas, y á la señal de la ✠ en que corporalmente ponemos nuestra mano derecha en presencia de Fernan Duque de Estrada, Maestre Sala del muy Ilustre Príncipe D. Juan, nuestro muy amado ypreciado Sobrino, que los dichos Rey y Reina de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, &c., nuestros hermanos á Nos para ello enviaron, de lo así tener, guardar y cumplir, y cada una cosa y parte de lo que á Nos incumbe realmente y con efecto, como dicho es por Nos, y por nuestros herederos y subcesores, y por los dichos nuestros Reinos y Señoríos, súbditos y naturales de ellos, bajo las penas, obligaciones, vínculos y renunciaciones en el dicho contrato de capitulacion y concordia arriba escripto contenidos. Por firmeza y corroboracion del cual, asignamos esta nuestra Carta de nuestra señal, y mandamos sellar de nuestro sello de cuño, pendiente en hilos de seda de colores. Dada en la Villa de Setubal á cinco dias del mes de Setiembre. Joan Ruiz la hizo año del Nacimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil quatrocientos noventa y quatro. EL REY. Capitulacion de la particion del mar Océano.” [Navarette, vol. 2, p. 130.]

Translation

“Don Juan, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal, of Algarve, this side and beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea.

“To whomever shall see this letter, we make known, that by Ruy de Sousa, Lord of the towns of Sagres and Berenguel, and Don Juan de Sousa, his son, our High Steward, and the Licentiate Arias de Almadana, Corrector of the Civil Acts in our Court and of our Desembargo, all of our Council, whom we sent with our Embassy and with authority to the very exalted and very excellent and powerful Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, by the

Christopher Columbus

grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Sicily, of Granada, etc., our much loved and precious brothers, in regard to the difference as to what part belongs to us and what part to them, of that which up to the 7th of the month of June, the date of this capitulation, was to be discovered in the Ocean-sea,—it was treated and capitulated for Us and in our name by virtue of our authority, with the said King and Queen of Castile, our brothers, and with Don Henrique Henriquez, their Chief Majordomo and Don Gutierre de Cárdenas, Commander-in-Chief of Leon, and their Chief Auditor, and with the Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, all of their Council, and in their names and by virtue of their authority; in which said capitulation the said our Ambassadors and Representatives, among the other things promised that within a certain time contained therein, we would execute, confirm, swear to, ratify and approve the said capitulation in person: and we, wishing to fulfil and thus fulfilling all which in our name was so adjusted and capitulated and executed in regard to the aforesaid, order to be brought before Us the said draft of the said capitulation and treaty, to see and examine it; the tenor of which *de verbo ad verbum*, is the following:

“In the name of the All-Powerful God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three persons really distinct and separate and one Divine essence only. Manifest and made known be it, to all who shall see this public instrument, that in the city of Tordesillas, on the 7th day of the month of June, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1494, in the presence of us, the Secretaries, Clerks and Notaries Public subscribed hereafter, being present the Honourable Don Henrique Henriquez, Chief Majordomo of the very exalted and very powerful Princes, the Lords, Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, etc., and Don Gutierre de Cárdenas, Commander-in-Chief of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, and the doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, all of the Council of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, etc., their qualified representatives of the one part: and the honourable Ruy de Sousa, Lord of Sagres and Berenguel, and Don Juan de Sousa, his son, Chief Steward of the very exalted and very excellent Lord, the King Don Juan, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and Algarve, this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and Lord of Guinea: and Arias de Almadana, Corrector of the Civil Acts in his Court and of his Desembargo, all of the Council of the said Lord, the King of Portugal, and his qualified Ambassadors and Representatives, according as both the said parties showed it by the letters of authority and procuration of the said Lords, their constituents, the tenor of which letters *de verbo ad verbum*, is the following:

“Don Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Mallorca, of Seville, of Cerdeña, of Cordova, of Córcega, of Murcia, of Jaen, of Algarve, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Islands of the Canaries: Count and Countess of Barcelona and Lords of Vizcaya and of Molina: Dukes of Atenas and of Neopatria: Counts

of Rosellon and Cerdania: Marquises of Oristan and of Gociano, etc.: Inasmuch as the Most Serene King of Portugal, our very dear and much loved brother, sent to us by his Ambassadors and Representatives, Ruy de Sousa, to whom belong the towns of Sagres and Berenguel, and Don Juan de Sousa, his Chief Steward, and Arias de Almadana, his Corrector of the Civil Acts in his Court and of his Desembargo, all of his Council, to discuss and make a treaty and agreement with us and with our Ambassadors and persons in our name, in regard to the difference which exists between us and the said Lord, the King of Portugal, our brother, as to what part belongs to us and what part belongs to him of that which up to the present is to be discovered in the Ocean-sea: Therefore, confiding in you, Don Henrique Henriquez, our Chief Majordomo, and Don Gutierre de Cárdenas, Commander-in-Chief of Leon, our Chief Auditor, and the Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, all of our Council, that you are persons who will be observant of our service, and that you will well and faithfully do that which you were sent for, and charged by us to do: by this present letter we give you our authority, made out in manner and form as we are able and as is required in such case, especially in order that, for us and in our names and the names of our heirs, subjects and the natives of our realms, you can treat, agree and adjust,—and make treaty and agreement with the Ambassadors of the Most Serene King of Portugal, our brother, in his name,—any arrangement and limitation of the Ocean-sea, or agreement in regard to that which is said, by the winds and degrees from North and South, and by those parts, divisions and places on dry land and on sea, and of the earth, which to you shall seem well, and thus we give you the said authority in order that you can leave to the said King of Portugal and to his Realms and successors, all the seas, islands and lands which shall be and might be within any boundary and demarcation of coasts, seas, islands and lands, which shall be fixed and established. And moreover, we give you the said authority in order that in our name and the names of our heirs, and the successors in our realms and dominions, subjects and natives thereof, you can agree and adjust and receive and determine with the said King of Portugal, and with the said his Ambassadors and Representatives in his name, that all the seas, islands and lands that shall be or might be within the boundary and demarcation of the coasts, seas, islands and lands which shall remain for us and for our successors and for our dominion and conquest, shall belong to our Realms and our successors therein, with those limitations and exemptions, and with all the other clauses and declarations which you shall approve: and in order that, in regard to what is said, and in regard to each thing and part of it, and in regard to what relates to it and depends upon it, and is united to and connected with it in any manner, you can act and execute, agree and treat, and receive and accept,—in our name and the names of the said our heirs and successors, and of all our Realms and Dominions, subjects and natives thereof,—any capitulations, contracts and writings, with any charges, acts, forms, conditions and obligations and stipulations, penalties, submissions and renunciations which

you desire, and which you approve: and in regard to it, you can act and execute, and do act and execute all the things and each one of them, of whatever nature and quality, gravity and importance they may be or can be, although they may be such as by their condition require another,—our singular and especial command, and of which there should be made, actually and rightfully, singular and express mention, and which, We, being present, would make and execute and receive. And moreover, we give you full power in order that you may swear and do swear in our place, that we and our heirs and successors and subjects and natives and vassals, acquired and to be acquired, will hold and observe and fulfil, and that there shall be held, observed and fulfilled, actually and in effect, all that you shall thus adjust, capitulate and swear and execute and affirm, renouncing all precaution, fraud, deception, fiction and simulation: and thus you can in our name capitulate, assure and promise that we in person will assure, swear, promise and execute and confirm all that which you in our name in regard to what is said, do secure, promise and capitulate, within any term and time which shall appear well to you: and that we will observe and fulfil it, actually and in effect, and under the conditions and penalties and obligations contained in the contract of the parties, between us and the said Most Serene King, our brother, made and agreed, and under all the other things which you shall promise, which from the present time we promise to pay, if we shall incur the said penalties. For which, all and each one thing and part of it, we give you the said authority with free and general administration, and we promise and assure by our faith and Royal word, that we will hold and observe and fulfil, we and our heirs and successors, all that which by you, in regard to what is said, shall be in any form and manner made and capitulated and sworn and promised, and we promise to hold it as established, firm and acceptable, stable and valid, now and in all time and ever after, and that we will not oppose or dispute it, or any part of it, we, nor our heirs and successors, in person or by persons interposed, directly or indirectly, under any pretence or for any cause, in justice or out of justice, under the express obligations which we make for it, of all our property, patrimonial and fiscal, and any other property belonging to our vassals, and subjects and natives, movable property and landed property, possessed and to be possessed: for confirmation of which we order given, this, our letter of authority, which we sign with our names and order sealed with our seal. Given in the city of Tordesillas, the 5th day of the month of June, 1494. I, THE KING. I, THE QUEEN. I, Fernando Alvarez, of Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, caused it to be written by their command."

"Don Juan, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and of Algarve, this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and Lord of Guinea:

"To whomever shall see this letter of authority and procuration, we make known: That, inasmuch as by order of the very exalted and very excellent powerful Princes, the King Don Ferdinand and the Queen, Doña Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, etc.,

our much loved and precious brothers, some islands were discovered and newly found, and other islands and lands may be hereafter discovered and found, in regard to both of which, found and to be found, by the right and consideration which we have therein, there might occur between us and our Realms and Dominions, subjects and natives thereof, debates and differences, which may our Lord forbid, and it pleases us by the great love and friendship which there is between us, and for the seeking, procuring and preserving of greater peace and firmer concord and tranquillity, that the sea in which the said islands are and shall be found, be divided and marked between us in some good, sure and restricted manner. And as we, at present, cannot participate in the matter personally, confiding in you, Ruy de Sousa, Lord of Sagres and Berenguel, and Don Juan de Sousa, our Chief Steward, and Arias de Almadana, Corrector of the Civil Acts in our Court and of our Desembargo, all of our Council, by this present letter we give you all our full power and authority and special command, and we make and constitute you all, jointly and each one of you *in solidum*, in any manner, if the others shall be prevented, our Ambassadors and Representatives in the most ample form possible, and which in such case shall be generally and specially required: and in such manner that the generality may not derogate from the specialty, nor the specialty from the generality, in order that for us and in our name and the names of our heirs and successors, and of all our Realms and Dominions, subjects and natives thereof, you can treat, agree and adjust,—and make treaties and agreements, with the said King and Queen of Castile, our brothers, or with whomever holds their authority for that purpose,—any agreement and adjustment and limitation, demarcation and compact, in regard to the Ocean-sea, the islands and mainland which shall be therein, by those boundaries of winds and degrees from north and south and by those parts, divisions and places on dry land and sea and of the earth, which shall appear well to you. And thus we give you the said authority in order that you can leave and do leave to the said King and Queen and to their Realms and successors, all the seas, islands, and lands which shall be and might be within any boundary and demarcation which shall remain to the said King and Queen: and in the same manner we give you the said authority in order that in our name and the names of our successors and the heirs of all our Realms and Dominions, the subjects and natives thereof, you can, with the said King and Queen, or with their Representatives, accord, agree and receive and determine, that all the seas, islands and lands which shall be and might be within the limits and demarcation of coasts, seas, islands and lands, which shall remain for us and for our successors, shall be ours and for our dominion and conquest, and thus for our Realms and successors in them, with those limitations and exceptions of our islands, and with all the other clauses and declarations which shall appear well to you. Which said authority we give to you, the said Ruy de Sousa and Don Juan de Sousa and the Licentiate Almadana, in order that in regard to all that is said and in regard to each one thing and part of it, and in regard to what relates to it and depends

upon it and is united to and connected with it, in any manner, you can act, execute, agree, treat and undo, receive and accept, in our name, and the names of the said our heirs and successors and of all our Realms and Dominions, the subjects and vassals thereof, any capitulations and contracts and writings with any charges, compacts, forms, conditions and renunciations which you wish and which you approve, and in regard to it you can act and execute, and do act and execute all the things and each one of them of whatever nature and quality, gravity and importance they may be or can be, although they may be such as by their condition would require another,—our singular and especial command,—and of which there should be made, actually and rightfully, singular and express mention, and which we, being present, would be able to do and execute and receive. And likewise, we give you full power, in order that you can swear and do swear in our place, that we and our heirs and successors and subjects and natives and vassals acquired and to be acquired, will hold, observe and fulfil, and there will be held, observed and fulfilled, actually and in effect, all which you here arrange and capitulate and swear and execute and affirm, renouncing all precaution, fraud and deception and pretence, and thus you can in our name capitulate, assure and promise, that we in person will assure, swear, promise and confirm all which you in the aforesaid name, in regard to what is said, do assure, promise and capitulate, within that term and time which appears well to you, and that we will observe and fulfil it actually and in effect, under the conditions, penalties and obligations contained in the contract of the treaties of peace made and concluded between us, and under all the others which you promise and arrange in the aforesaid our name, which from the present we promise to pay and will pay actually and in effect, if we shall incur them. For which, all and each thing and part of it, we give you the said authority with free and general administration, and we promise and assure by our Royal faith to hold and observe and fulfil, and in the same manner our heirs and successors, all that which by you, in regard to what is said in any form and manner, shall be done, capitulated and sworn and promised, and we promise to consider it as sure, firm and acceptable, stable and valid from now for all time, and that we will not oppose or dispute it, and that it will not be opposed or disputed, or any part of it, at any time, nor in any manner, by us, neither in person nor by persons interposed, directly or indirectly, under any pretence or cause, in justice or out of justice, under the express obligation which we make for it, of the said our Realms and Dominions, and of all our property, patrimonial and fiscal, and any other property whatever of our vassals and subjects and natives, movable and landed property, possessed and to be possessed. In testimony and certification of which we order this our letter given, signed by us and sealed with our seal. Given in our city of Lisbon, March 8. Done by Ruy de Piña in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1494. THE KING.”

“And then the said representatives of the said Lords the King and

Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, etc.: and of the said Lord, the King of Portugal, and of Algarve, etc., said:

“That inasmuch as between the said Lords, their Constituents, a certain difference exists in regard to what part of that which is to be discovered in the Ocean-sea up to to-day, the day of the date of this capitulation, belongs to each one of the said parties: therefore, that for the benefit of peace and concord and for the preservation of the duty and love which the said Lord, the King of Portugal has for the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, of Aragon, etc.; it pleases their Highnesses, and the said their Representatives in their name and by virtue of the said their powers, authorities and consent that there shall be made and marked out through the said ocean, a mark or line straight from pole to pole, from the Arctic Pole to the Antarctic Pole, which is from North to South, which mark or line and indication may be drawn and must be drawn straight, as is said, at 370 leagues from the islands of Cape Verde to the West, by degrees or by another manner, as it can be best and most quickly drawn, so that it will not include a greater distance. And that all that which up to the present may be found and discovered, and which from now henceforward shall be found and discovered by the said King of Portugal, or by his vessels, islands as well as mainland, from the said line above, drawn in the form aforesaid, going by the said Eastern side within the said line to the East or North or South from it, so long as the said line is not crossed,—that this may be and remain and belong to the said Lord, the King of Portugal and to his successors for ever after. And that all the rest, islands as well as mainland, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, which are found or shall be found by the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., and by their vessels, from the said line drawn in the form aforesaid, going by the said Western side, after having passed the said line, to the West or North or South from it,—that all may be and remain and belong to the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Leon, etc., and to their successors for ever after.

“Item: The said Representatives promise and assure, by virtue of the said powers, that from to-day henceforward, the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Leon, etc., will not send any ships, by this part of the line on the Eastern side, this side of which line it belongs to the said Lord, the King of Portugal, to the other side of the said line which belongs to the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., to discover and search for any land or islands, or make treaties, or barter, or conquer in any manner: but that if it should happen that in going thus, this side of the said line, the said vessels of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, etc., should find any islands or lands whatever in the part which thus belongs to the said Lord, the King of Portugal, and to his successors for ever after, that their Highnesses shall immediately order it to be given and delivered over to him. And if the vessels of the said Lord, the King of Portugal, shall find any islands and lands whatever in the part belonging to the said Lords, the King and Queen

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of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, etc., as all the said part is to belong and remain to the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, and of Aragon, etc., and to their heirs for ever after, that the said Lord, the King of Portugal, shall immediately order it to be given and delivered over to them.

“Item: In order that the said line or mark of the said partition shall be drawn and must be drawn straight and as surely as may be possible, by the said 370 leagues from the said islands of Cape Verde to the West, as is said, it is agreed and settled with the said Representatives of both the said parties, that within ten months immediately following, counting from the day of the date of this capitulation, the said Lords Constituents shall send two or four caravels, one or two from each party, or more or less according as shall be agreed by the said parties to be necessary, which at the said time shall be assembled at the island of the Grand Canary, and each one of the said parties shall send in them persons, Pilots as well as Astrologers and Mariners, and any other persons whatever that may be agreed upon; but that there shall be as many from one party as from the other, and that some of the said Pilots and Astrologers and Mariners who shall be sent by the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., shall go in the ships which the said Lord, the King of Portugal and Algarve, etc., shall send: and in the same manner, some of the said persons who are sent by the said Most Serene King of Portugal shall go in the vessel or vessels which the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon shall send, as many from one party as from the other, in order that together they may better see and recognise the sea and the courses and winds, and degrees from South and North, and mark out the aforesaid leagues; therefore, in order that all those who shall go in the said vessels which both the said parties shall send, and who shall carry their credentials, may concur in making the assignment and boundary, the said vessels all together shall continue their course to the said Cape Verde Islands and from there, shall take their way straight to the West, to the distance of the said 370 leagues, measured as the said persons shall agree that they should be measured, without prejudice to the said parties, and there at the termination of the said distance, the indication and sign shall be made which shall be suitable, by degrees from south or from north or by single leagues, or as can be better agreed upon; which said line they may mark out from the said Arctic Pole to the said Antarctic Pole, which is from north to south, as is said. And that which they shall thus mark out, the said persons who shall thus be sent by both the said parties, may write and sign with their names, which persons must carry licence and power from the said parties, each one from his own, to make the said sign and limitation, and having been made by them, all being agreed, that it may be had for sign and perpetual limitation for ever after, in order that the said parties, or any of them, or their successors for ever after, may not dispute it, or cast it aside or remove it at any time or in any manner which may be or can be possible. And if it shall happen that the said line and boundary from Pole to Pole, as is said, shall

encounter any island or mainland, that at the beginning of such island or land, which shall thus be found, where the said line shall touch it, some signal or tower shall be made, and that straight from such signal or tower there shall continue from that place onward other signals through such island or land, straight by the said line, which shall divide that which belongs to each of the said parties, and that the subjects of the said parties may not dare, neither the ones nor the others, to go to the part belonging to the other party, by crossing the said sign and boundary in such island and land.

“Item: Whereas, in order that the vessels of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, etc., may go from their Realms and Dominions to the said their part beyond the said line, in the manner which is said, it is necessary for them to cross the seas of this part of the limit which belongs to the said Lord, the King of Portugal: therefore, it is agreed and settled that the said vessels of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Leon, and of Aragon, etc., can go and come and may go and come, freely, securely and peacefully without any opposition, through the said seas which belong to the said Lord, the King of Portugal, within the said limit, at all times, and each time when their Highnesses and their successors shall desire and consider proper, which vessels may go on their direct courses and routes, from their Realms to any one part which may be within their limit and boundary, where they shall desire to send to make discoveries and conquests and contracts, and that they shall take their way straight for wherever they decide to go for anything of the said their part, and they cannot deviate from it unless contrary weather shall force them to do so, as long as they do not take or occupy, before crossing the said line, anything of that which shall be found by the said Lord, the King of Portugal, in the said his part: and if the said their ships shall find anything before crossing the said line, as is said, that that may be for the said Lord, the King of Portugal, and their Highnesses must immediately give it and deliver it over to him. And as, because it may be that the vessels and people of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Leon, etc., or vessels sailing in their behalf, will have found up to the end of twenty days from the date of this capitulation in this month of June, the present month, some islands and mainland within the said limit which must be made from Pole to Pole by a straight line at the termination of the said 370 leagues, reckoned from the said Islands of Cape Verde to the West, as is said, it is agreed and settled, to remove all doubt, that all the islands and mainland which shall be found and discovered in any manner up to the end of the said twenty days in this said month of June, although they may be found by vessels and people of the said King and Queen of Castile and Aragon, etc., providing they are within the first 250 leagues of the said 370 leagues reckoned from the said Islands of Cape Verde to the West by the said line, in any part of them toward the said Poles which shall be found within the said 250 leagues, drawing a limit or line straight from Pole to Pole where the said 250 leagues shall terminate, shall belong to and

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be for the said Lord, the King of Portugal and Algarve, etc., and for his successors and Realms for ever after; and that all the islands and mainland which in the said twenty days of this month of June, the present month, shall be found and discovered by the vessels of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and of Aragon, etc., shall belong to them and their successors and to their Realms for ever after, as is and must be theirs that which shall thus be found beyond the said limit of the said 370 leagues, which belongs to their Highnesses, as is said, although the said 120 leagues may be within the said limit of the said 370 leagues, which belong to the said Lord, the King of Portugal and of Algarve, as is said. And if, up to the end of the said twenty days of this said month of June there shall not be found by the said vessels of their Highnesses anything within the said 120 leagues, and from that time henceforth there shall be anything found, that it shall belong to the said Lord, the King of Portugal, as contained in the above written chapter. All that is said, and each one thing and part of it, the said Don Henrique Henriquez, Chief Majordomo, and Gutierre de Cárdenas, Commander-in-Chief, and the said Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado, Representatives of the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, of Sicily, of Granada, etc., by virtue of their authority incorporated above: and the said Ruy de Sousa, and Don Juan de Sousa, his son, and Arias de Almadana, Representatives and Ambassadors of the said very exalted and very excellent Prince, the Lord, the King of Portugal, and of Algarve, this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and Lord of Guinea, by virtue of the said their authority incorporated above,—promised and insured in the name of the said their constituents, that they and their successors and Realms and Dominions, for ever after shall keep and guard and fulfil, actually and in effect, without any fraud, precaution, and deception, fiction or simulation, all that is contained in this capitulation, and each one thing and part of it shall be guarded and fulfilled and executed, as must be guarded and fulfilled and executed all that is contained in the capitulation of the treaties of peace, made and adjusted between the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, and of Aragon, etc., and the Lord, Don Alfonso, the King of Portugal (may he rest in glory) and the said Lord, the present King of Portugal his son, he being Prince in the year 1479 which is past, and under those same penalties, charges, securities and obligations according to and in the manner which is contained in the said capitulation of the said treaties of peace: and they oblige themselves that said parties, or any of them, or their successors for ever after, shall not oppose or dispute what is said above and specified, or any of it, or any part of it, directly or indirectly, by any other manner at any time, or by any manner thought of or not thought of, which may be or can be possible, under the penalties contained in the said capitulation of the said treaties of peace, and the penalty being paid or not paid or graciously remitted: that this obligation, capitulation and treaty may be and remain firm, stable and valid for ever after: For which, to thus hold and observe and fulfil and pay all, the said Representatives in the name of the said their Constituents, pledged their prop-

erty, each one on his part, movable goods, landed property, patrimonial and fiscal, and that of each of their subjects and vassals, possessed and to be possessed, and renounced any laws and rights whatever by which the said parties may be benefited, and each one of them, to oppose or dispute the aforesaid or any part of it: and for the greater security and stability of the aforesaid, they swore to God and to St. Mary and by the sign of the Cross ✠ upon which they placed their right hands, and by the words of the Holy Evangels wherever they are written most fully in the souls of the said their Constituents, that they, and each one of them, would keep and observe and fulfil all the aforesaid, and each one thing and part of it, actually and in effect, renouncing all fraud, precaution, deception, fiction, and simulation, and that they would not contradict it at any time or in any manner, under which said oath they swore not to ask absolution or relaxation of it, from our Most Holy Father, or from any other Legate or Prelate who can give it, and although of their own free will they may give it they will not make use of it; rather by this present capitulation they supplicate in the said name, of our Most Holy Father, that his Holiness will confirm and approve this said capitulation, according to what is contained in it, and order his Bulls in regard to it, sent to the parties, or to any one who shall ask for them, and that there may be incorporated in them the tenor of this capitulation; placing his censures upon those who oppose it or act in opposition to it, at any time which may be or can be possible. And likewise, the said Representatives in the said name obliged themselves under the said penalty and oath, that within the one hundred days immediately following, reckoned from the day of the date of this capitulation, they will give, the one party to the other, and the other to the other, the approbation and ratification of this said capitulation, written on parchment and signed with the names of the said Lords their Constituents, and sealed with the hanging official seals: and the writing which the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile and Aragon, etc., shall give, the most noble and most Illustrious Lord, the Prince Don Juan, their son, must sign, consent to, and authorise. They executed two treaties of one tenor, containing all that is said, one exactly like the other, which they signed with their names, and they executed them before the Secretaries and witnesses written underneath; for each one of the parties their own witnesses, and any one who shall appear, that it may be valid, as if both of the two parties appeared, which were made and executed in the said city of Tordesillas, the day, month and year aforesaid. Don Henrique, Commander-in-Chief. Ruy de Sousa. Don Juan de Sousa. The Doctor Rodrigo Maldonado. Licentiate Arias. Witnesses who were present, who saw the said Representatives and Ambassadors sign their names and execute the aforesaid and take the said oath, the Commander Pero de Leon, the Commander Fernando de Torres, Citizens of the city of Valladolid, and the Commander Fernando de Gamana, the Commander of Zagra and Cenete, Continos of the household of the said King and Queen, our Lords, and Juan Suarez de Sequeira and Ruy Leme and Duarte Pacheco, Continos of the household of the said Lord, the King of Portugal,

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summoned for that purpose, and I, Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Secretary of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, and of their Council, and the Clerk of their High Court of Justice and Notary Public in their Court, and in all their Realms and Dominions, witnessed all that is said, together with the said witnesses and with Esteban Baez, Secretary of the said Lord, the King of Portugal, who by the authority which the said King and Queen, our Lords, gave him to certify to this Act in their Realms, also witnessed what is said here: and by the request and permission of all the said Representatives and Ambassadors, who in my presence and his here signed their names, I caused this public instrument to be written—which is written on these six leaves of paper, in entire sheets—for both parties with this on which are the names of the aforesaid and my sign, and at the end of each draft it is marked with the sign of my name and that of the said Esteban Baez, and in witness thereof I here affix my sign, which is as follows. In witness of the truth, Fernan Alvarez. And I, Esteban Baez, who by the authority which the said Lords, the King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, etc., gave me to make it public in all their Realms and Dominions, together with the said Fernan Alvarez, at the request and requirement of the said Ambassadors and Representatives, witnessed everything and in testimony and to certify to it, I here subscribed with my public sign, which is as follows.

“Which said draft of treaties and capitulation and agreement above incorporated, being seen and understood by us, we approve, praise, confirm, execute and ratify it, and promise to hold, observe and fulfil all the aforesaid, therein contained, and each one thing and part of it, actually and in effect, renouncing all fraud, precaution, fiction and simulation, and not opposing or disputing it, or any part of it, at any time or in any manner which may be or can be possible: and for greater certainty, we swear to God and to St. Mary and by the words of the Holy Evangelists, wherever they are written more at length, and by the sign of the Cross ✝ on which we corporally place our right hand in the presence of Fernan, Duke of Estrada, First Gentleman of the most Illustrious Prince, Don Juan, our very dear and precious nephew, whom the said King and Queen of Castile, of Leon, of Aragon, etc., our brothers, sent to us for that purpose, to thus hold, observe and fulfil it, and each one thing and part of it, which is really and in effect incumbent upon us, as is said, for ourselves, and for our heirs and successors, and for the said our Realms and Dominions, subjects and natives of them, under the penalties, obligations, charges and renunciations in the said Contract of Capitulation, written and contained above. In certification and corroboration of which, we sign this, our letter, with our sign, and we order it sealed with our official seal, hanging on threads of coloured silk. Given in the City of Setubal the 5th day of the month of September. Done by Joan Ruiz the said year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1494. THE KING.

“Capitulation of the division of the Ocean-sea.”

CHAPTER LXXIV

THE LINE OF DEMARCATION

THE fact that only two days intervened between the naming of the Spanish commissioners at Medina del Campo and the execution of the treaty at Tordesillas suggests that its provisions were negotiated some time previous, and that what remained when the commissioners met was only the formal drawing up of the several items to the agreement. The treaty, because of its historical interest, is here published in full.

We notice that the reason for the agreement is the difference between the two nations as to their ownership to lands *to be discovered*, and that the agreement is executed in the interests of peace and concord; it then provides that a line shall be drawn from pole to pole at *370 leagues to be measured in degrees or by another manner, from the islands of Cape Verde to the west*; whatever was east, north, or south of this line was to belong to the King of Portugal and his heirs and successors for ever; whatever was west, north, or south of this line was to belong to the Sovereigns of Castile and Leon, their heirs and successors for ever; while each was to keep to his own preserves; if either party, sailing in the sphere of the other, found there lands, he was to deliver peaceable possession thereof to the other; before April 7, 1495, each of the two parties was to send to the Canary Islands one or more caravels, and pilots, astrologers, and mariners, as should be agreed upon, each having the same number of ships and persons, bearing proper credentials; leaving the Canary Islands together, these should sail directly *to the Cape Verde Islands and from there straight to the west to the distance of 370 leagues*, which distance was to be measured as the said persons should agree; having measured the said distance by degrees or

leagues and having ascertained the limitation, the said persons were to certify to that fact; should land be encountered, at its beginning monuments should be set up bearing marks of the proper distances; it being known that the ships of Spain were already sailing for the purposes of discovery and exploration, if lands were found by them previous to June 27, 1494, if within two hundred and fifty leagues of the islands of Cape Verde, such lands were to belong to Spain and were not to be delivered over to Portugal; both parties supplicated the Holy Father to approve by Bulls of this capitulation.

The above is a *résumé* of this famous capitulation. Three months later, King John of Portugal, on September 5, 1494, in the city of Setuval, himself put his name to the copy which had been sent him, and this, being duly sealed with the official seal hanging on threads of coloured silk, was returned to the Spanish Sovereigns. The Spanish Sovereigns, on their part, executed the other copy of the agreement by appending their names, at Arevalo, on July 2, 1494, and this was then forwarded to King John, to be retained by him. It is worthy of notice that the earliest difference between nations concerning territory in the new lands was first referred to the Pope for arbitration, and that not proving satisfactory, was then, in the interests of peace, submitted to a joint commission, which within forty-eight hours of its creation made and executed an amicable agreement. No reference was made to any former Bull or Bulls, grant or grants, from the Holy See. Both parties proceeded as if they were free to agree on their respective spheres, and Papal sanction was asked as a matter of form. If either Spain or Portugal thought that original sovereignty had resided in the Pope, the method of procedure would have been different. The capitulation would have recited the source of their rights. The agreement was purely an arrangement between the two nations. No account was taken of territory which, for all they knew, might have been discovered previously by some other Christian prince. And it is at just this point that the ecclesiastical functions of the Holy See would be efficacious. The Head of the Church could very readily and properly address his influence to keeping other Christian princes from intruding in the regions where Spain and Portugal were active. To preserve peace and concord was the glorious office of the Pope.

Alexander VI. never took further notice of this matter, but in a Bull issued January 24, 1506, by Pope Julius II., the Treaty of Tordesillas was approved and confirmed.

The Treaty of Tordesillas itself drew no line of demarcation. It provided that one should be drawn and fixed the distance at which it should be determined from an indefinite starting-point. But, strangely enough, the line was never drawn as provided in the treaty. During the fall of the year 1494, the Spanish Sovereigns, mindful of their engagements, instructed their Lieutenant, Don Juan de la Nussa, to communicate their commands to Jaime Ferrer that he should report to them upon the method of drawing this line. Ferrer, assuming that the point of departure was Cape Verde, instead of the islands opposite, addressed them a respectful reply from Barcelona, January 27, 1495, in which he forwarded a *mappemonde*, on which he had drawn the line, and offering himself to go to their Highnesses and even to go to Cape Verde if they required him. The Sovereigns did not understand his letter, and they wrote him from Madrid, under date of February 28, 1495, commanding him to attend them not later than the first of May, 1495. As the ten months in which the work was to have been done expired April 7, 1495, it is evident that the Sovereigns expected an extension of time, and this was agreed upon by the two parties under date of April 15, 1495, thus keeping alive the articles. Whether the following communication was sent with the *mappemonde*, as its language would seem to indicate, or was sent subsequently, it could not have added materially to the geographical or nautical knowledge of the Sovereigns. Ferrer in this document, while he is sometimes ambiguous, corrected his conception of the starting-point to the islands of Cape Verde, instead of the African headland itself.

“A nuestro especial amigo Jaime Ferrer el Cardenal Despaña, Arzobispo de Toledo, &c.

“Jaime Ferrer especial amigo: Nos querriamos fablar con vos algunas cosas que cumplen: por ende rogamos vos que vista esta letra nuestra partais y vengais aquí á Barcelona, y traed con vos el Mapamundi y otros instrumentos si teneis tocantes á cosmografía. En Barcelona hoy lunes veinte y seis de Agosto de noventa é tres.

“EL CARDENAL.”

"The Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo, &c., to our particular friend, Jaime Ferrer:

"Jaime Ferrer, particular friend: We would like to talk with you about some things which may be accomplished: therefore, we beg you, after having seen this letter, to start and come here to Barcelona, and to bring with you the Map of the world and other instruments relating to cosmography, if you have them.

"At Barcelona, to-day, August 26, 1493.

"THE CARDINAL."

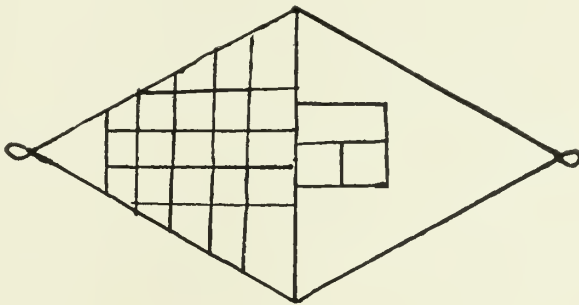
"A los muy altos y muy poderosos Reyes de España, &c. por la gracia de Dios nuestros muy virtuosos Señores.

"Muy altos y muy poderosos Reyes: D. Juan de la Nussa, Lugarteniente de sus Altezas por dos veces me ha mostrado unos capítulos en que sus reales Altezas, mandan saber la determinacion acerca del compartimiento que sus Altezas han fecho con el Ilustrísimo Rey de Portugal en el mar Océano, partiendo del Cabo Verde por línea occidental fasta el término de trescientas setenta leguas; y por esto, muy altos y Serenísimos Reyes, yo he mirado cuanto mi bajo entender ha podido ahonque tarde y no tan presto como quisiera por alguna mia indisposicion: y ansi envio con un hombre mio á sus Altezas una forma mundi en figura extensa en que podrán ver los dos hemisferios: conviene saber, el nuestro Artico y el opósito Antártico; y ansímismo verán el círculo equinoccial y los dos trópicos de la declinacion del Sol, y los siete climas, y cada uno de estos círculos puesto en su proprio lugar segun en el tratado de la esfera, y en el *Situ Orbis*, los Doctores mandan y comparten por grados: y porque mas claramente sea visto la distancia de las dichas trescientas setenta leguas quanto se extiende por línea occidental, partiendo del dicho Cabo Verde, por esto he yo intercecado de Polo á Polo la dicha distancia con líneas colorados, que en el equinoccio distan veinte y tres grados, y con ángulos agudos las dichas líneas corresponden á los Polos del mundo en esta figura: y todo el que será travesado de líneas amarillas será el que pertenece al Ilustrísimo Rey de Portugal la vuelta del Polo Antártico: y esta distancia de mar termina las dichas trescientas setenta leguas que son veinte y tres grados, como suso dicho es, partiendo del Cabo Verde por linea occidental: y si por esta determinacion mandaran sus Altezas yo vaya aquí, por cierto de muy grande y muy obediente amor, yo andaré á todas mis costas sin ningun interes: y en buena verdad todo lo que en este mundo tengo es mi deseo sea para poder servir á sus Reales Altezas, las cuales la inmensa Trinidad siempre tenga en su custodia y proteccion con muy luenga y muy próspera vida. De Barcelona á veinte y siete de Enero de mil quatrocientos noventa y cinco.

"To the very exalted and powerful Sovereigns of Spain, &c., by the grace of God, our most righteous Lords:

"Very exalted and very powerful Sovereigns: Don Juan de la Nussa, Representative of your Highnesses, has twice shown me some provisions in which your Royal Highnesses make known the decision in regard to the

partition which your Highnesses have made with the most illustrious King of Portugal, in the Ocean-sea, starting from Cape Verde by a westerly line for a distance of 370 leagues: and therefore, very exalted and most Serene Sovereigns, I have investigated [the subject] to the extent of my poor intelligence, although late, and not as quickly as I would have liked on account of my indisposition: and so I send by a man of mine, to your Highnesses a figure of the world on an extended scale, on which you will be able to see the two hemispheres, that is to say our Arctic and the opposite one, the Antarctic: and likewise the Equinoctial circle will be seen and the two tropics and the declination of the sun, and the seven climes, and each one of these circles situated in its proper place according to the manner in which learned men lay them out and divide them by degrees, in the *Treatise on the Sphere* and the *Situ Orbis*: and that it may be more clearly seen how far the distance of the said 370 leagues extends to the west, starting from the said Cape Verde, I have intersected the said distance from Pole to Pole with red lines, which are 23 degrees apart at the equator, and with acute angles, the said lines corresponding to the poles of the earth in this figure:



"And all which is crossed by yellow lines will be what belongs to the most illustrious King of Portugal, turning toward the Antarctic Pole; and this distance of sea completes the said 370 leagues, which are, as I said above, 23 degrees, starting from Cape Verde in a westerly line.

"And if, in regard to this decision [treaty] your Highnesses command me to go to this place [to the Court] certainly of my very great and obedient love I will go, entirely at my own expense and without any compensation: and in very truth, it is my desire that all I have in this world shall be at the service of your Royal Highnesses, whom may the Infinite Trinity ever have in keeping and protection, with a very long and very prosperous life.

"From Barcelona, January 27, 1495."

"Por el Rey y por la Reina. A Jaime Ferrer su vasallo.

"El Rey y la Reina: Jaime Ferrer: Vimos vuestra letra y la escriptura que en ella nos enviastes, la cual nos parece que está muy buena. En servicio vos tenemos habernosla enviado; pero porque para entender en ello sois acá menester, por servicio nuestro que pongais en obra vuestra

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venida: de manera que seais acá para en fin de Mayo primero, en lo cual nos fareis servicio. De Madrid á veinte y ocho dias de Febrero de noventa y cinco años. YO EL REY. YO LA REINA. Por mandado del Rey y de la Reina. Ioan de la Parra."

"By the King and by the Queen. To Jaime Ferrer, their subject.

"The King and the Queen: Jaime Ferrer: We saw your letter and the writing which you sent us therein, which appears to us to be very good. We consider it as a service that you have sent it to us; but in order to understand it, it is necessary that you should be here, and it is for our service that you should put your coming into effect, so that you may be here at latest on the first of May, in which you will render us a service. From Madrid, February 28, 1495. I THE KING. I THE QUEEN. By order of the King and of the Queen. Joan de la Parra."

"Lo vot y parer de Mossen Jaume Ferrer acerca la capitulació feta entre los molt catholichs Reis, y lo Rey de Portugal, en que se demostra quant ere lo auctor gran cosmograph y mirablement pratich en la mar.

"La forma con la cual se puede fallar el término y fin de las trescientas setenta leguas, partiendo de las islas del Cabo Verde por línea occidental, es la siguiente:

"Primeramente es de notar que el dicho Cabo Verde y sus islas distan del equinoccio quince grados, y ansímismo es de notar que las dichas trescientas setenta leguas, partiendo de las dichas islas comprenden por occidente diez y ocho grados, y cada un grado en este paralelo comprende veinte leguas y cinco partes de ocho, y por esto es menester facer una línea recta in latitud de Polo á Polo solamente en este nuestro hemisferio, intercecando el dicho paralelo puntualiter en el fin de los dichos diez y ocho grados, y todo el que se fallará dentro desta línea, á mano izquierda la vuelta de la Guinea, será del Rey de Portugal, y la otra parte por Occidente fasta tornar por Oriente la vuelta del sinu arábico, será de los Reyes nuestros Señores, si sus navíos primero allá navegaran: y esto es lo que yo entiendo de la capitulacion fecha por sus Altezas con el Rey de Portugal.

"Y cierta cosa es y máxima conclusion de cosmografía que navegando por un mismo paralelo no se puede saber el dicho término por la elevacion del Polus mundi; y es esta la razon, que navegando por el dicho paralelo siempre se elevará el dicho Polo en una misma elevacion por toda la circunferencia de dicho paralelo, y esto es verdad.

"Pero yo digo que posible es, y cosa muy cierta, que el dicho término y fin de las dichas trescientas setenta leguas se pueden fallar por la estrella del Norte, por la regla y plática siguiente:

"La nave que partirá de las islas de Cabo Verde por buscar el dicho término, es menester que deje el paralelo ó línea Occidental á mano izquierda, y que tome su camino para la cuarta de Poniente la vuelta del maestral, y que navegue tanto por la dicha cuarta fasta que el Polus mundi se le eleve diez y ocho grados y un tercio, y entonces la dicha nave será justo en la línea suso dicha que pasa de Polo á Polo por el fin de las trescientas

setenta leguas, y de aquí es menester que la dicha nave mude, y tome su camino por la dicha línea la vuelta del Polo Antártico fasta que el Artico se le eleve quince grados, y entonces será justo de fin en fin en línea ó paralelo que pasa por las islas del dicho Cabo Verde, y en el fin y verdadero término de las dichas trescientas setenta leguas, el cual término muy claro se muestra por la elevacion de la estrella del Norte por la regla suso dicha.

“Y porque la carta de navegar no sirve del todo ni abasta en el demostracion matemática de la regla suso dicha, es menester una forma mundi en figura esférica, y en dos hemisferios compartida por sus líneas y grados, y el situ de la tierra, islas, y mar, cada cosa puesta en su lugar: la cual figura mundi yo dejo junto con estos capítulos de mi intencion y parecer porque mas claramente sea vista la verdad.

“Y digo que por entender la regla y plática suso dicha es menester que sea Cosmógrafo, Aresmético y Marinero, ó saber su arte: y quien estas tres sciencias juntas no habrá, es imposible la pueda entender, ni tampoco por otra forma ni regla si pericia de las dichas tres sciencias no terná.

“Y por mayor declaracion de la regla suso dicha es de saber que la cuarta del viento que por su camino tomará la nave, partiendo de las islas del Cabo Verde al fin de las trescientas setenta leguas, será distante del paralelo ó línea Occidental setenta y cuatro leguas á razon de veinte por ciento, y porque la dicha cuarta declina versus septentrion navegando por ella, manifesto parece la diferente elevacion del Polus mundi, y las dichas setenta y cuatro leguas comprenden en latitud tres grados y un tercio fere.

“Preterea es de notar que segun la regla suso dicha, es menester dar por cada un grado setecientos stadios segun Strabo, Alfragano, Teodoci, Macrobi, Ambrosi, Euristenes, porque Tolomeo no da por grado sino quinientos stadios. Y mas digo que hay otro modo de fallar el dicho término segun plática y sciencia de marineros, y es la siguiente:

“Primeramente, que los Reyes nuestros Señores y el Rey de Portugal tomen veinte marineros, diez por cada parte, los mejores que se fallarán y de buena consciencia, y que con una nave partan de las islas del Cabo Verde por línea Occidental, y cada uno de los dichos marineros, con mucha diligencia, apunte en su carta de seis en seis horas el camino que la nave fará segun su judio, y que con sacramento ninguno de ellos no diga su parecer al otro fasta que el primero marinero, que se fallará segun su judio en el dicho término, lo diga á dos Capitanes, hombres de pró puestos en la dicha nave de voluntad y concordia de los Reyes suso dichos; y entonces los dichos Capitanes tomen los votos y pareceres de los otros marineros; y si los mas concordaren con el primero que se fallará en el término, que tomen su voto por conclusion y por ley del dicho término, y si no concordaren con el primero que tomen la opinion y voto del que dirán los mas, y despues de ser concordados que muden camino por línea recta la vuelta del Polo Antártico, y todo lo que falláran á mano izquierda la vuelta de la Guinea será del Rey de Portugal en la forma que suso dicho es.

“Esta segunda forma es incierta, y puede errar porque no tiene fundamento sino de nudo y solo juicio y parecer de marineros, y la primera regla

es muy cierta por la elevacion de la estrella del Norte, segun arriba se muestra.

“Y si en esta mi determinacion y parecer será visto algun yerro, siempre me referiré á la correccion de los que mas de mi saben y comprenden, especialmente del Almirante de las Indias, el cual tempore existente en esta materia mas que otro sabe: porque es gran teórico y mirablemente plático, como sus memorables obras manifiestan, y creo que la Divina Providencia le tenia por electo por su grande misterio y servicio en este negocio, el cual pienso es disposicion y preparacion del que para delante la misma Divina Providencia mostrará á su gran gloria, salut y bien del mundo.

“Aquí parece la navegacion del Almirante de la tierra-firme. *Tholomeus octavo libro de situ orbis dicit, Capitulo V.*

“Que la recta circunferencia de la tierra por el equinoccio es ciento ochenta mil stadios á razon de quienientos stadios por grado, segun su cuenta, y contando ocho stadios por milla son veinte y dos mil y quinientas millas, que son cinco mil seiscientas veinte y cinco leguas á razon de cuatro millas por legua á cuenta de Castilla, viene por grado quince leguas y doscientas veinte y cinco partes de trescientas sesenta; y en el mismo libro, Capítulo V, dice que el cercle de los trópicos es ciento sesenta y cuatro mil seiscientos setenta y dos stadios, que son veinte mil quinientas ochenta y cuatro millas, y leguas cinco mil ciento cuarenta y seis, viene por grado catorce leguas y ciento y seis partes de trescientas sesenta. Preterea es la dicha circunferencia de la tierra doscientos cincuenta y dos mil stadios segun Strabo, Alfragano, Ambrosi, Macrobi, Teodosi, et Euristhenes, los cuales doscientos cincuenta y dos mil stadios á razon de ocho stadios por milla son treinta y un mil y quinientas millas, y á cuatro millas por legua son siete mil ochocientas setenta y cinco leguas. Item: por el cercle de los trópicos es la circunferencia siete mil doscientas cuatro leguas, y setenta y dos mil partes de ciento ochenta mil, y fállase con la regla de tres diciéndose si veinte y dos mil y quinientas millas por el equinoccio, segun Tolomeo, me dan siete mil ochocientas setenta y cinco leguas por el dicho equinoccio, que me darán veinte mil quinientas ochenta y cuatro millas que son por el cercle de los trópicos; y en esta forma fallarás las suso dichas siete mil doscientas cuatro leguas y media, fere segun los dichos Doctores.

“El dicho cercle de los trópicos es menor del cercle equinoccial seiscientas setenta leguas y media, fere que son á cuatro millas por legua, dos mil seiscientas ochenta y dos millas segun el suso dicho cuento sumado y probado de fin en fin. Empero contando setecientos stadios por cada un grado, segun los suso dichos Doctores mandan, aunque Tolomeo pone no mas de quienientos stadios por grado, segun suso dicho es en el pre-allegado libro *De Situ Orbis*.

“Item: es de notar que en el cercle equinoccial cada un grado es de veinte y una leguas y cinco partes de ocho, y cada un grado de los trópicos es veinte leguas y cuatro partes de trescientos sesenta, segun los suso dichos Doctores.

“Partiendo del Cabo Verde por línea occidental el término trescientas setenta leguas comprende diez y ocho grados, por cuanto la dicha línea ó paralelo dista del equinoccio quince grados, donde los grados comprende cada uno de ellos veinte leguas y cinco partes de ocho, segun los dichos Doctores.

“Del Cabo Verde á la isla de la Gran Canaria son doscientas treinta y dos leguas de cuatro millas por legua y está de la dicha Canaria por medio dia cuasi al tercio de la cuarta en verso lebeix sive sudueste, y dista del equinoccio quince grados, y la isla del medio de las que estan delante del Cabo Verde está por la cuarta de Poniente verso maestral ciento diez y siete leguas que son grados cinco y dos tercios, y de aquesta isla del medio se toma el término de las trescientas setenta leguas por Poniente, el cual término es á diez, y ocho grados de la dicha isla del medio verso Occidente, y en este paralelo cada un grado es veinte leguas y cinco partes de ocho, contando setecientos stadios por grado, segun los suso dichos Doctores, porque el Tolomeo comparte por otra cuenta.

“Y segun Tolomeo cada un grado en el equinoccio comprende quince leguas y dos tercios, y en los trópicos catorce leguas y un tercio, y en el paralelo de Cabo Verde catorce leguas y dos tercios, y por esto las trescientas setenta leguas en este paralelo se entienden por Poniente veinte y cinco grados y un tercio fere.

“Y el Almirante dice en su carta que el Cabo Verde dista del equinoccio nueve grados y un cuarto; segun Tolomeo veo es su cuenta dando quince leguas y dos tercios por grado; pero yo fallo segun los otros Doctores que distan las dichas islas del equinoccio. El compartimiento de los stadios, aunque sea diverso número del que pone Tolomeo, segun lo que ponen los suso dichos Doctores Strabo, Alfragano, Macrobi, Teodosi et Euristhenes in essencia todo acude á un fin, porque el Tolomeo pone los stadios mas grandes, de manera que los suyos ciento y ochenta mil stadios son de los de los dichos Doctores doscientos cincuenta y dos mil por la línea equinoccial como suso dicho es.”

Translation

“The opinion and judgment of Messer Jaime Ferrer in regard to the capitulation made between the Most Catholic Sovereigns and the King of Portugal, in which it is shown that the author was a great cosmographer and wonderfully skilful in matters relating to the sea.

“The manner in which the boundary and end of the 370 leagues can be found, starting from the islands of Cape Verde, by a westerly line, is as follows:

“First, it must be noted that the said Cape Verde and its islands are a distance of 15 degrees from the Equator, and likewise it must be noted that the said 370 leagues, starting from the said islands, include to the west 18 degrees, and each degree on this parallel includes $20\frac{1}{2}$ leagues: and therefore it is necessary to make a straight line in latitude from Pole to

Pole, only in this, our hemisphere, intersecting the said parallel exactly at the end of the said 18 degrees, and all which shall be found within this line to the left hand, turning toward Guinea, will belong to the King of Portugal, and the other part to the West as far as it turns by the East toward the Arabian Gulf, will belong to the Sovereigns, our Lords, if their vessels shall first navigate there: and this is what I understand from the capitulation made by their Highnesses with the King of Portugal.

"And it is a certain thing and the greatest conclusion of cosmography, that in navigating by one same parallel, the said boundary cannot be determined by the elevation of the Pole Star [*Polus mundi*]: and this is the reason, that, navigating by the said parallel, the said Pole Star [*Polo*] will always be elevated at one same elevation, through all the circumference of the said parallel, and this is true.

"But I say that it is possible, and a very certain thing, that the said boundary and end of the said 370 leagues can be found by the North Star, by the following rule and method:

"It is necessary for the vessel starting from the islands of Cape Verde to search for the said boundary, to leave the parallel or Western line to the left and take her course to the quarter of the West toward the North-west, and to continue sailing by the said quarter until the Pole Star rises $18\frac{2}{3}$ degrees and then the said vessel will be exactly on the aforesaid line which passes from Pole to Pole at the end of the 370 leagues: and from here it is necessary that the said vessel change and take her course by the said line toward the Antarctic Pole until the Arctic Pole rises 15 degrees, and then she will be exactly, from end to end, on the line or parallel which passes through the islands of the said Cape Verde and at the end and true boundary of the said 370 leagues; which boundary is very clearly shown by the elevation of the North Star, according to the aforesaid rule.

"And as the sailing chart does not altogether serve nor is sufficient in the mathematical demonstration of the aforesaid rule, a map of the world is necessary in the form of a sphere and divided into two hemispheres by its lines and degrees, and the situation of the land, islands and sea, each thing located in its own place: which map of the world I leave, together with these expressions of my meaning and opinion, that the truth may be more clearly seen.

"And I say that in order to understand the rule and explanation aforesaid, it is necessary to be a Cosmographer, Arithmetician and Navigator or to understand their arts: and whoever does not possess these three sciences together, cannot possibly understand it, neither [can he] by any other manner or rule, if he does not have a knowledge of the said three sciences.

"And for a better exposition of the aforesaid rule, it must be known that the quarter of the wind which the ship will take on her course, starting from the islands of Cape Verde, to the end of the 370 leagues, will be 74 leagues distant from the Western parallel or line, at the rate of 20 *por ciento* and as the said quarter declines toward the north in sailing by it, the

different elevation of the Pole Star appears manifest, and the said 74 leagues include in latitude about $3\frac{1}{3}$ degrees.

“Moreover, it must be noted that according to the aforesaid rule, it is necessary to allow for each degree 700 stadia, according to Strabo, Alfragan, Theodosius, Macrobius, Ambrosius and Euristhenes [Eratosthenes], because Ptolemy gives to a degree only 500 stadia. And further I say that there is another way to find the said boundary according to the manner and science of Mariners, and it is the following:

“First, let the Sovereigns, our Lords, and the King of Portugal, take 20 mariners, 10 for each party, the best that can be found and conscientious [men] and let them start with a vessel from the Islands of Cape Verde, by a westerly line, and let each one of the said mariners very diligently mark on his chart, every six hours, the course which the ship takes, according to his judgment, and let them take oath that no one of them will tell his opinion to another, until the first mariner, who, according to his judgment, finds himself at the said boundary, shall say so to the two Captains, [they being] trustworthy men, placed on the said vessel by the will and agreement of the aforesaid Sovereigns: and then let the said Captains take the opinions and judgments of the other mariners: and if the greater number agree with the first who finds himself at the boundary, let his opinion be taken as conclusive and as deciding the said boundary, and if they do not agree with the first mariner, let the opinion and judgment of the greater number be taken, and after coming to an agreement, let them change their course by a straight line toward the Antarctic Pole, and all they shall find to the left hand toward Guinea shall belong to the King of Portugal in the aforesaid manner.

“This second method is uncertain and can be wrong, because it has no foundation other than the simple judgment and opinion of sailors alone, and the first rule—by the elevation of the North Star—is very certain, as shown above.

“And if any error shall be seen in this, my decision and opinion, I will always submit myself to the correction of those who know and understand more than myself, especially to the Admiral of the Indies, who, at the present time knows more of this matter than any other; because he is greatly learned in theory and wonderfully practical, as his memorable achievements manifest: and I believe that the Divine Providence had chosen him for its great mystery and service in this undertaking, which I think is the disposition and preparation of that which the same Divine Providence will show henceforth, to its great glory—the salvation and good of the world.

“Here appears the navigation of the Admiral of the Mainland. Ptolemy in the eighth book of *De Situ Orbis*, says, chapter V.

“That the true circumference of the earth at the equator is 180,000 stadia at the rate of 500 stadia to the degree, according to his calculation, and counting 8 stadia per mile, there are 22,500 miles, which are 5625 leagues at the rate of 4 miles per league, according to Castilian reckoning,

each degree coming to 15 leagues and two hundred and twenty-five parts of three hundred and sixty. And in the same book, chapter V, he says that the circle of the tropics is 164,672 stadia, which are 20,584 miles, and 5146 leagues, each degree coming to 14 leagues and one hundred and six parts of three hundred and sixty. Moreover the said circumference of the earth is 252,000 stadia according to Strabo, Alfragan, Ambrosius, Macrobius, Theodosius and Euristhenes, which 252,000 stadia, at the rate of 8 stadia per mile, are 31,500 miles and at the rate of four miles per league, are 7875 leagues. Item: By the circle of the tropics the circumference is 7204 leagues and seventy-two thousand parts of one hundred and eighty thousand, and it is found by the rule of three, saying, if 22,500 miles at the Equator, according to Ptolemy give me 7875 leagues at the said Equator, what will 20,584 miles give me, which is the circle of the tropics? And in this manner the aforesaid $7204\frac{1}{2}$ leagues will be found, almost, according to the said learned men.

"The said circle of the tropics is less than the Equinoctial circle by $670\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, which are, at the rate of four miles per league, almost 2682 miles, according to the aforesaid calculation, summed up and proved throughout: counting however, 700 stadia for each degree, according to what the aforesaid learned men direct, although Ptolemy allows no more than 500 stadia to the degree, according to what is aforesaid in the before mentioned book *De Situ Orbis*.

"Item: It must be noted that at the Equinoctial circle each degree is 21 leagues and five parts of eight and each degree of the tropics is 20 leagues and four parts of three hundred and sixty, according to the aforesaid learned men.

"Starting from Cape Verde by a westerly line, the boundary, 370 leagues, includes 18 degrees, inasmuch as the said line or parallel is distant from the Equator 15 degrees, hence the degrees, each of them, include 20 leagues and five parts of eight, according to the said learned men.

"From Cape Verde to the Island of the Grand Canary there are 232 leagues at the rate of four miles per league, and it is from the said Canary to the south, almost the third of the quarter towards 'lebeix,' that is south-west, and distant from the Equator 15 degrees: and the middle island of those in front of Cape Verde is to the quarter of the west toward the north-west 117 leagues, which are $5\frac{2}{3}$ degrees: and from this middle island may be taken the boundary of the 370 leagues to the West, which boundary is 18 degrees from the said middle island toward the West, and on this parallel each degree is 20 leagues and five parts of eight, counting 700 stadia to the degree, according to the aforesaid learned men, as Ptolemy makes the division by another calculation.

"And according to Ptolemy, each degree on the Equator includes $15\frac{2}{3}$ leagues and on the tropics $14\frac{1}{3}$ leagues, and on the parallel of Cape Verde $14\frac{2}{3}$ leagues and therefore the three hundred and seventy leagues on this parallel are understood as extending to the West nearly $25\frac{1}{3}$ degrees.

"And the Admiral says in his letter that Cape Verde is $9\frac{1}{4}$ degrees dis-

tant from the Equator. According to Ptolemy I see that his calculation allows $15\frac{2}{3}$ leagues to a degree; but I find according to the other learned men that the said islands are distant from the Equator. In regard to the division of the stadia, although the number given by Ptolemy may be different from that given by the aforesaid learned men, Strabo, Alfragan, Macrobius, Theodosius, and Euristhenes, in the essential they all arrive at one conclusion, because Ptolemy makes use of longer stadia so that his 180,000 stadia are equal to the 252,000 stadia of the said learned men for the Equinoctial line, as aforesaid."

The additional agreement, made April 15, 1495, provided that in the following July a joint commission should meet at some point on the frontier of Spain and Portugal to discuss and settle the line, after which, within ten months of due notice being served by one party or the other, a joint expedition was to start and determine the line by the practical method mentioned in the original treaty as well as by that which Jaime Ferrer suggested in his document. At the same time the Sovereigns directed that all maps thereafter constructed should have upon them this line of demarcation. As this document, still preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, has place for the month and date in blank, it is evident it was never issued. There is in *El Archivo General de Indias* at Seville a report made by Don Juan Bautista de Gesio, dated Madrid, November 24, 1579, in which the following passage certainly indicates that there had actually been an attempt to fix this line:

"Segun el informe de doce cosmógrafos castellanos y portugueses, nombrados para fijar esa línea de límites los primeros tomaron por base la isla de San Antonio, la mas occidental de las del Cabo Verde: los segundos la de Sal, la mas oriental de dichas islas. No se habia indicado el valor de las leguas, y los instrumentos de los geógrafos eran muy imperfectos, por consecuencia los comisarios diferian mucho entre sí quedando sin ejecucion la operacion. Ne obstante, los hidrógrafos portugueses pretendian que el Portugal tenia derecho á doscientas leguas de terreno en el Brasil, pasando la línea de demarcacion por el rio de la Coroa, cerca de Maranhão y no distante de San Vicente."

"According to the report of twelve Castilian and Portuguese cosmographers, appointed to fix this boundary line, the first took as a basis the Island of San Antonio, the most western of the Cape Verde Islands: the second took the Island of Sal, the most eastern of the said Islands. The value of leagues had not been determined and the instruments of the geographers were very imperfect, consequently the Commissioners differed

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greatly among themselves, the operation remaining unexecuted. Notwithstanding, the Portuguese hydrographers pretended that Portugal had a right to 200 leagues of land in Brazil, crossing the line of Demarcation by the River Coroa, near Maranhão and not far from St. Vincent."

On January 22, 1518, Alonzo de Zuazo, who was in Santo Domingo, wrote home to Charles I.:

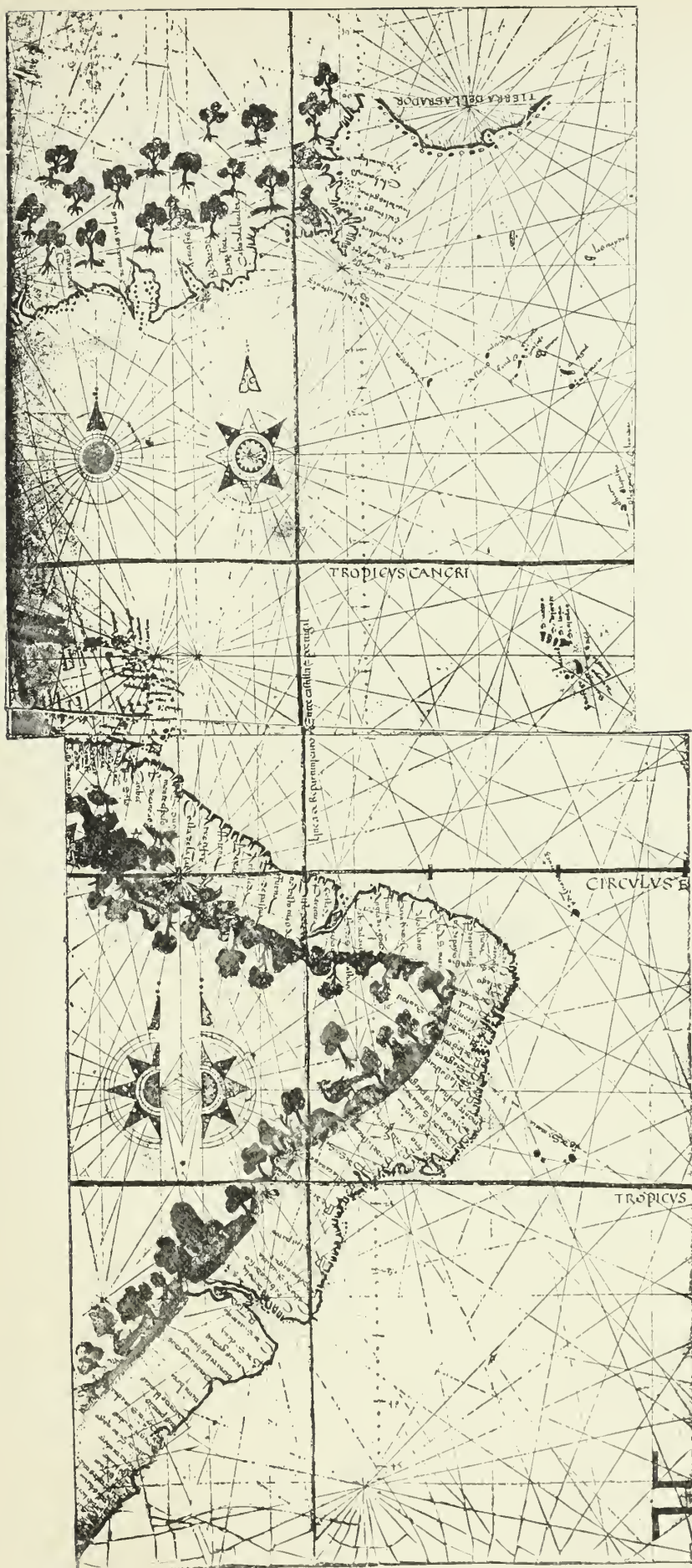
"Enviaron ciertos pilotos para hacer una demarcacion, é asentar estas lineas é punto donde habian de estar: como esta sea division de longitudes en que los pilotos ninguna cosa saben ni alcanzen, no pudieron ni supieron hacer cosa cierta, é así se volvieron sin hacer ninguna cosa."

"They sent certain pilots to make a demarcation, and fix these lines and the point where they should be; as this is a division of longitudes, of which the pilots know and comprehend nothing, they could not or did not know anything certain, and so they returned without doing anything."

No date is given for this determining of the line, and, so far as we know, it is not further recorded in history.¹ We might expect to find the line, if established, on the De la Cosa map, dated 1500, but it occurred on no Spanish chart for many years. It appeared for the first time on the manuscript map made for Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, a copy of which in 1502 has come down to us, and which Harrisse has named the Cantino map, after its constructor, Alberto Cantino. On this map the line, according to calculations offered by Harrisse, would on a modern chart pass about 42° 30' west of Greenwich, near the river Maranhão. But it does not appear from which of the Cape Verde Islands the Portuguese measured their line. As they shortened the distance across the Atlantic on this planisphere, their line was made to pass much farther to the westward. The Spaniards seemed loath to put the line into their early maps. A council of Spanish geographers and pilots, among whom were Sebastian Cabot and Juan Vespucius, on November 13, 1515, drew up a document relating to the line of demarcation, but it is lost.

The Treaty of Tordesillas was regarded by both Spain and Portugal as remaining in force through the sixteenth century, through that period of submerged identity which the Lusitanians always called the *Sixty Years of Captivity*,—1580 to 1640,—through into the middle of the eighteenth century, when, in the

¹ Carlos Calvo, in his *Coleccion Completa de los Tratados* (Paris, 1862), repeats this passage and gives a notice of the original in the *Archivo General*.



Salviati or Laurentian Map, showing Line of Demarcation between Spain and Portugal

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treaty adopted at Madrid, January 13, 1750, both Spain and Portugal agreed to abandon the line as provided for in the Treaty of Tordesillas. But this treaty very shortly afterward was itself annulled, which must have revived the original agreement of 1494.

At no time does it appear that there was a distinct understanding of the point of departure from which the three hundred and seventy leagues were to be measured westward. As we have seen, the Cape Verde Islands run from Bõa Vista, in longitude $22^{\circ} 20'$ west of Greenwich, to Sant' Antao, in longitude $25^{\circ} 30'$. A careful reading of the treaty convinces us that the starting-point was not intended to be specifically mentioned, but was to be agreed upon by the commissioners when they were assembled. The order might thus be read: "You are to assemble at the island of Grand Canary, from there make your way *to* the Cape Verde Islands and *thence* continue your course, beginning to make the measurement of 370 leagues." Or it might be made to read: "Assemble at the Grand Canary, sail to the Cape Verde Islands, and as you depart *from* the Cape Verde Islands, begin your measurement." The first reading might be regarded as a literal compliance with the instructions. The treaty clothes the commissioners to be appointed with certain powers since it provides for their concurring in "making the assignment and boundary," and again, they "shall take their way straight to the west to the distance of the said 370 leagues, measured as the said persons shall agree." Thus they would seem to have certain latitude in establishing the starting-point, an essential feature of measuring a line, whether one league or three hundred and seventy leagues. The commission never met and the commissioners never measured. But ever after and until this day men dispute as to where this line begins. Should the vessels, whose daily courses were to measure this line, when they came *to* the islands of Cape Verde, continue their course and there begin to count the distance? In that case they might strike almost any one of the islands. The starting-point would make a difference of three degrees of longitude. Jaime Ferrer seems to suggest Fogo,¹ the middle island of the group, as an appro-

¹ Fogo lies between the parallels $14^{\circ} 42'$ and $15^{\circ} 1'$ north latitude, and $24^{\circ} 8'$ and $24^{\circ} 32'$ longitude west of Greenwich. It is about thirty-six miles north to south, and forty-two miles from east to west. There runs through the middle of this island a

priate starting-point. Ferrer counted 252,000 stadia for the equatorial circumference of the earth, or about 28,922 English miles, thus considerably enlarging its real size.

Early in the year 1500, Americus Vespucius was upon the coast of Brazil and reached Cape San Roque in 5° of south latitude. About the same time Vicente Yañez Pinzón followed the Brazilian coast some three degrees farther south. Diego de Lepe, a native, like Pinzón, of Palos, added to the map two more degrees of southern latitude. These explorations were made for Spain, but we fail to learn that any territory was found by the Spanish cosmographers to be east of the supposed line of demarcation, or was handed over to Portugal as within her preserves. There had gone out from Lisbon a Portuguese, Gaspar Corte Real, under letters patent dated May 12, 1500, who explored the east coast of Newfoundland. And there had been the famous but unpremeditated voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who, sailing from Lisbon for Calicut, March 9, 1500, was driven by a storm to the coast of Brazil, where he touched land on April 22, in the neighbourhood of Porto Seguro. His companion, Gaspar de Lemos, hastened back to Portugal with the news that territory had been added to the Portuguese Crown under the title of *Terra de Santa Cruz*. Then followed some interest and some expeditions, but no great attempts at settlements. But the new land was well within the line, and therefore belonged to Portugal by right of discovery under the Treaty of Tordesillas, but open to dispute had the Pope's Bulls been considered in operation.

Fernando de Magalhães, or Magellan, was born of a noble family in one of four places, Porto, Lisbon, Villa de Figuero, or Villa de Sabrosa, with a probability favouring the last city. While still young, he joined the expedition of Francisco de Almeida to Quiloa in 1505. He went afterward to Malacca in 1511, with Albuquerque. Five active years were spent by him in the East Indies, during which he obtained a knowledge of the Moluccas. In the rich library of the Portuguese King, when he returned to Lisbon, Magellan found two things of startling value to him: *first*, he found that the Moluccas were admittedly within

mountain crest, and in the centre of this is a volcanic cone rising to the height of 9150 feet. It may be that these topographical conditions suggested to Ferrer his point of departure.

Christopher Columbus

the division of the earth belonging to Spain; *second*, that Martin Behaim had made a map for the King of Portugal showing how one could go through a strait from the Ocean-sea to the sea in which lay those islands. As he soon after quarrelled with the King of Portugal, he offered himself and his knowledge to Spain. He received encouragement from some Spanish statesmen, notably Christopher de Hara, and notwithstanding the energetic protests of Alvaro da Costa, the Portuguese Ambassador, the young King was persuaded to sign, at Valladolid, March 22, 1518, the necessary authority for the expedition. Equipped with five ships and accompanied by two hundred and sixty-five persons, Magellan set sail from San Lucar de Barrameda on August 10, 1519, going first to the Canary Islands and from the Canaries to the islands of Cape Verde, and thence toward the west and south. They touched the coast of Brazil near the Cape of Santa Maria, and afterward followed the land southward. The mutiny of his men, the stern justice meted out to the guilty, the breaking of his fleet,—all read like the experiences of a captain of buccaneers in the seventeenth century. But Magellan was captain in fact as well as by title.

At length, in October, 1520, they doubled the *Cape de las Virgines*, and entered the water-way ever afterward called by the name of the leader of the expedition, and which on November 27, 1520, opened the way for him into the Pacific. He it was who gave to this quiet sea the name of *Oceano Pacifico*. Then began that long journey on an unknown sea, at first through great cold and then by unpromising islands, until the islands were reached to which he gave the name of *Ladrones*, retained by them to this day, because of the thieving inhabitants. A farther westward sailing brought them on to a group of islands, of which Magellan took possession, and to which he gave the name of Archipelago of St. Lazarus. Afterwards these islands were christened the Philippines, in honour of the Prince of Asturias, and by that name they are held to-day as the possessions of the United States.¹ Here, on the island of Mathan, or

¹ Since our coming into possession of these islands of Saint Lazare, or the Philippines, the four books which first described the voyage of Magellan have a new interest for collectors. The historical writer may well content himself with the account found in *Ramusio* (vol. i. of the second edition), published at Venice from the Giunta Press in 1554. But he who desires to possess the story as it first came from the hand of the printer must quickly buy the three editions of the account as written by Maxi-

Mactan as it is called to-day, Fernando Magellan was killed Saturday, April 27, 1521, in a fight with the natives. From these islands the *Victoria* sailed to the Moluccas, the Islands of Spice, and thence the few remaining members of the expedition sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, and so homeward, entering the port of San Lucar on September 7, 1522.¹ The news that the ship had circumnavigated the globe, and that islands rich in spices had been found, spread through Europe.

In whose name were to be recorded the title-deeds to Brazil and the islands of the Moluccas and those of Saint Lazare? Was Portugal or Spain to possess the land of the parrots? Was the region of spices to be under the dominion of Spain or Portugal? These questions could only be answered by applying the measuring line. If the land of Brazil was reached before the three hundred and seventy leagues were consumed, counting from the islands of Cape Verde, Portugal had dominion. If after going eastward 180° from this westward line of three hundred and seventy leagues, the islands of Saint Lazare had not yet been reached, they belonged to Spain. The starting-point in opposite directions was this line of demarcation, and this line ran around the earth from pole to pole. It was not Alexander

milian Tansylvanus, the son-in-law of a brother of Christopher de Hara, soon after the return of the *Victoria*. The first edition is a small quarto issued from the Rome press of F. Minitius Calvus in November, 1523. It was followed by the Cologne issue, a small 8vo, from the press of Eucharius Ceruicornus, January, 1523. As the year began with Mareh, the former edition has priority. But to make this clearer, the reader is informed that on the recto of Aiv he will find a prohibition from the Pope against printing the work by private hands. Moreover, some errors in the Rome edition are corrected in the Cologne edition, and this is regarded in bibliography as certain proof that the corrected edition is subsequent in its printing. The Rome edition of November, 1523, has one leaf—verso blank—three preliminary leaves—verso of the last blank—and fifteen unnumbered leaves. In all the copies we know, signature Dii is wrongly numbered Eii. The Cologne edition of January, 1523, has the title on first leaf, followed by fifteen leaves, unnumbered, the text beginning on the verso of the title leaf. In the border under the nude figures is the word *Χαριτε*—"the Graees." The third edition was printed at Rome in the month of February, 1524. These three editions will be found described in full by HARRISSE in his *Bibliotheca Americana*, who does not, however, assign them their proper relative positions. The fourth rare Magellan is the French edition of Antoine Pigafetta's narration of the famous voyage, believed to have been printed in 1525. These four books should be diligently sought by the American collector.

¹ Sebastian El Cano and his companions of the *Victoria* had counted the days they had been gone, and, lo! their calendar showed that it was the *sixth* day of the month of September, but the sailors of San Lucar assured them that it was really the *seventh* day of the month. And then they made a discovery as surprising as their finding the straits, that in sailing westward about the world they had lost a day.

VI., Pope of Rome, who established a point of departure, setting two nations back to back, and who then gave the word for a race half way around the world. Tordesillas and not Rome announced the international race. The line, such as it was, was fixed by these two nations in friendly agreement. The race was run by their own rules, under their mutual conditions, on their own course. And now one nation had gone its full 180° eastward and the other had gone its distance of 180° westward. As they were back to back when the word of departure was given, so now after a long contest of thirty years they stood face to face in the Malay Archipelago. In this emergency, the nations had to refer to the measuring line, and then the importance of an immovable starting-point became manifest. Three degrees of longitude might make a difference to one nation or the other of valuable islands or continental lands. Accordingly, the famous Junta of Badajoz was held, at which appeared about the table three representatives in name of the three greatest navigators of the world, Sebastian Cabot, Juan Vespucius, and Ferdinand Columbus. Since the days when Christopher Columbus crossed the seas to Watling Island, since the summer day when John Cabot had touched the northern coasts, since those voyages in which Americus Vespucius had sailed his fourth part of the earth's circle,—what changes! The earth had been completely girdled, and vast tracts in the New World were occupied by a powerful people from the Old World. But yet neither the Kings of Spain and Portugal, nor the heirs and successors of the First Admiral, were in undisputed possession of their rights, nor could they be until all were agreed as to the division of the earth made between them by the Tordesillas line. The measuring rule itself was not yet acceptable to all. The treaty had provided that the distance might be measured in degrees or leagues as was deemed best. But degrees were measured according to the size of the earth. When this had been determined, one only had to divide by 360 to get the length of a degree. Who knew the size of the earth? A league, on the other hand, was practically a fixed measure. Four Italian miles made a league, and each mile contained eight stadia. So it was proposed that a degree was to be considered as containing $17\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, equal to $62\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the starting-point was to be the centre of the island of Sant' Antao, the most western of the Cape

Verde group; the 370 leagues were to be considered as equal on that parallel to 22° and 9 miles more, or $22^{\circ} 8' 22''$. This certainly was an attempt at reaching definite conclusions, but it was not adopted. Portugal was not ready to accept this starting-point. If she consented to this, the Moluccas might fall to Spain. On the other hand, if the starting-point was on the east coast of Bõa Vista, a large part of her possessions in Brazil might be taken from her. It was not until April 15, 1529, that a treaty was signed at Saragossa in which the line of demarcation in the eastern hemisphere was made to pass 17° , or 297 leagues east of the island of Ternate in the Moluccas, but nothing was agreed to respecting the line in the western world. It was incongruous, having a meridian line passing down only one side of the globe.¹

This line of demarcation runs through the title-deeds of more than one nation having territory or claim to territory in the New World. Its consideration belongs to the diplomatic history of America. At best this was always a ghostly line, flitting backward and forward over the Ocean-sea and over its islands, with its shadow falling now on the elbow of the great South American continent and now covering the Spice Islands of the Pacific.

We have been concerned in showing that this line did not emanate from the Pope, but resulted from a mutual agreement between Spain and Portugal. If the vast terrestrial division had been made by Rome, the nations of Europe, then recognising the Holy See as clothed with something at least of temporal power, might have been bound by its commands; made by two nations, parcelling out between themselves spheres of influence, it was binding only upon those two nations. It is true that many other nations acquiesced in the title held by Spain, even over unoccupied lands, but it was partly because at first they had no interest in America, and afterward its seeming recognition helped perfect their own title derived from conquest and from purchase. The real title to the Indies, the Indies of the West, was held through original discovery and actual possession, the soundest foundations upon which to build an empire. The

¹ The line of demarcation, had it ever been mathematically drawn, would not have touched the northern part of America, although as put down on both the Spanish and Portuguese maps it appears to cut the Baccalaos.

world will always admit this title. The greed of a nation may not go beyond the capacity of its organism. Its flag may not float farther than its arms may hold it. Certain laws are written on the hearts of men and the hearts of nations before they are inscribed on tables of stone. The doctrine that newly found lands shall belong to the nation discovering and occupying them is original and ultimate. It cannot be modified by the signatures of a Junta. It cannot be altered by a Bull with seal of lead and threads of silk.¹

¹ The remarkable map shown in reduced fac-simile on page 201 is preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It bears the arms of the Salviati family, and is thought to have been made for Cardinal Giovanni Salviati, Papal Nuncio in Spain in 1525. HARRISSE assigns this map a date previous to the Weimar chart of 1527. The author was permitted to have the American portion of this map reproduced in exact fac-simile for the first time, but as the chart itself measures 1490 mms. long by 945 mms. wide, for our present purposes we were obliged to content ourselves with a greatly diminished reproduction. The map gives the coast line from Florida to Labrador, and the nomenclature offers an interesting study to the American cartographer.

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PART VII
EXPLORATION

CHAPTER LXXV

THE SECOND VOYAGE

ON the twenty-fifth day of September, 1493, the Admiral set sail from Cadiz on his second voyage. There was no holding back now, no protesting, but sailors and adventurers were eager to enrol themselves for the new expedition. Seventeen ships composed the fleet and fifteen hundred ¹ men constituted the army and colonists. The proportion of ships to sailors and passengers was about that of the first expedition, although it is probable the storage capacity was larger, for now besides men there were horses and cattle and some ships were loaded ² with seeds and plants and cereals for the new lands. The money to defray the expenses of the voyage was easily obtained and even jewels were forthcoming; but both money and jewels were stripped from the unhappy Jews. Not all the money came this way, however. The grandees of Spain contributed somewhat. The arms were taken from the arsenal at Granada. The men who were going were of a higher order than those who were forced into the three ships on the first voyage. Not to speak of the brother of the Admiral, Diego, there were Alonzo de Hojeda or Ojeda, a Spanish Gascon, reckless and fearless; Ginès de Gorbalan, who was to lead the famous expedition to Niti; Pedro Margarite, a gentleman of good family in Aragon, and who was to be among

¹ Oviedo reports the total number at 1500. Bernaldez says there were 1200 more or less, and Peter Martyr declares there were 1200 armed foot-soldiers in the expedition.

² Syllacius reports that the lighter vessels were called Cantabrian barques, and that their timbers were for the most part fastened together with wooden pins lest the weight of iron should lessen their speed. The various kinds of ships seem to have been skilfully chosen, for while all were constructed to withstand heavy and tempestuous seas, there were some especially fitted for swift sailing, and others with light draught that they might the better explore the shores and inlets of the islands.

the first disturbers of peace; Juan Ponce de Leon, who, while he cannot be called the discoverer of Florida, gave to that delightful land its name and his own bones; Juan de la Cosa, who had sailed with Columbus in the first voyage on his own ship, which he saw go to pieces on the shore near La Navidad, and who has the distinction of having constructed the earliest map of the New World to come down to us¹; Dr. Chanca, physician to the Spanish Princess and whose letter to the Chapter of Seville is one of the two earliest accounts we have of the second voyage; Pedro de las Casas, the father, and Francisco de Peñalosa, the uncle of the future historian of the Indies, Bartolomé de las Casas²; Friar Antonio de Marchena, an early friend of Columbus, often wrongly confounded with the Prior of La Rabida; Friar Bernardo Boil,³ a priest from the monastery of Monserrate, who said the first mass celebrated in the western hemisphere; and Guglielmo Coma, whose interesting narrative is here reproduced and which is the first printed account of the second voyage to reach the public. There were still others, men who had been of standing at the Court and who were now to tempt fortune in another Catalonia and in a new Andalusia.

Since the year 1825, we have had access for information concerning the second voyage of Columbus to the publication of *Coleccion de los Viages*, by M. F. de Navarrete. At the end of the fifteenth century, the world which had read the letter of Columbus written to Luis de Santangel and which was printed in Spanish, or the other letter written to the treasurer Sanchez and which was frequently printed in Latin, was hungry for some word from the fleet which had returned to the New World carry-

¹ We except, of course, the sketch which the Admiral made in 1493 of the north coast of Española and which we reproduce in chapter cxxi.

² "Este Francisco de Peñalosa era tio mio, hermano de mi padre, que se llamaba Pedro de las Casas, que vino con le Almirante y con el hermano á esta isla Española este viaje."

"This Francisco de Peñalosa was my uncle, brother of my father, who was called Pedro de las Casas, and who came with the Admiral and his brother to this island of Española on this voyage."—*Historia*, lib. i., cap. lxxxii.

³ The French translation of Navarrete materially alters the sense of the Spanish and makes it appear that Father Boil, or Buil, had not yet left Spain, since the Admiral is made to say that he wrote letters and forwarded them by Antonio de Torres to the Sovereigns and also to Father Buil and to the Treasurer. This passage we render from the Spanish as if Columbus said that he, Father Buil, and the Treasurer (of the expedition) had all written the Sovereigns by the ships returning under Antonio de Torres. This Treasurer was Bernal Diaz de Pisa, of whom we shall shortly hear more.

ing colonists and explorers and adventurers. The Sovereigns had early and constant intelligence of movements in the lands across the western sea. The Admiral and some of his followers wrote to Peter Martyr and Peter Martyr thereupon wrote to an Italian Duke and to a few Cardinals. But the world, the great mass of mankind forming, moulding, turning, twisting human affairs into recorded events, had no knowledge of what was doing in that other hemisphere until Nicolò Syllacio, late in the year 1494 or early in 1495, published a pamphlet¹ containing news from the colony in a letter written home by Guglielmo Coma, one of the companions of the Admiral on his second voyage.

Nicolaus Syllacius, or Nicolò Syllacio, as he was called in Italian, was born about the middle of the fifteenth century in Messina. He went to Spain as a youth, returning to Sicily for a time, and while still young, entered the University of Pavia for the purpose of pursuing his studies in philosophy. Lodovico Maria Sforza,² one of the picturesque characters of

¹ This is a quarto of ten leaves, printed in Gothic type, without date or name of place or printer, and without catchwords, signatures, or pagination, except that the 3d, 4th, and 5th folios have the numerals 3. 4. 5. at the lower right hand of the recto of these leaves respectively; there are 34 lines to a full page, but the recto of the second folio has 35 lines, the first line being printed in red ink.

The book begins with a dedication to Ludovico Sforza, which fills the first and nearly half of the second page. The first four lines are printed in red ink, and the initial letter is a small capital, also printed in red. The text begins on the recto of the second folio. The title is in a single line, and the initial letter C, of the ordinary size, is in red. The text occupies folios *two* to *nine* inclusive and about half the recto of the tenth folio. On the verso of the tenth is the letter addressed to Alphonso Caval-laria, the subscriptum of three lines being printed in red.

This rare book is represented by five examples. One is in the Lenox Library, New York. It was once in the Olivieri collection at Ferrara and afterwards in the library of the Marquis Rocea Saporetta. In the year 1859 the late James Lenox privately printed in New York one hundred and two copies—two in folio and one hundred in quarto form—of the text of this tract, with a translation into English by the Rev. John Mulligan, A.M. A second copy is in the Trivulzio Library at Milan. A third is in the Royal Library at Madrid. A fourth was in the Bibliotheca Thothan at Copenhagen, and to-day is preserved in the Royal Library of Denmark. A fifth was sold in 1889 by Leo S. Olschki of Florence to go into a private collection in America. Signor Olschki had his copy fac-similed before it left his hands. Our fac-simile is from the example in the Lenox Library, with the translation already made by the Rev. Mr. Mulligan for Mr. Lenox.

The reader will appreciate the bibliographical value of this work, for it bears the same relation to the second voyage of Columbus, which definitely determined the colonial and permanent harvest of the discovery, that the folio Spanish edition of the Columbus letter bears to the first voyage.

² He was known as *The Moor* because of his swarthy complexion. On the death of his nephew he was proclaimed Duke in 1494, and the following year obtained from Charles VIII. of France the provinces of Novara and Genoa. September, 1499, saw

Milanese history, was then governing the Duchy of Milan for his nephew, Giovanni Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and Syllacio soon obtained his favour and patronage. From the University he obtained his degree in July, 1493. He once more went to Spain, in the escort of Guido Antonio Arcimboli, Archbishop of Milan, when that distinguished diplomatist was sent to the Spanish Court in 1495. Afterwards he delivered lectures on philosophy at the University. In the month of March, of the year 1496, Syllacio composed a work entitled *De felici philosophorum paupertate appetenda*. A cotemporary writer referred to him as *Artium et Medecinæ Doctorem Philosophiam in Gymnasio Papiensi Florentissimo Legentem*.

While he was employed at Pavia he formed a friendship for Johannes Antonius de Birretis, who had established an important printing-press in Pavia, in connection with Francisco Giron-denghi, but who was rather a patron of printing than an actual practiser of the art and who, long before the period of which we are writing, was spoken of as *Vir Egregius*. In the year 1494 Syllacio received one or more letters from a correspondent by the name of Guglielmo Coma, a nobleman of Aragon who had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to the New World. He published this account without adding to or changing any of its matter: "Præterea quæ accepi, quæque audiui, commutare aliquid aut addere non sum ausus." It is probable that through the offices of his friend, De Birretis, in whose household Syllacio seems to have lived, the correspondence was printed and given to the world in the form above described. This little tract gives the earliest intelligence of the second voyage. The Admiral sailed on this voyage from Cadiz, by way of the Canaries, September 25, 1493, with a fleet of seventeen vessels and somewhere in the neighbourhood of twelve hundred men. On Sunday, November 3, they found land, an island, to which the Admiral gave the name of Dominica after the day of discovery. They then visited in turn the islands named by the Admiral Maria-Gallante, so called from his own flagship, Guadaloupe, Santa Cruz, and the island of St. John the Baptist, now our own Puerto Rico. They then sailed to Española to find the fort at La Navidad desolated and not one man alive of the three and forty

him driven from his States by Louis XII., and the following spring he was taken prisoner and confined to the castle of Loches until his death on May 17, 1508.

left there on that day in January, when these men saw depart from them all that bound them to home and country. The Admiral set to work to build the city of Isabella, the first real settlement in the New World, and after having sent his two captains, Hojeda¹ and Gorbalan,² into the interior to discover mines, he ordered Antonio de Torres to return to Spain with twelve ships, which fleet set out upon its homeward voyage February 12, 1494. There was upon the second voyage of Columbus a physician by the name of Anca,³ or Chanca, who wrote an account of this voyage and addressed it to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville. Navarrete published this for the first time in 1825. This publication of the relation by Navarrete is not from the original letter or letters, for the original correspondence is lost, but from a copy of the sixteenth century taken from the papers of Fra. Antonio de Aspa,⁴ of the convent of Mejorada, in which religious house Columbus deposited certain important papers. While these two relations, the one made by Coma and

¹ Alonzo de Hojeda, or Ojeda, makes an important figure among the explorers of the New World. Columbus, on January 30, 1494, in his letter to the King and Queen (Navarrete, vol. i., p. 226) says of him,—“Hojeda, who belonged to the household of the Duke of Medina Celi, a young man of very good mind and extremely sedulous, and who without any doubt and above all comparison, discovered more [than Gorbalan, says Harrisse—See his *Discovery of North America*] judging from the account of the news brought by him.” The truth is that Hojeda was fortunate in that he was sent to investigate the rich mines at Cibao; he returned a few days afterwards with many specimens of gold and a report of its abundance in that region. Gorbalan, on the other hand, went to a native town called *Niti*, and while he, too, returned with some samples of gold, it is apparent that the advantage of the relative finds was with Hojeda.

² Ginès de Gorbalan, or Gorbolanus—see Note 1. He, too, was of great service to the Admiral, but seems to have played a subordinate part to his companion, Hojeda. There was a Gorvalan on the third voyage conducted by Alonzo de Hojeda, but from his position in the expedition, he could not have been this captain.

³ Bernaldez refers to him as *El Honrado Señor el Dr. Anca ó Chanca (Y Otros Nobles Caballeros)*. By a document dated May 23, 1493, Chanca was named physician to the fleet, and under date of May 24, 1493, the Controller Generals of the Finances were directed to give him certain rations because of his performing the additional functions of a notary in the Indies.

⁴ Navarrete says of it:

“This has been copied from a book of records possessed by the Academy of History—written towards the middle of the 16th century and which forms part of a collection of documents relative to the Indies, formed by Antoine de Aspa, member of the order of St. Jerome of the Monastery of Mejorada near Olmedo. The manuscript is composed of thirty-three leaves, the first seventeen of which contain the first and second books of Peter Martyr translated into Castilian. The translator, who wrote between the years 1512 and 1524, has made many additions to the first; the second is a translation nearly literal. From the verso of the seventeenth leaf to the thirty-first is the relation of Dr. Chanca, and which until now remained unedited.”

“(Signed) MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE NAVARRETE.

“MADRID, JUNE 12, 1807.”

published immediately by Syllacio and the other made from a copy of a lost original by Dr. Chanca and not published in full until 1825, substantially agree, the student must appreciate the historical and bibliographical value of the former work. On the other hand, there are to be noted two or three unsatisfactory readings of Syllacio. In the first place, while the letter appears to have been written in February, 1494, and to have been sent home to Spain in the returning ships commanded by Antonio de Torres, the language in places suggests a later composition. Syllacio writes as if the new city of Isabella were already an accomplished fact.

"A wide street laid out perfectly straight divides the city into two parts, while many cross streets intersect this transversely. A magnificent citadel with strong ramparts is erected on the shore. . . . The residence of the Admiral is called the Royal Palace. . . . There, also, is raised a magnificent cathedral—*ibi nobile templum conditum est.*"

On the contrary, Dr. Chanca, as reported in Navarrete, and whose letter to the Chapter of the Cathedral of Seville undoubtedly was carried home in Torres's fleet, writes of the colony and the country:

"The land is very rich for all purposes: near the harbour there is a principal river and another of reasonable size of which the water is very singular. Above the bank the city *Marta* is building."¹ Peter Martyr, in the second book of his *First Decade*, and written from Medina del Campo, April 29, 1494, to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, says:

"Thus have I briefly written unto your Honour, as much as I thought sufficient at the time. I shall shortly hereafter (by God's favour) write unto you more at length of such matters as shall daily be better known.

¹ This is the infant city Isabella, named after the Queen, and the first permanent European settlement in the New World. It is first mentioned in the memorial given by the Admiral to Antonio de Torres, and dated January 30, 1494, in which the Admiral calls Torres *Alcalde de la Ciudad Isabella*, and which is one of the salient exercises of his power to appoint subordinates under the broad privileges conferred on him by the King and Queen, so often confirmed to him on paper and continually withheld from him in reality.

This is the only place where the city is called *Marta*. Peter Martyr, who not only had access to all public documents, but who himself corresponded with Columbus and interviewed the men who returned in the fleet of Torres, does not mention the name of the city in this connection, but in the third book of his *First Decade* he refers to it for the first time in saying, "He returned to Isabella, for such is the name of the city"

For the Admiral himself (whom I use familiarly as my very friend) ¹ hath promised me by his letters, that he will give me knowledge of all such things as may happen. He hath now chosen a strong place for the building of a city—*ad civitatem condendam*—near a commodious harbour, and hath already builded many houses and a chapel ² in which God is daily served by the ministrations of XIII priests according to our divine rites.”

It would seem that Syllacio, in his eagerness to exhibit to a foreigner the activity of the Spaniards, anticipated the completion of promised things and exaggerated the work performed. This reference is apparently anticipatory and justifies our natural criticism, either that the letter was not sent by the hand of Antonio de Torres, being written and sent afterward,³ or else that Syllacio himself altered it from the words of Guglielmo Coma, the latter conclusion being at variance with the editor's distinct declaration that he did not venture to alter anything in the letter.

There is another passage in the letter of Guglielmo Coma, which might lead, at the first reading, to the suspicion that Syllacio had not correctly understood the import of the discovery.

In the dedication he says:

“CUM CONSTET NOSTRO SEculo SECUNDIORIBUS HISPANIÆ REGUM AUSPICIIIS: MERIDIANI MARIS AMBITUM ENAVIGATUM: ÆTHIOPIÆ INFERIORIS TERMINOS EXPLORATOS: INDIE POPULOS RECOGNITOS: ARABIÆ BEATAS INSULAS DEPREHENSAS: QUÆ IN MARI INDICO SPARSÆ CERNUNTUR.”

“Since it is a fact that in our day under the favourable auspices of the Kings of Spain, the Southern Ocean has been navigated around about its extent: the ends of lower Æthiopia have been explored: the peoples of India have been inspected: the blessed isles of Arabia scattered in the Indian Ocean have been discovered.”

The language seems to imply that, in the mind of Syllacio at least, the discoveries of Columbus under the auspices of the King

¹ Peter Martyr expresses his intimacy with Sebastian Cabot in exactly the same terms in his *Third Decade*.

² The word employed by Peter Martyr is *sacellum*, a small sanctuary. There is a vast difference between the hasty construction of a little chapel and the erection of a *nobile templum*.

³ In this case the news of the second voyage would have been brought down to a later period and would have told of the discovery of the *Vega Real* and the building of Fort St. Thomas. It was not long before a comparatively quick and constant communication was opened between Spain and the colony. We find Queen Isabella expressing a desire, in August, 1494 (Navarrete, vol. ii., 155) to have a caravel leave Spain for the island and another return each month.

Christopher Columbus

of Spain ¹ were in the Southern Ocean. He could have alluded to no other discoveries under Spanish Kings, for all the voyages and explorations along the southern shore of Africa had been under the auspices of the kings of Portugal. It is impossible to account for the ignorance of the young University scholar if he had read any copy of the letter of Columbus, which gave so clearly the direction followed on his first voyage from Palòs and the direction followed by the fleet of seventeen vessels on the second voyage from Cadiz. Indeed in his own relation of the second voyage, Syllacio describes the expedition as departing from the island of Ferro, of the Canaries, on October 13 and experiencing a terrible storm on the 27th of the same month, which endangered their lives from its violence, and finding relief on the *following* day, October 28, in the lessening of the storm and the sight of land, an island which, because discovered on Sunday, was called by the Admiral, Dominica. It is probable that Syllacio is wrong in his dates, as Dr. Chanca distinctly says they discovered land on Sunday, November 3. The day given by Syllacio for the discovery was October 28, the day following the storm. If November 3 was Sunday, October 28 must have been Monday, in which case there was no point in calling the island Dominica. Dr. Chanca throws light upon this question by telling us that the storm began on the eve of Sts. Simon-Jude Day and lasted some four hours. Sts. Simon-Jude Day is October 27 and that day also fell on a Sunday.² Whatever the date

¹ Ferdinand and Isabella were generally connected under the plural title of "The Kings," or "The Sovereigns."

² St. Simon, the Canaanite, and St. Jude have the twenty-seventh day of October in common in the catalogue of Martyrology. The second of the pair, St. Jude, was also called Thadeus, and as such is catalogued in many of the early books of the martyrs. Simon and Jude were sons of the sister of the Virgin Mary. These two saints are said to have performed certain separate missions, Simon going into Egypt and Jude into Mesopotamia and Pontius. Both were ushered into Heaven through the portals of martyrdom in Persia, whither they were sent together. Multitudes were converted through their ministry, even the king and his princes subjecting themselves to Christianity. Finally two of the Magi, Zoroës and Arfaxat, encompassed them by false charges, and they were put to death in the temple of the chief city, called Senayr. As their souls departed from their bodies the temple was destroyed and the two magicians with it. It has sometimes been said that St. Simon was sawn asunder and St. Jude killed by a sword.

There are two interesting legends told in the life of Jude concerning our Lord. The former was sent by Christ to King Abagarus, who had written the Saviour a letter asking Him to heal his body. Christ sent Jude with His holograph letter to the King. This, with the exception of His writing with His finger on the ground when the woman was taken in adultery, is the only account we have of Christ's being able to

may have been, either Sunday, October 27, or Sunday, November 3, Syllacio must have known that neither the period of fifteen days nor the longer period of twenty-one days would have sufficed for a journey from the Canaries around Africa and so into the Indian Ocean. He could not deliberately have made such an error. Our explanation is that Nicolò Syllacio, who was, as his name indicates, a Sicilian, desired to magnify the glory of the Spanish Crown. When he was a child, the brilliant Prince, Don Carlos, the older half-brother of Ferdinand, had his residence in Messina and the people¹ of that island kingdom adored him for his mother's² sake and for his own attractive virtues. Nicolò Syllacio was simply appropriating for Spain and Sicily the glories of other kings and of other peoples.

Ferdinand Columbus in the *Historie* says Columbus was sent by his parents to the University of Pavia, where he gave himself to the study of cosmography, astrology, and geometry, the three sciences in which, says Ferdinand, he excelled. The people of Lombardy were fond of calling the city of Pavia the *Athens* of Italy. Its University was not much over one hundred years old at the time it is said the young wool-carder entered its portals, although it boasted a continued line of schools from the days of Charlemagne. Of the long line of names of those who had studied within its walls, not one could

write. Then King Abagarus sent his Court painter to Christ that he might preserve the features of One who had healed both his body and soul. But when the painter approached the Saviour, so great was the effulgence of His countenance, he could not look upon the face of the Lord. Seeing his embarrassment, Christ took His white robe from off His sacred person and pressed it against His face, when the garment was found to have imprinted in exact lineaments the face and features of our Lord.

The account in the *Lives of the Saints*, printed in German by Johannes Schonsperger, at Augsburg, in 1487, is quite elaborate in detail, but gives no authorities.

¹ Zurita (*Anales*, vol. iv., p. 97) tells of the purpose of Carlos to remove to Spain the very remarkable library belonging to the Benedictine friars near Messina, in whose convent he lived while in Sicily. This library was particularly rich in printed books and manuscripts of the ancient classics.

² Blanche, daughter of Charles III. of Navarre, was the widow of Martin, King of Sicily. John of Aragon married her and had three children from the union, Carlos, Prince of Viana—this title was created for him by his grandfather, Charles III., and was intended to designate the heir-apparent; Blanche, married to Henry IV. of Castile, by whom she was repudiated, and whose romantic story is still sung in Sicily, and Eleanor, who married a French nobleman, Gaston, Count de Foix.

For his second wife John of Aragon married Joan Henriquez of the blood royal of Castile, who became the mother of King Ferdinand, the Catholic. She was daughter of Don Frederic Henriquez, Admiral of Castile. This latter had the title from Alfonso Henriquez, whose honours, rights, and prerogatives were to measure the privileges and rights of our Columbus in his title of Admiral.

Christopher Columbus

compare in its association with a brilliant achievement with that of Christopher Columbus. And yet here are two men, Nicolò Syllacio and Johannes Antonius de Birretis,—the one for twelve years student and professor in the University, the other one of the foremost citizens of the town,—giving to the world an account of the great discovery by Christopher Columbus, a discovery manifestly owing its result to the bending of his mind in the days of his early education, and yet no word is breathed of the strong tree having once been a twig, watered and nurtured by the benign educational influences of the University. We have rejected the tradition that Columbus had studied at Pavia, not so much because we find no records of his matriculation or residence in the University, as because we fail to find a period in his life when he could have been so occupied, at least for any extended period. But we are certainly confirmed in our view by the failure of the Pavian scholar to record at his University the presence of the Discoverer of the New World, Christopher Columbus.¹

¹ It is not certain from what press the Como letter (which here follows) issued or the date of its printing. From the peculiarities presented by certain letters, we are inclined to assign it to the press of Aloysius de Como and Bartholomæus de Trottis, who printed in partnership at Pavia in the year 1497. De Birretis seems to have been a patron of printing at the time the book was printed, with no press of his own.

CHAPTER LXXVI

THE SYLLACIO-COMA LETTER

*Ad sapientissimū Ludovicū Mariā Sforziā Angli septimū Medici
iani Ducē: de insulis meridiani atq; idici maris sub auspicijs inuicū
suoꝝ Regū Hispaniaꝝ nup̄ iactis: Nicolai scyllacij siculi artem &
medicinę doctoris philosophiā Papie interpretantis Dilectio.*

Um Lynceo perspicacior: Argo centroculo oculoꝝ:
admirabili prudentia nō modo quę ī Italia nostroꝝ
hoc mari geruntur: lōge prospicias: ac veluti e specu-
la (vt optimū pastores decet) singula circūspectes: ve-
rū etiā vniuersi orbis terraz imensa spatia oculoꝝ ob-
tum mētisq; acie ambire contēdas: par visus est: vt quę Sardināus
hispaniaꝝ Rex potētissimus: ex icognitis populis imperia sibi augu-
sto augurio nuper ascuerit: tu āte alios: cuius snsmi magnitudo latissi-
mas terras atq; maria occupat: itelligeres. Is enī lybicas gentes
efferas: ab Herculis colānis illius domitās exemplo: ethiopas igno-
tos hispaniaꝝ imperio addit. Oriētes sibi totū: christianęq; fidei vē-
dicar iditionē. Quo fit vt geographos quosdā nobiles sane & illu-
stres: quoz studijs auctore Ambrosio rosaro: medico pcelebrī & astro-
nomo singulari ad āplissimas dignitates ob id puecto: maxime ca-
peris: parū diligēter de indico mari pscrutatos facile possis deprehē-
dere: qui vastū illud pelagus a cōrinēte circūclaudī scripitarūt. Euz
cōstet nostro seculo scēdūtoꝝ Hispanię regū auspicijs: meridiani
maris ambitū enauigātū: Aethiopię iserioris terminos exploratos:
Indię populos recognitos: Arabię beatas isulas deprehēdas: quę ī
mari idico sparsę cernūtur. Quā nāuigationē multo āte Hāno etiaꝝ
pēnus: qui Carthagini potētia effloꝛere: circūuectus a gadibus ad si-
nē arabię penetrauerat: scripto pdiderat. Adunus hoc & si hisloię
nouitate: rei iuentione gratissimū tibi est futurū: illud imprimis lenoc-
nabit: qđ glorię atq; amplitudini hispaniēsi bene esse cupias: qđ Re-
gum xpianissimoz maiestātē pariter & religionē semp fueris admira-
tus. Dabis tñ scriptori veniam siquę ad isulaz ambitū magnitudines
ac cetera singula spectare vident: pēsculatius vberiusue a nobis nō
explicent. Euagarī extra semitas locoz ignaro minime licuit: quę p
litteras a Guillermo coma hispann: viro sane nobili: sermone patrio

exaratas nuprime accepit: cū esse; apud Joāncantoniiū birretā papie
 suū tuorū ciuē optimū illico ī latinū verti: Luciani veriorē nārratiōe:
 Siculo nugatio: fortasse: qui perfricata fronte tā ī consulte hec ad te.
 Sed cui religiosius q̄ tibi: ad quē cūra orbis terrarū maxime p̄inet:
 Et qui (vt illud quoq; adiunxerim) es solitus meas esse aliquid puta-
 re nugas. Satis sit nauigatiōe ista insulas iuenisse: celi tractus nosse:
 portus nōnullos notasse. ¶ Postea vbi remeātibus sinus metiri: me-
 diterranea exquirere licuerit: quē de multiformiū gentium truculētia
 moribus ⁊ legibus: varietate viuendi a veteribus tradita sunt: ab Au-
 gustino vero bipponensi pontifice: genere afro: religionis nostrę co-
 lūmine: ī sinibus lybie oculis visa: ⁊ in eo libro congesta: quē de ser-
 monibus ad heremitas inscripsit: narrationibus antiquorū diligen-
 tius adiciā. Vale p̄cipū decus. Ex ¶ Napia idib⁹ decēbris. 1494.

De insulis meridiani atq; indici maris nuper inuentis:

Columbus Regle classis prefectus: quæ hispani Mal-
myrâtem vocitant: eura regu; exploratur^o orientis lit-
tora: ex Tali Verbiç hispaniç vrbē nobili: quæ extra
fauces gaditanas: qua irrûpens Atlanticus oceanus
in maria nostra discurret: sita est: portu celebri: militi
b^o delectis. vij. kalēdas octobris: âno a virgīs parui. M^occccxxxij.
naues cōscendit: aura vsurus secūdiore: quæ benigniter flare iam eg-
perat. Ibi nauū maiorū minorūq; agmen expeditū. Inaugia leuissi-
ma multa: barchias appellant cārabicas. Quibus ne ferri moles p-
nicitatē præpedirer: ligno ⁊ sudib^o magna ex parte iūcta latera. Cha-
rauellē itē plurimē: minores enīz hē nauēs: ad magnā ramē ⁊ vio-
lentaz navigationē robustę. Cū his iunctę quæ ad perlustrādas in-
dorū insulas paratę erant. Jam sacra nautarū solēniā: discedentiū
excepta oscula: naues rapedibus amictę: vexillis caudatis itonios fu-
nes insinuantibus. Signa regia puppim vndiq; colorabant. Tibi-
cines ⁊ citharedi: nereidas galatheas: sirenas ipas melliflūo modū
lamine stupidas tenuere: clangorē tubarū stridorē liuorū resonan-
tibus liuoribus: bōbardarum sclopis imis vndis reboantibus. Quo
exemplo veneratorū naues Jonge: quæ mercaturę gratiā: britānicū ma-
re velificantes in portum forte diuerterāt: studio non dispari: certa-
mine non dissimili: hispanorū naues emulatę nautica celebrant: ad i-
dos abeuntibus (pro more) bene precātes raibus. Ubi postera di-
es illuxit: puniçantibus phaleris aurozā cōmodū remicāre: fauonijz
sereniter inspirantibus: quinq; nauibus maioribus: charanellis. xij.
adhibitis: quæ anno superiore indicu; senserant oceanum: canarias
versus nauigant: Illas insulas superioribus annis repertas fuisse cō-
stat: in mare atlanticū intris. Quare nonis octobribus: depulsa ma-
ris caligine: Lāzarota simul ⁊ Sortenentura: quā latini Bonamfor-
tunam non insulse nomināt: medio se se ostentāt oceano. Benigna
tellus: facilis ⁊ innoxia: nisi coruorum iniuria: quod genus alitum in-
sulas infestat: mercatores eminus repellerentur. Tanta est ea iactu-
ra: vt aduersus illorū populationes lex exet inuolabilis: qua ceterū
na coruorum capita annuatim coloni singuli offerre magistratui pu-
blicitus astringantur. Qui dicto non paruerint: pecunia mulctantur

tur. Hinc in Canariam magnam delati: quam. *L.* Plinius a canum
 magnitudine tradit esse nūcupatā: diē quē proxima fuit: cōinozatur.
 quicquid ad vsum classis necessarium videbatur fore coemitur largi-
 ter: non mediocri saccari copia: quo canarij abundant: in naues cō-
 gesta. Nam quod Arabia quondam mittebat atq; India: gūmum
 modo in arundinibus collectum: candidū videlicet et fragile: salē in-
 dicum medicorum plurimi vocant. Sunt autem in canarias regum
 suspicijs hispanorum deductę colonię. Que ad illustrandam pro-
 uinciam decet: diligenter sunt parata. Ibi enī episcopus hospitalis:
 templum visitur venerabile. Fratrum minorum cōnobium religio-
 ne obseruabili: edificio vsq; ad elegantiam extructo. Jam mercato-
 res multiuagi: artifices seduli omnis fere generis: populus numero-
 sus. Has insulas et si fortunatas cēseo prope occasus positas sub me-
 ridiem: ut Iuba prodidit: i his quē de meridiani sinus ambitu reli-
 quit: numerosa tamen cuniculorū agmina: frumenta passim et semi-
 na vorantium: a quibus et olim scribit. *Ab.* Narro oppidū luffossum
 in Hispania: Baleares prope euerfas: nisi po. Romani auxilium pre-
 sto fuisset: ita spōte exstio prodeunt sementibus: ut vix cum pestis hęc
 valldior abigi non posset: rei frumētarię annui suppetant prouētus.
 Et tamen septem viri: quibus id per vices regionarij demāda: qui-
 busq; octonis diebus: ad mille vsq; cuniculos abqlendos: nihil quo-
 tidie aliud agūt nisi venatu. Sed dū Homerā versus: diē sequēti na-
 uigat: quē Bouedillę venatricis primarię mulieris subiaceret ipio: *Te-*
neriffaz prolabunt: nouem regulorū ditione superbientē. Canarij eā
 tenēt indomiti: sine lege: nudo corpore: quibus animus intrepidus:
 pares audacię vires: quare et hispanorum adhuc lugum non sensere.
Adons arduus *Teneriffam* tuerur: nubes excedit: caliginosamq;
 hoc nostrum cglū superat: omnium (ut proditur) atrissimus. Qui me-
 dia nauigatione a magna Canaria ad Homerā cētum milibus abest
 passuum. Cum alij in medijs *Lybie* arenis canarij: saltus ab *Atlante*
 incolant: per solitudines nigri pulueris: serpentibus repletos et ele-
 phantis. Canarij ob id nuncupati: qd victus eius animalis his promi-
 scus sit: et viscera ferarum diuidua. Alijs *Aethiopiam* tenentibus vt
 be *Lynopoli*. i. canum ciuitate in qua *Anubis* coli solitus et sacer qui

Nam cibus canibus constitutus. Sex ferme dies in Homera procrasti
 nari: obsonioꝝ ⁊ aquationis gratia: mox optato zephyris efflantib⁹:
 ad insulas indoꝝ instituto velificant itinere. Quo fit vt ad terriū idus
 octobris Ferrarię littoꝝ cōtingerēt: secūda aura initioꝝ equoꝝ. *Q*ui
 rum hic spectatu ⁊ auditu non insuaue. Insula caret aqua: fontanoa
 desiderat larices: fluentoꝝ ⁊ torrentiū indiga: vt *Ombz*ion eaꝝ arbi
 trari: cuius meminit. *L.* Plinius in. vj. naturalis histoꝝe libꝛo: certis
 picturis nō abꝛe fuerit. Arboꝝ ingēs: laurinis folijs dēssissima: viroꝝ
 re perpetuo in celsioꝝe insulę fastigio diffunditur: roꝝe respersa ma
 tutino: aqua quę guttatim inde stillat: in stagno circū arboꝝe roꝝiferā
 ducto recipitur. *N*ō aliā esse aquā in Ferraria: nisi ex arboꝝe. *N*eqꝫ id
 satis admirabere aut supꝛa fidē opinabere cū Bonauista: que a Fer
 raria parum secessit: obsonijs singulis careat. Rīzum miliū triticū nō
 ferat: animalibus tantū abunder: vt carnibus solum vesci sit necesse.
 Idē iumentis cibus: gallinis ⁊ altilibus: crudā persepe ⁊ suo adhuc p
 pꝛasam cruoꝝe pascuntur. Dum meridionales sinus enanigant: sexto
 kal. nouēbris vetus inhorruit validus: fluctus intumescere: caligo cun
 cta occupat: ponto atra incubat nox: nisi qua fulmina micabant: qua
 tonitrua reboabant. Quo genere naufragij periculosius aut tristius
 nihil: pꝛecellolis ponti tēpestatibus cēli iniuria supaddita: imbzib⁹ ef
 fluentibus: nimbis largiter irrumpētibus: antēqꝫ diffractę: lacera ve
 la: abrupti funes: stridētia tabulata: foxi salo fluitantes: hī summo pē
 dēqꝫ in fluctu: his debiscēs vnda terram inter aperit fluctus. Ibi quā
 cum quisqꝫ corporis roboꝝe ⁊ animi magnitudine pꝛęstaret exptus:
 vires effudit cunctas. *M*agno negotio fuit: naues regere: retinacu
 la tenere: ne coeuntes illiderentur pꝛouidere: quę vastis persepe flu
 ctibus interpositis veluti turbinum montibus: vix oculis conspici po
 tērant. Affuit tandem deus voto iugiter rogatus pie ⁊ flebiliter exo
 ratus. Nam siue illud *Zēdę* soboles fuerit: vt gręcia paruasit: gemel
 li fratres nauigijs saluatares: siue humores atēnsi efferantur: qui cō
 cretam procellosę tempestatis dissolunt caliginem: vt phisici demō
 strant: siue vt christianius reoꝝ: sanctus quidam *Eremus* prodeat:
 nauticos exaudiens clamores: naufragis propicioꝝ: accensę candelę
 geminę in pꝛetozie navis fastigio sub obscura nocte miscuere. *S*ra

timq; sedari cepta ē tēpestas: mare lāguescere: vnde flaccescere: sene
 cūq; inītar marmoris leuificatum. Nebulis depulsis: vbi nou⁹ sol
 diem fecit: telluris aspiciūdq; flagrātes desiderio: arneq; potiundē ar/
 dentes cupidine: vtpote qui ex ino oceanū emerisissent: ex monitris
 marinis subrepti reuixissent: longo cōtendentes obruti: qui maxime
 valebant acle oculorū: e sublimi naui p̄torio speculatores prospe/
 ctare se terrā nunciant. Jam mōtium referūt cacumina: iam syluarū
 occinūt virore: statimq; ante oculos septem insulē prodire: nō an/
 tea recognite. Ibi omniū refocillatis animis: naufragij memores de/
 os p̄lant: z ex ritu pacant religiosius. Mā quibus essent interris: quā
 ve oceani orā tenerent: p̄ pauci dignoscebant: p̄fectus ipse ignora/
 bat minime. Illud ad acerbiteratē malorūq; cōgestus accesserat: q̄
 aqua exhausta tota: epora cuncta ferebat. Quod partim longa nau/
 gatione: partim p̄fecti dilargitione contigisse cōpertū est. Si quidē
 peritus ille regionū: locorū nō ignarus: qui quo situ: qua ve celi pla/
 ga sc̄ptē ille insulē iacerēt: p̄udērius calleret: suos cōsolans: nouam
 tellurē tridui spatio ad summū est pollicitus: quieta p̄mittens litto/
 ra: vitreos lanceas se ostensurum ac fluēta spondēs nitida. Qua de re
 aquam fere totā viritū diuiserat largiozibus metretis hydrijsq; ca/
 pacioribus: vt Moyse ducē siniculosas iudcorū cohortes cōfirmā/
 rem: arido diceret in sabulo. Quē spes neq; socios sefellit: z ad miran/
 dum magis ductorē oibus p̄stinit. Insulē canabillis parent: gēs illa
 efferā z indomita carnibus vescitur humanis: quos anthropolopha/
 gos iure nūcupauerit. Aduersus indos molles scilicet z pavidos bel/
 la gerūt assidue ad vsum carniū: ea captura: ille venatus: populan/
 lantur: depredantur: crassantur tracentius indos: deuorāt ibelles:
 a suis abstinēt: parūt canabillis. Quod z inferius ostēdam dilucid⁹.
 Harum p̄ima a meridie paulo antolitur pulchritudine montiū spe/
 canda: viridium amenitate visenda: ingens arborum frequentia lit/
 torum tenuis: vt thessālica tempe. hanc dominicā appellauere in il/
 lius diei honorem: quo referunt repertaz. Atergo ea relicta in mari/
 nolantem perrexere. Huic enim cum secunda fuisset a dominica na/
 uis p̄torio nomen indidere: quaz ex more ceremonijs adhibitis cru/
 ce saluatoris insignitam hispanis regibus ascribere. Unde renoua

his viribus et auctis: anteluculo discedentes: tertiam noctem: que a mari
 .rinolante. xxx. milibus abest passuum: longe prestantior admirantes.
 nautas artius tenuit: planicie multa decora: montium inexplicabili
 decentia. Illud narratu dignum et obseruatione pulcherrimum. In
 gens fluuius e montis effluit vertice. vnde fluentia multa et torren-
 tia rapida fluitant in mare. Qui procul e nauibus miraculuz hoc spe-
 culantur: his a principio dubio fuit: niues ne Ele candescerent concre-
 tæ: an vlc tritæ lata facies fuisset: cum eorum tandem inualuerit opi-
 nio: qui vastum esse fluuium persuasissent. Quod mox ab his qui cū
 presidio armatorum ad perlustrandam insulam exierant: confirma-
 tum est. Fontes videlicet ex celsiore montis suggestu emanantē duo-
 deviginti maioribus fluminibus: veluti brachijs preporctem multipli-
 cibus: quibus vniuersa irrigatur isula. Quare frōdibus comata: tota
 arboribus vestita: herbis versicoloribus depicta: non auara: nō par-
 ca: tota fertilis et exposita. Fructus in ea maxime inter ceteros presta-
 biles Asses nominant. nasis persimiles figuræ teretis: nisi q̄ paulo
 in maius excreuerint vt pepones. Illud non subticendum q̄ sapo-
 res reddant varios: si vices mutaueris diuersa experire. Cruda de-
 gustata vt in acetarijs solemus: pastinachas referūt: tosta castaneas:
 cum suilla carne elixa cucurbitas edere te credes. Quibus si amigda-
 linum lac inieceris: nihil gustaueris mollius: nihil voraueris gulo-
 sius. In omnes artes culinarum vsusq; popinarios aptissima ser-
 cula: varietate iocunda: sapiditate gratissima: vt iudæorum mana
 (dest rorem syriacum arbitraris. Nunq; intima corporis non lædant
 neq; vllō accepto incōmodo ventrem grauent: in medicorum consilio
 qui regio salario deducuntur: egrotis et male affectis exhibentur sa-
 lubriter. Morum semina sēcunda et multisapida ne in nostro orbe de-
 siderarentur: in hispaniam translata sunt. Est præterea sēcundum se-
 mentis genus: magnitudine lupini: ciceris rotunditate: farina pro-
 dit effracto tenuissimo polline: teritur vt frumentum: panis conficit
 sciti saporis. multis quibus tenuior victus: grana mādētibz. Ma-
 rimi fructus: pira odora abūde: syluestribz pomis rami curuari: vni-
 brōse syluæ: luci religiosi. Nullā iniuriā semina nouere: lolium viciam

steriles auenas nūqua extimuerē Sola portulaca sulcis emergit īno-
xia. Frequētes arbores bābacifere: tenui obductę lanugine: quibus
addita arte vestes bābacinis persimiles ꝑficiunt. Domus magnifice
arūdinibus tectę crassioribus: conopea imitatę. Quarū elegātia no-
strozum ora verterūt protinus in admirationē. Ligna affabre extru-
cta voluptatē: tigna examussim elaborata cupidinē auxere. Nec non
ferro non calybe incidunt: quibus carent: sed lapidibus ꝑꝑacutis li-
gno addito ꝑo manubrio ꝑrosternt arbores: robora diuidūt: trū-
cos quos vix tergeminis vlnis ꝑosses cōplecti: validos findunt. Sēs
truculētiꝝ patiētissima laborū: quā aduersus vmbrailes indos ꝑu-
gnare pauloante memorauim⁹. Vidiſſe hic se oculis testat. Petrū
margarita optimę fidei hispanus: qui in orientem cum ꝑꝑecto: no-
uarum regionum cupidine allectus perrexerat: indos plures veru-
bus affixos ad luxum gulę assari: super ardentibus ꝑrunis: cū multa
cadauera iacerent aceruatim: quibus capita exēpta extremaqꝫ corpo-
ris euulsa. Quin illud canaballi non offitentur: palam hominib⁹ ve-
sci se affirmant. Arcu vrantur in pugna ꝑꝑualido: baculi magnitudi-
ne iaciunt sagittas acuto osse ac aurito ꝑꝑfixas: ne in vlnere acceptū
facile eximi ꝑossēt. Osſa illa tibiariū feruntur esse: ne quid in vsum nō
tranſear: truncis humanis denotatis. Sagittarij ꝑꝑiti. spiculis ꝑꝑ-
tunt quod intendūt: nūquam errante dextera. īſleqꝫ id falso dictum
quis existimet. īſſitas æthiopas maritimos in his oris ⁊ īſſicaſtes
esse legimus: quod ſignificat ternū ⁊ quaternū oculorum viros: non
quia ſic ſit: ſed qꝫ sagittis ꝑꝑcipua vrantur contemplatione. Cana-
ballis ſtatura eſt ſupꝫ mediocrē: crassiora ilia: nuda corpora. īſſaui-
gijs remigant maioribus minorib⁹qꝫ: quę canoa appellant. Adino-
ra habēt plurima vnico ligno excauato. Tintres ea virgili⁹: alij Ado-
noxolas nomināt. Adiaiora lateribus ꝑꝑutis longitudine pedū octo-
ginta. Extant a mari quātitate palmozū quinqꝫ: latitudinis eiꝫdem.
ꝑꝑo remis lati aſſeres: cuiꝫmodi furnarijs noſtris ſunt in vſu: pau-
lo tamē breuiiores. īſſauiant hoc pacto in vicinas inſulas: hoc trai-
ciunt remigio: quę moribus plurimuz ⁊ ingenio diſſidunt. Intradū
eueheti longius ꝑꝑꝑꝑandi gratia vſqꝫ ad mille miliaria. Infantes ca-
ꝑꝑuos: pueros ſeruos: exemptis genitalibus: vt capos ſaginare mo-

ris ē. Exiles ⁊ quos macies retardat alūt īpēsi⁹: vt verueccs: mox opī
eni ⁊ saginati in gulā trāseunt auidiozē: subreptas mulieres: ancillas
vxoꝝib⁹ addicūt: aut seruāt ad libidinē. Ex quibus si nasci sobolē cōti/
gerit: Saturni fabella verius: quē poetę filijs saturatū fingunt: vt ca/
ptiuos absumūt. Callidi: ingenio faciles: astu sagaces: vt facile in no/
stras leges vinctūq; rationē nō magno negotio traduci possint: vbi
nostrozū mores mitiores agnouerint: vitāq; inspexerint ciuiliorem.
Quare sperat breui deposituros feritatē: tū edocētib⁹ nostris: tū il/
lud idētidē īterminātib⁹: nisi ab hominib⁹ abstinerit: iugū subituros
ī hispaniā captiuos vinctosq; ituros. Lepores serpētes lacertę maio/
res pueniūt. Canes itē qb⁹ nullus oblatratus: qb⁹ nulla rabies: habēt
quāplurimos. Hīs aspina diuisis: vbi homo cib⁹ desierit: semitostis di/
stēdunt. Aues diuersi generis: psitacoꝝ copia mira. Canaballis quos
tenere diximus has septē insulas: mores non dissimiles: par studiū
pcedandī: eadē feritas in indos: populis alioquin frequētes: odora/
tis abundāt arboribus: quę incolis incognitę: a nostris vix plane de/
prehēse: qui mediterranea non lustrarunt: qui adhuc in mōtana non
perrexerūt. Hās cū maiestati Regū ascripsissent insulam feracissimā
sanctę Marię Sadalupę: quę ī berbica hispania celebris ē: anspica/
to nomine nūcupauere. Duꝝ ibi septē dies tōmorant: profugī multi e
canaballis: captiuęq; mulieres ad naues cōfugiūt. Qui hūmaniter su/
scepti: cibis largiter referti: deos sibi affuisse crede bant. Quq; ad redi/
tū in canaballos hortant: ab hispanis: amplexati malos: pedibus ad/
uoluti obsecrabāt. Zachymis vbertim fluētibus deprecabant: ne rur/
sus ī manus canaballoꝝ: tanquā pecora detruderent dilanianda. E
canaballis capti perpauci: cursu enīn pernices: fallaces: locis pꝛte/
rea natura munitissimis nꝛos pꝛēnebant. Hinc oriētē versus: indozū
insulę cernunt in mari indico sparę: supra centū octoginta a lęua ad
sinum arabicum deflexę. Hās esse arabum insulas potius existima/
uerim: cum. L. Plinij: tum alioꝝ testimonio certissimo: quibus mo/
res placidi mites ⁊ obnoxij. Insulę nauigatione superioris anni ex/
ploratę: canaballoꝝ incurſionibus expositę: vt e canaballis vnus
aut alter Indozū agmē pꝛsepe vertat in fugam. Tanto timore in/
dus conſpicitur: vt vinctos etiā: si quos habeāt magnopere reſozini

dent. Sadalupa relicta quarto idus nouēbris nocte discussa ingruēs
 velis vctus: sinu patefacto carbasus Nauidataz versus detulit. Quo
 in loco superiore anno hispani a prefecto fuerant relictī: qui arcē tue-
 rentur munitissimā: qui cōmertia cum insularibus inirēt: qui docēdo
 de docēdoq; populos redderēt mitiores: Ubi sol nou⁹ diē fecit: mal-
 tē insulē dētegūtur: quas adire in cōsilio nō fuit. Uerū cum ad. xvij.
 kalēdas decembres canaballica quēdā se obrulisset āte oculos: sinu fa-
 cieq; spectabili inuitans nauigantes: placuit portū occupare: cū lau-
 rancolē quoq; z rubeę apparuissent procul. Immissa ē scapha explo-
 ratoria nauicula: vt quē insulanis lingua: quē leges: quē mores ino-
 tescerent. Nauclerius cū aliquibus armatis nauiculę p̄ficiit. Is dum
 eam portus inadere paritē studet: qua sex casulę patebāt: barbaroz
 Canoaz spectāt pone: ex alto remigantē ad casulas recta. Illi vbi p̄-
 pius accedūt: peregrinā classē mirati: malos p̄ceriores: ppugna-
 cula ardua obstupefcētes: operi intendunt ardētius: incumbūt remis
 enixius: inspecta mox nauicula cum armatis: insidias rati: prozam in
 propiora insulē v̄tunt illico. Nauclerius irrupit subito: viam ad ter-
 ram intercludit: pugnā inserūt canaballi: certāt acriter: duos sauciāt
 e nostris: altero ad quartuor dieculas extincto: male affecto altero:
 clypeo effracto: quē habuit pro salute. Uex posteaquā flecti canabal-
 li deditiois p̄ditionibus nō possunt: amicitie signa auersant. Lupie-
 bat enī nauclerius viuos ducere: irruit ille hostilius. In canoā irrū-
 pit hiantibus rimis nauigiū dissoluitur. Barbari qui trēs erant. cum
 duabus mulieribus solis z indo vnico captiuo (hunc eim ex vicinis
 subreptū insulis ducebāt) nibilo secius nando salutē petūt. Adnatāt
 enī volubiliter: fluitāt agiler: capti tādē ducunt ad p̄fectū. Quoz
 vnus septē vulneribus p̄fossus: z cui viscera exerta forissecus p̄dibāt:
 cum sanari nō posse crederet: in mare p̄ijcit. Ille summa ebulliens
 ī vnda: elato pede altero: sinistra focillāte: intestina ad littoza remea-
 bat animosius. Quē res magnum indīs inincussit timorem: qui in-
 terpretes ducebantur. Formidabant enim ne versī pelles canabal-
 li arrepta fuga: molirent̄sq; uioza. Quare illos e medio tollēdos obsti-
 nate censebant. Capitur ergo rursus littoze tenuis: vinctis manibus
 pedib⁹ astrictior: iterum iacitur p̄ceps. Adnabat ardentius: barba-

rus tamen ille ingentis spiritus: donec crebris perforatū sagittis spi-
 ritum efflauit: vix mox longius spaciū intercesserat: accurrere cana-
 balli quāplures visu horribiles: colore atro: aspectu truci: rubrica in-
 tincti: varijs illis coloribus ad ferocitatem: capitis parte altera detō-
 sa: nigro capillo: altera promisso et extento. Ex quibus capiti item plu-
 res ad naues tanquā ad aras confugere: multa detruculentia et feri-
 tate canaballorum conquesti. ¶ Nostridie eius diei decedentes ab hac
 insula quam Crucem sanctam appellant: alijs posthabitis quāpluri-
 mis: sex dierum nauigatione ad indos delati: insulam quādam ma-
 gni ambitū portuosam: cui cognomētum Joānes baptista: regno hi-
 spano addidit. Cum renascente nouo sole die postero in eam insu-
 lam se recepere: in qua christianos superiore anno enarrauimus di-
 missos a prefecto: dū remearet ad reges in hispanias. Huius dū oras
 legunt: forte in portū obiter incidere: qui mori subiacet celebri. Quos
 christi nūcupatur: a christianis sexaginta ferme milib⁹ distās passuūz:
 Octo ergo dierū nauigatione duz singula rimant: christianorū portū
 attingūt: voluptate inenarrabili: desiderio inexplicabili. Lupiebant ei⁹
 suos i primis reperire incolumes: mox indorūz cōmercia et mores
 auribus excipere: sed lōge secius accidit q̄ sperabat. ¶ Nostrū enī in-
 gressis ad noctē p̄iuectā: cū nemo e xpianis: qui i littoze arcē tene-
 bāt dato signo respondisset: ingroz oīs et doloz subiit acerbissim⁹: su-
 spicantib⁹ id quod erat: extinctos videlicet socios funditus quos ibi
 reliquerant. In tanta acerbitate et formidolosa suspitione circa .x. no-
 ctis horā Indorū canoa quēdā e littoze soluit: ad naues expeditio.
 Offichauar aduectus cū aliquibus primoribus. Is enī nauigatione
 altera: prefectum inita obseruabat amicitia: festini accurrere gratum
 regi Soathanario hispanorū aduētū explicāt: iucū dū indis christia-
 norū reditū ostendūt: hilaratos populos significāt: nata gestuq⁹ ex-
 pectata p̄ferunt gaudia: concētu suauī: qui tenui et minuta voce
 ciebatur animos demulcēte. Soathanario enī regi prefect⁹ abiens
 hispanos cōmendauerat vnice: cōciliauerat intime. Quocirca statiz
 nauticula exponit actuaria: quē indos confirmaret: quos remulcaret
 ad p̄ctoziā. Illi dubia mēte accedere abnuūt: p̄pius: nō se prius na-
 uib⁹ credituri: q̄ prefect⁹ agnito oculisq⁹ fidelibus inspecto. Data lo-

quēdā facultate primū ille de Soathanario interrogat familiari⁹: mox
 qd de xpianis actū pquiri cupidi⁹. Respōdet Soathanariū egrotā/
 re sauciū: xpianos enecatos oīs. Et cū dictis regia munera pfoluunt
 ex auro puro gutturnia duo: quibus aqua ī diuitū abacis seruat. De
 genere mortis nihil ea nocte extorqueri: quē causa necis deduci pla/
 ne ab his nō potuit. Quib⁹ domitiōe festinata ad regē reuersis: alij
 post diluculū ex Soathanarij interiorib⁹ domesticis: qui ad pfectū
 salutandū accesserāt: necis causaz aperiūt. Interfectos scilicet hispa/
 nos a Soanabo rege valido et ppotēti. Is enī factiosus erat: ingenio
 vari⁹: cūctis formidolosus: et qui ī xpianoz cedē Marian quoq; re/
 gē quēdā sibi sociū facinoris ascuerat. Quo indiscrimine Soathanā/
 rius dū partib⁹ nroz faueret enixius: vulnus exceperat violētius in
 brachio. Belli causa odiorūq; irritamēta libido fuit ī mulieres idoz
 ardērior. Itā cū hispani singuli quinas haberēt ī delitijs: sobolis vt ar/
 bitroz gratia: patēterq; illud nullo pacto mariti et ppinqui ferre pos/
 sent: cōspirātes barbari ad vindictā cōtumelię abolendāq; iniuriam
 (nullū eīz gen⁹ animatū expers zelotypię) numerosa multitudine chri/
 stianos sunt adorti. Qui cū stipata illoz agmina diutius nequissent
 sustinere vsq; ad vltimū strenue dimicātes tādem misere obrūcānt.
 Quē res tū Soathanarij verbis ē agnita: tū cadanera ipa decē hispa/
 norū a nris inuēta declarauere: misera macie deformata: puluere ob/
 sita et fēda sanguie: truci aspectu decolorata. Tres eīz fere mēses sub
 diuo iacuerē neglecta sine tumulto. Deplozati socij et pclamati: qui di/
 gnosci deformitate nō poterāt: manes expiati solēnibus feralis thala/
 mi: christianozum ritu terra cōdunt. Idis peractis ad visendum regē
 qui ferme a mari decē milibus passuū se cōtinebat: pfectus die ter/
 tio intendit animum: centumq; hispanis nobilioribus comitatus: in
 eam partem descendit: qua villula effumabat: culmina pspiciebātur
 plurima tubicinibus dispositis: tympanistis adhibitis: acie instructa
 inde in regiam deducuntur: excipiuntur regali luxu promote. Intro/
 mittuntur ab his: quibus id curę mandatum erat. Soathanarium sa/
 lorāt lecto pēfili iacere ad bambacinę retis similitudinē affabze elabo/
 rato. Amicitie pignora et amoris sedera vtriq; habitā: iam hispanoz
 gaudet pscēntia: beniuolētia reintegrata: amicitia pfirmata christia/

noxam obitū refert miserrime: explicat dolenter: enarrat afflictū. Re-
 gum aperit furores: turmas indicat hostiū valētiores: periculū osten-
 dit: vulnus detegit quod acceperat. Ubi loquēdi finem fecit e regali
 surgit lectulo: bullam oepōnit quaz fronte auream gestabat: p̄fecto/
 q3 illā adinouit sedulo. Coronā quoq3 bambacinā illius ingerit cap-
 ti e suo detractam: balteos sup̄a duodecim mira arte fulgētes: non/
 nulli enim auri crastulis distinguebantur bambacio intertexto artifi-
 cio miro. Addidit ad munificentiam cucurbitas plures auro multo
 oppletas: quale ex aurifodinis legitur: quę besse duodecim supera-
 bant. Cum bes quilibet: vt trapezitarū mēse referūt: octo vncias con-
 tineat. Tot munerib⁹ ornatus p̄fectus: ⁊ donis a Soathanariū re-
 fertus tunicam interualā aphricana arte consutam nobilibus colorib⁹
 bas variegatam facta versura induit insigniter. Valluuiū quoq3 la-
 ti spatij ex aurichalco quo manus lauantur: anulos stagnēos cōplu-
 res: postremo beatę virginis matris reuerenter explicat imaginem:
 quam religiosus adorandam esse docet. Eodē exēplo indi auro plu-
 rimo oncrati ad accipienda munera hispanos hortantur. Non enim
 omnibus licebat sine discrimine dona ab indis accipere: nisi his qui
 etiam inuicē repēderēt: minuta videlicet munera fibulas: vitrea ope-
 ra: sonabula cenea: qualia pedibus alligantur tinnictiū accipitrū: his
 enim mirifice c̄thiopes atq3 arabes capiūtur: et quibus merces cō-
 mutari solitos legimus ī historijs. Quo fit vt villissimis munusculis
 dilargitis hispani eo die sup̄a .xxx. besse auri reportarent. Indis
 c̄neozum vilitatem: nostris auri cū aurichalco permutationē inuicez
 irridēt⁹. cū p̄o singulis c̄neis bullis īmensaz auri quātitatē indi p̄-
 soluissent. Neq3 id cuiuspiam mirū fuerit: cum raritudo pretiū pariat.
 ¶ Dilegiū inquit ille apud indos pipere ē p̄ciosi⁹: quo nihil vilius ī
 pratis nostris. Dū hęc agūt regis vxor post Soathanariū cū puellis
 duodecim: quę nude erāt: nullo corporis tegmēto singula admira-
 bāt: amicis ⁊ familiarib⁹ e more ī terra p̄stratis. Nequid vero ad re-
 galē pompā defuisse credere: limina Soathanari⁹ egredit: ibi dispo-
 sitis sedibus cū p̄fecto manet familiari⁹: ⁊ ecce euocato indo it̄pre-
 te a p̄fecto iubet: qui regē causas p̄fectiōis edoceret: hispanos ea se
 p̄fectos gratia ī regiōes peregrinas: vt docēdo ⁊ docēdoq3 mitiorēs

eas redderēt: insulas ī ditionē hīspanozū regū potētiorū redigerent.
 Soathanariū tamē regē ante alios seruaturōs se amicū ⁊ familiarē.
 Hęc vbi rex ab indo accipit assurgēs illico terrā pede cōplodit: oculos
 tollit ad cēlos: vocē cēdit ī gentē: ad quā cēteri indi qui fere ibi sex-
 cēti puenerāt acclamaue-
 re. Quę res maxio nostris timori fuit atq; for-
 midini qui centū aderāt leuiozis armaturę: vt nōnulli capulis manū
 admouerint: armis oīa agēda suspicati. Rebus pacatis ⁊ fide confir-
 mata Soathanari⁹ ad vīsendas naues descēdit. Ibi ppugnacula cel-
 siora admiratus: armamēta rimatus: ferramēta cōspicatus: in equos
 maxime cōiecit oculos: quibus carēt. Plurimi enī deducebant egre-
 gij ad cursurā vegeti: ⁊ ad armaturā validi: quib⁹ frena cēlara: ephip-
 pia fucata: ⁊ baltei polīnina ornatissima: nō sine indoꝝ tremore for-
 midanda illa spectacula: suspicabant enim carnē humanā illos pasce-
 re. De tōziē vbi appulit naui magnifico suscipiē apparatū tympano-
 rum sonitu: cymbalozū tinnitu: bombardarū fulminantiū: igneis glo-
 bis emicāntibus. In puppi duꝝ desider: iētationi se prębēt hilarius: pa-
 stilli ex saccharo tragemata: ⁊ id genus omne mēsam extruebāt opipa-
 re. Regi grauitas inerat vnerabilis: maiestas imperio digna: cū cē-
 reri idi obstupeſcerēt singula. Ad mediā noctē rege ad suos reuerſo:
 hīspani delustranda insula explorādīsq; finibus cogitant. Quare ex
 eo portu: quē Mauidath pluriū nauīū capacissimū vocāt: ad quinde-
 cim vagant miliaria nouozū cupidi locoz. Ibi portus seceſſerat tutis-
 simus: regalis nuncupat nautarū testimonio qui maria lustrarūt nul-
 li secūdus: pomoz copia spectabilis: naturę situ pręstantior. Dinc ad
 ouarīfodinas beataq; fluētā vltērius euecti: aliū nacti seceſſuz amenis-
 simū: gratiarū illū salutat portū. In litore octo diebus a natali salua-
 tois exponuntur fluuiō caudal nitidissimo allabēre: ora notabili: re-
 gio planitie multa ambiť mōticulis interdū leuiter assurgēs. Aeris tē-
 peries mira: vt vites breui vinū daturas: triticum germinaturū facile
 quis posset cōiectari. Iā semina hortēſia facta quinq; dieꝝ spatio p-
 diſſe: hortos repente viruiſſe: ceptis vberes ⁊ peponib⁹: raphanis ⁊
 blitis emerſiſſe fecūdos: ſpez oīum mirifice auxit. Tellus eiꝝ ⁊ si hoz-
 tis qui ciuitati pxiimi sunt magis gaudeat: nihil tamē recusat qđ inie-
 ceris: nībil accipit: qđ nō multo abūdātius maiorēq; reddat ſgnore.

Zantua autē rerū prouēctus subito accessit ex seminibus quę hispani
 fecerāt: ut ad .xx. ānos obsonia suffectura cēseant. Iā viticulę inserre:
 arua .puenere ridentia: iā tenere spice: iā messes adoleuere aculeatę:
 ne quid toro biēnio futuro ad rē frumētariā aut vinalia desideretur.
 Felicē hanc insulam dixeris nō iniuria: siue ex arabis siue ex indis illā
 fuerit. Quę post genera multa leguminū cinamomū gignit abunde:
 qđ mēiri antiquis nisi deo pmittēte nō licebat: gīngiber ferr: garyo/
 philos ramis triū cubitorū: corticē pallido: bābacio fertilis: redolens
 castoreo: muscū nostrī appellāt: scūda thure. cuius genera duo indū
 sub ruffuz 7 cādens arabicū tradit dioscorides: reubarbaro clara: re/
 medio aduersus oēs ēgritudines p̄sentaneo: raconiā vocat. ¶ Olīni?
 Isteq; tamē tā p̄ciōsa munera benigna tellus parce auareq; mini/
 strat: sed affatiz 7 largiter diffundit: vnde strues ingētes merces icēf
 sabiles mercatorib⁹ suggerāt. Ceriferę arbores plurimę virescūt: lanī
 gere frōdescūt: stragolorū 7 tomentoꝝ vsibus putiles. Linarię herbe
 multę similes capilis eo fillo vtūt incole: funes vnde p̄trahūt multo
 durabiliores: canapīs rēsiores. Odozatę syluę passiz: plurima icogni
 ta: nō āte vīsa ferebāt. In sūma oīa ea p̄ptū tellurē spōte edere agre
 stia tñ quę abūdare ī Badaluppa canaballoꝝ supra edocuimus. Hāc
 mitiorē hispani reddēt disciplina seminādi adhibitis colonis: villicis
 adductis: q; terrā agitēt: q; sarculis findāt: aratiōe: rūcatiōe: domestica
 excitēt: 7 si cēli indulgētia stercoꝝatōe nō sit op⁹. Urbī quę pulcherrima
 excitat: port⁹ iūgiť īsignis piscib⁹ abūdāt molliissimi saporis: q; a medi
 cis p̄gustati ēgrotis ad valitudinē mīstrāt. Lapiunt 7 alij vassi cor
 poris: bouis magnitudīe: quos abscis pedib⁹ deuorāt: saporis vitulī
 ni: si gustaueris alia dimittes pisciū esculēta. Bellā isulā nrī vocāt: cū
 ciuitati Isabellę nomē dederit. Hęc cū sit⁹ p̄moditate 7 cēli benignita
 te cēteras atēeat: ad pauculos ānos p̄p̄osa erit: colonis frequēs 7 cele
 bris ēdificijs absolutis: muris magnifice: exstructis cū quīs hispanicaz
 p̄tēdet ciuitate. Eo ordīe dom⁹ disponūt surgūt mēnia: ut pulchritudi
 nē vrbī: icolis secūz sit p̄stitura receptaculū. Lara via examussiz du
 cta mediā ciuitatē diuidit: quā mox alię mltę p̄trāsuerfuz scāt ī lat⁹:
 arce magnifica: ppugnaculo arduo exurgēte ī litore. ¶ Defecti palatia
 Regia vocāt: cū futurz sit aliqñ fauēte deo: q; tot bonozū opifex largitor

ē optimus: vt reges e gadibus profecti in tā beata regna penetrent:
 lōge par̃ta victoria suas insulas visuri. Ibi nobile templū cōditū est
 donis opulentū z muneribus refertū: quē Iſabella regina in dei cul
 tū transmiſit ab hispania. Hoc enim prouincię caput futurū esse sta
 tuūt. Huc ad nouam ciuitatē incolēdam multi ex hispanis viri nobi
 lēs transiere. Inter quos Orzeda z Sorbolan⁹ ingenio clari: prudē
 tes rerū multarū experientia. Hos prefectus forte in sabcorū misit i
 teriora cū expedito comitatu: qui ad Regē Sabā prēderēt (vt ab in
 dis acceperat) prēdiuitē nō longis itineribus distantē. Turiferos sa
 bios eos esse receptū ē: quos hystorię nostratū decātant: z peregrinī
 referūt ānales. Illud enim iā tritū. Reges a saba veniēt aurū z thūs
 deferentes: quibus insula scater vbertiz: z abūdat copiose. Sabci eim
 ditissimi sunt syluarū fertilitate odorifera auri metallis: agroꝝum ri
 guis fluminib⁹: mellis cęręq; pūctū. Cum huc intrēdit orzeda pagos
 prastēs: ab indīs vicatim hospitaliter inuitat: vtpote qui viā docerēt
 ad regē fidelius: z quē habebant esui afferrēt libētius. Dagoꝝum
 principes caciques appellati. Deductusq; ab indīs ad auri cuniculos
 z diuites arenas: quē ad cęrum z decē millaria secesserant: flumina
 ibi multa. riuos supra. xxiiij. offendit. dictū mirabile z auditū incre
 dibile tam beatis donibus vberē regiōnē. Aurū legitur ex cauata riuī
 margine. repente enim aqua ebulliēs emergit: primū scaturit turbi
 dior: post pauillū nītoze recepto grana aurea quē infundo grauiora
 residēt pādunt limpidi⁹: drachmę aureę pōderis: maiora minoraue:
 e quibus Orzeda ipse collegit plurima. Illud pulcherrimū quod scri
 bere pūduisset me nisi ex fide fuisset acceptum: percusso claua saxo:
 qđ mōti adiacet: prosiliisse magnā auri quāritatē: effulſisse vndiq; au
 reas scintillas: fulgoze ienarrabili. Oneratus Orzeda auro multo sca
 turiginis benignitate: stupidus gazarū magnitudīne: domuitionem
 parat ad prefectū cū nūcijs feliciorib⁹: Sorbolano socio cū manu hi
 spanoꝝ ad regē cuius causa discesserāt alacrius progrediēte. Is dū
 ad illum asseuerātius festinat: fluuio ingenti aliquātisper retardatur:
 qui hispanię tago ditior: hībero potentior in nauigabilis fere vide
 batur. Hunc cum tranare non posset pꝛeualido torrentis impe
 tu: accurrere indozum greges vndiq; ex vltiori ripa auxilium

familiariter pollicentes. Quae de re solliciti: vada indicant: vias edo-
cent: statimque duas nauiculas imittunt validiores. Excipiunt. Borbolā-
nus altera: summo cum discrimine: traiectu longo: torrete vehemētiore.
Quae omnia hispana virtus contempsit: dum patrie imperio studet, ppa-
gando. Commicatū alteri committunt transuehūti: ducētis auxiliariibus
indis circumstantibus: cymbā qua hispani gestabatur sublinētibz.
Traiecto flumine multis honoribus honestant: ab indis beniuolēti-
deducuntur per caciquos affabiles agētes iter. Vianca illis offerent-
bus: eisdē penitus ex hilaratis: nihil potius sibi futurū indicantibz: quā
si ea loca ab hispanis habitari atque excoli viderēt. Cumque de auri cu-
niculis: deque argēti origie mirāda narraissent: forte a quodā caciquo
ad aurificinas deducuntur: vbi faber quidam aurū in bracteas minu-
tissimas tenuabat. Lapis enim teres eas excipiebat: politissimo mar-
gine cōspiciuus. diademātū ille mitrarūque eximīter peritus (his enim
ad capitis luxuriam indorū mulieres vtuntur) pregrādē ibi laminā
excudit tenuissime. quae cuiusvis vel robustissimi hominis vires gesta-
ta saperasset. Sollicitus auraria prode: eo se recepere non procul
a casula quā opifex incolebat: vbi quattuor spectatur flumina: arenas
aureas voluentia. Hic enim longe vberius quā ab Oreda fuerat pper-
eum: aurea grana scaturiebant: drachmarum duarū auri: pondere ar-
gentea plurima micabant in fundo. Quod ium celi felicitate accidere
existimo: tum auri vilitate. Auri enim argētiqz vsus apud eos rarissi-
mus: metalli affluētia pretiū minuēt: in diademātū enim solū et mitra-
rū delitias transcant. Mores illis placabiles: omnia communia: auari-
tie nulla suspitio: nō illud flagitiosum: hoc meum hoc tuum. nō alieni
appētus: nō habēdi cupiditas liuore propulso: idē animus: oībz
mutua beniuolētia: par fides et obseruantia. Radicibus vescunt quae
flapis simillime: tacto semine nulla cultura spōte pueniūt. Mulie-
res benignē placide et igenio faciles. Quod edocueris accipiūt subito: te-
nēque fideliter. Salutationē beatę virginis a nr̄is edocetē adorāt suppli-
citer. Quibz lingua pmpria et expolita. Nihil mōstraueris quod nō sumis-
simū effinxerint. Voluptatibz et delirijs vacāt plurimū. Copotatiōes
illis et ictatiōes assidue: cum aqua potēt nullo vini vsu. Dormiūt lecto-
bā bacino aut cucurbitino: qui pēsilis circūagit. Unica illis ea volut-

pras hę solę delitię. *Lāpanarū* sonis mirifice capiunt: oblectant exi-
 mie: ut vix ab illis dumoneri possint. ad quas pertractandas pulsant/
 dasq; horis fere cōtinuis audius accedūt. Corpora cōgruētiam mē/
 brozum decorēq; suum retinēt colore surruffo. Ungues illis elegan-
 tes et politī: candēt dētes ut ebur: oculi celsi: macularū varietate: ni/
 gricans capillus lenis scilicet et demissus: pressę capite: fronte lata: ra-
 ritudine pilorum sterilis barba: viuunt ad prouectiorē etatē: decre-
 pitis rara canicies. *Mulierib⁹* eadē forma atq; corpis statura: pigmē-
 tis se colorant et vnguētis fucāt luxuriosius. *Medicamētī* genus ter-
 ra ē quę in insula prouenit. rubricā hāc putari: cōmune illud somē-
 tum oib⁹. Eo medicamēto ora illinita si longe spectaueris: cructa di-
 xeris direpta cute. *Dane* sub diluculū flumine proximo: riuo limpi-
 do se abluūt decēter. Incertū religiōe an mūditię gratia. Sestu mol-
 liculę: moriōne lasciuilę: ludūt cū nostris: procantur liberius: modo
 nihil turpius tractetur: offendunt enim si iocis abutaris. Saliunt in
 hūc ferme modū. *Murimę* simul quibus diademata et mitrę crines
 vinciunt: ex vno persoluūt līmite: soluto modo: modo gressu segnio-
 re. *Laminę* quę digitis gestantur īplicitę inuicē perculsę: non in iocū
 dum ciunt tinnitū. Ad quorū sonitū voce non dispari cantu non in-
 suauī in mollicitē decorę: flexibus tortuosis: exossam et enervē saltatio-
 nē explicant: ordine pulcherrimo: nexu interdū vario atq; inexpli-
 bili: nulla se alijs pręferēte: cūz omniū qui spectant admiratione. *Zu-
 su* debacchatę petulantius et fatigatę procarius: quis gressib⁹ acele-
 rantes: voce edita cōtinuatam absoluūt saltationē. *Hęc* vbi *Sorbola-
 nus* explorauit singula: nō diutius: tam bonaz fortunā diffērens: ver-
 so itinere quo ad regē *Sabeorū* festinabat: efficaci celeritate pedē ret-
 tulit ad pręfectū veluti *Mercurius* opulētior: indicaturus quę de au-
 ri fluctib⁹ oculis exceperat: diuitias enarraturus iestimabiles. *Qui-
 bus* acceptis: pręfectus exhilaratus deo optimo maximo imprimis
 reddit gratias: mox auri partem viritū in suos diuidit: quos tot
 bonorū repertoies habuit: quos socios laborum terra mariq; fideli⁹
 sibi adiunxerat. Quorū opera hispanorū regna auguste aucta: terre
 icognitę deprehēse: innumerabiles gētes recepre: quę ad austrū ptine-
 bāt extimę: ultra equatoris metas et signiferi seruoies: ppli recogniti

gregatim sparsi sine lege: qui ad christi religionē breuī traducentur. Quare de rebus omnibus et tam præclare gestis præfectus reges monet: cum tā beatis nuncijs charauellas. xij. remittit in hispanias: intētus ille ciuitati extruēdē: in quibus edificandis incumbens sollicitius: mira indorum multitudine quotidie in Isabellam nonam ciuitatē cōfluere: qui hispaniā gratulātes: officij monumenta et honores illis prope diuinos exhibent. Magna sane atq; ingens Colūbi præfecti laus: qui classē primus nostro quo in indicū oceanū deduxit. Maior Regū excellentium gloria: quorum imperio hæc geruntur. Qui fidei christianæ incūbentes: victoria memorabili: trophæo inexplicabili: hispanias primo: quorū patria est: expurgarūt superbissimo Brana re Rege pulso: Beticæ partē opulentiorē iam pridē occupante: Iudeos item ex his terris quibus late iperitant lōgi disceuerunt: superfluciosos omnis radicitus extinxerunt. Nunc ad cognoscenda oriētis littora ad amplificādam christi religionē christianissimi Reges propensius intendunt.

*Excellenti et prudentissimo viro domino Alphōso cauallarie iurēcōsul-
to disertissimo vicecancellario regio dignissimo Nicolaus Scyllacus
Siculus. S.D.*

Eum me tibi viro primario et excellenti itā pridē ita deu-
ueriz: ut studia mētēq; oēs iperio tuo religiosi⁹ subdi-
deriz: ex Hispanijs cū in Siciliā i patriā festinarē: mox
philosophiē et medicīe studio i cisalpina gymnasia trā-
slatus. xij. ānos Napie versarer iter totius Italiē phi-
losophos illustres: celū nō animuz mutasse me comperi. Itāquā dñi
imago mihi ex imo decidit pectore: nusquā tue mansuetudis vestigia
diurnitas vlla deluit: ita cordis fibris memorabile nomen tuū ra-
dicitus inherat. Alijs regionū pmutatio: noua locozū admiratio: pe-
grinatione diutina memoriā adimit suoz. His pcor dia i amore fri-
gescere: et qđ idignius recētū familiariū cōmertio: veterēs amici aīo
delabūtur. Ego cōtra: quo lōgi⁹ i pegrinas nationes longa viay iter
capedine sum pgressus: eo tenacior fact⁹: nō modo pietatē i te meā
integrā custodiui: vix absentis desiderio: quotidie assuerātius auxi.
Quo factū ē ut cū tui vidēdi cupidine maxime flagrarē qm adire tur-
bulētissimis his tēporib⁹ denegā: scripta saltē nostra iussi tua sacra-
tissima limina cōrigere. Accipies igit quē nuprime de isulis indie re
cognitis sub auspicijs regū iuictissimozū: i latinū cū verterē: cordatil-
simo Ludouico Sfortie mediolanēsiū Duci iclyro dedicauerā. In
quibus si quid pperā enarratū: aut dictū circūcisi⁹ fuerit: id nō a no-
bis pcuratū existimabis. Indicis illud viciū: nō nostrū fuit flagi-
tiū. Itā pter ea quē accepi: quēq; audini: pmutare aliqd aut adde-
re nō sum ausus. Cū illud maxime i pncipio me sollicitasset Colūbū
classis regiē pfectū ex Tali vrbe orā soluissē i idicū oceanū: nō nullis
e gadibus discessum affirmātib⁹. Tu siquid temere scriptū offen-
deris dele: obscuritati lumē adde: siqd vagāt⁹ luxuriauerit cohibe:
vmbra affer: lima tua quā exactissimā noui: i oibus vtēre. Ita enim et
me magno onere subeluaneris: et te posteris cōsuluisse nō penitebit.
Vale ex papia Idibus decembrib⁹. Mcccxxxiiij.

CONCERNING THE ISLANDS LATELY DISCOVERED

“THE introductory address of Nicolò Syllacio, Doctor of Arts and Medicine and Lecturer or Philosopher at Pavia, to the most wise Ludovico Maria Sforza of Angleria and Seventh Duke of Milan, concerning the islands lately discovered in the Southern and Indian Seas under the auspices of the invincible Sovereigns of Spain.

“Knowing that you observe from afar with more penetrating glance than Lynceus, with clearer vision than the many-eyed Argus, and with consummate forecast, not only what occurs in Italy and in our own sea, and, as it were, from a watch-tower (as becomes a good shepherd), direct your view attentively to every object, but that you endeavour to extend the prying glance of your eyes and the keen search of your mind to the vast regions of the entire globe, it has seemed proper to me, that you, whose mind thus embraces in its grasp the widest lands and seas, should know early before all others, what empires Ferdinand, the potent King of the Spains, has lately, with propitious auguries, acquired for himself from races of men hitherto unknown. For this Prince, starting from the Pillars of Hercules, and, after Hercules’s example, reducing to submission the barbarous tribes of Africa, annexes the unknown Ethiopians to the dominions of the Spains; and subjects the whole East to his sceptre and to the Christian Faith.

“From these events you will readily discover, that some geographers (men, I admit, of noble parts and high reputation, in whose pursuits, too, you take a deep interest, influenced by the counsels of Ambrosio Rosato, the celebrated physician and distinguished astronomer, who, for his services in this respect, has been raised to the highest honours) have not shown much diligence in their researches in reference to the Indian Ocean. For these writers have again and again asserted, that this vast ocean is inclosed on all sides by the continent: whereas it is matter of fact, that in our age, under the more favourable auspices of the Spanish Sovereigns, voyages have been made beyond the supposed bounds of the Southern Ocean, the borders of lower Ethiopia have been explored, the nations of India rediscovered, the happy isles of Arabia, which are to be seen scattered over the Indian Ocean, found out. Hanno, also, long ago gave a written

account of a similar voyage made by him in the flourishing period of the Carthaginian power, in which, setting out from Cadiz, he penetrated to the extreme borders of Arabia.

"Though this narrative, which I offer to you, cannot but prove acceptable on account of the novelty of the matters treated in it, this circumstance, I know, will especially recommend it to you, namely, that you wish success to the glory and to the greatness of Spain, that you have always equally admired the majesty and the religious character of her most Christian Sovereigns.

"You will extend indulgence to the writer, if what regards the bounds and the extent of the islands and other particulars are not explained by him with greater fulness and exactitude. It was by no means becoming, for one ignorant of the ground on which he was treading, to wander from the beaten paths. My materials are drawn from letters written to me in his native tongue by Guillermo Coma, an illustrious Spaniard, while I was sojourning with Johannes Antonius Birreta, a highly respectable citizen of your own Pavia. These I immediately translated into Latin, in the terse unartificial manner of Lucian's narrative.

"Perhaps I am guilty of more than Sicilian impertinence in thus presumptuously obtruding this narrative on your notice. But to whom could I present it more appropriately than to you, to whom the charge of the affairs of the globe especially pertains: and who (for I may subjoin this as an additional excuse for my presumption) are accustomed to think my trifles worthy of some consideration?

"Let it suffice that in this voyage the islands have been discovered, a knowledge obtained of the climate, some of the harbours cursorily examined. Afterwards, when the navigators on their return shall have had an opportunity to survey the gulfs and explore the interior regions, I will take pains to add to the accounts left by the ancients, what has been handed down from our forefathers concerning the ferocity of the multiform tribes, their manners, their laws, and their various modes of life; all which Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, the champion of our religion, and a native of Africa, observed with his own eyes, and recorded in the book entitled *Sermons to the Eremites*.

"Farewell, most illustrious of Princes.

"Given at Pavia, 13 December, 1494."

ACCOUNT OF THE LATELY DISCOVERED ISLANDS OF THE SOUTHERN AND INDIAN OCEAN ¹

"Columbus, commander of the royal fleet (the Spaniards call him Admiral,) set out to explore the shores of the East, accompanied by a chosen

¹ As the following translation was made by the Rev. John Mulligan, A.M., for the late James Lenox, we have thought it proper to use it here. In a few instances only have we departed from it.

body of soldiers, on the twenty-fifth of September, in the year of our Lord, 1493, with a favourable wind. His place of departure was the celebrated port of Cadiz, a noble city of Andalusia, outside the Straits of Gibraltar, where the Atlantic Ocean bursts violently into the Mediterranean Sea. In this port a squadron of larger and smaller ships equipped for speed was collected. Among these were many light vessels which they call Cantabrian barks. The timbers of these were for the most part fastened with wooden pins, lest the weight of the iron should diminish their velocity. There were also many caravels; these also are small vessels, but built strong so as to be fitted for long voyages and tempestuous seas. Besides these there were also vessels specially prepared to explore the islands of the Indians.

"Already the religious rites usual on such occasions were performed by the sailors; the last embraces were given by those setting out on the voyage; the ships were hung with tapestry; streamers were displayed entwined with the ropes; the royal standard decorated the sterns on all sides. The pipers and harpers held in mute astonishment the Nereids and even the sirens themselves with their sweet modulations. The shores re-echoed the clang of the trumpets and the braying of the clarions, and the deep waves resounded with the reports of the cannon.

"Some Venetian galleys, which had been pursuing their commerce in the British seas, and had accidentally turned into the harbour of Cadiz, emulating the ships of the Spaniards, joined with equal zeal and earnestness in the cheers of the sailors; imploring blessings [according to custom] on the ships setting sail for the Indies.

"When Aurora, resplendent with her bright trappings, ushered in the next morning, they sailed with gentle breezes for the Canaries, with five large ships and twelve caravels which had had experience of the Indian Ocean the year before. It is known that the Canaries were discovered some time ago by mariners in attempting to proceed into the Atlantic Ocean. On the seventh of October, the darkness which hung over the sea being dispelled, Lanzarota, and at the same time Forteventura, which the Latins call, not inappropriately, Bonafortuna, appeared in the midst of the ocean. These islands have a bountiful soil, easy to cultivate, and free from everything that is noxious, except the nuisance of ravens, which so infest them that merchant ships are prevented from visiting them. The loss arising from this is so great, that a most stringent law has been enacted in order to abate the depredations of these birds. Each colonist is compelled by this law to bring annually to the magistrate one hundred ravens' heads. Whoever fails to obey this injunction is subjected to a heavy fine.

"They next arrived at the Grand Canary, which Pliny says has received its name from the great size of the dogs found in it. Here they stopped for a day and purchased liberally whatever seemed necessary for the use of the fleet. They laid in a large supply of sugar, a commodity which the Canaries produce abundantly. That which was formerly brought from Arabia and India, collected in reeds in the same manner as guns, is

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white and brittle. Many of the physicians call it Indian salt. Colonies were planted in the Canaries under the auspices of the Spanish Sovereigns; and whatever was needed to give lustre to the province was industriously provided. A bishop is found there to dispense hospitality, a venerable cathedral attracts notice, a convent of *Fratres Minores*, distinguished for piety, and occupying a structure approaching to elegance. Already these islands have become the resort of enterprising merchants, carrying their commerce to many shores, of industrious artificers of various kinds, and of a numerous population. Although these islands, situated westward and under a southern sun, as Juba has informed us in those writings left concerning the extent of the Southern Sea, may be reckoned *Fortunate*, they are nevertheless infested by vast numbers of conies, which devour everywhere the grain and green crops. In ancient times, as M. Varro writes, a walled town in Spain was undermined by these animals, and the inhabitants of the Balearic Isles almost ruined, if the speedy assistance of the Roman people had not relieved them. The conies issue out in such numbers to destroy the growing crops, that the annual production would scarcely afford a sufficient supply of grain, if this formidable pest could not be driven off. Seven men, to whom this business is given in charge by turns in the several districts, do nothing else the whole day except to hunt the conies, of which they are expected to kill a thousand every eight days.

"On the next day they directed their course to the island of Gomera, which is subjected to the authority of the huntress Bovedella, a woman of great ability. On their way they passed Tenerife, which glories in the rule of nine chiefs. The unsubjected Canarians occupy this island: a race of men without law, without any clothing; but possessing intrepid courage, and strength equal to their daring. Hence they have never been subjected to the yoke of the Spaniards. A lofty mountain overlooks Tenerife. It raises its summit above the clouds and our dense foggy atmosphere. It is said to be the highest mountain in the world. It is situated half way between the Grand Canary and Gomera, about one hundred miles from both. Other Canarians also inhabit the wild regions extending from Mount Atlas through the sands of Lybia—places covered with black dust and filled with serpents and elephants. They are called Canarians, because they eat in common with the dogs, sharing with them the carcasses of the wild animals which afford them sustenance. By other Canarians occupying Æthiopia a sort of sacred food is set apart for dogs in the city of Cynopolis, in which also divine honours are paid to Anubis.

"They remained nearly six days in Gomera for the purpose of taking in provisions and water, and then with a fair wind set sail for the islands of the Indians. On the thirteenth of October they reached the shores of Ferro with favouring breezes and a tranquil sea. A phenomenon which excites the wonder of the spectator occurs here, of which some description will not fail to amuse the reader. The island is destitute of water, having neither springs nor running streams. It may be reasonably conjectured

from this that it is that Ombrios, of which Pliny makes mention in the sixth book of his *Natural History*. On an elevated ridge there is a tree of immense size, thickly covered with leaves like those of the laurel, spreading its ever verdant boughs, abundantly sprinkled with the morning dew. The water which trickles down in drops is received by a conduit in a reservoir around the dew-covered tree. There is no other water in Ferro, except that which is collected from the tree. Nor will you much wonder at this or think it incredible, since Bonavista, which is not far distant from Ferro, is destitute of several kinds of food. It produces neither rice, nor millet, nor wheat. It abounds only in animals, so that it becomes necessary to subsist wholly on flesh. The same food is given to the beasts of burden, to hens and other poultry fed for the table. They feed upon the flesh raw, and often while it is covered with its own blood.

“On the 27th of October, while they were sailing through the Southern seas, the wind rose to a terrible gale, the billows swelled on high, thick darkness covered all things, gloomy night brooded on the deep, save where the lightnings flashed and the thunders roared. Nothing can be more perilous, nothing more dismal than shipwreck under such circumstances; the havoc of the skies superadded to the boisterous storms of the deep, rains pouring down, water in large quantities beating into the ships. Their yards were broken, their sails torn, their ropes snapped asunder, the timbers creaked, the decks were floating with brine, some ships hung suspended on the summits of the waves, while to others the yawning flood disclosed the bottom between the billows. There each individual, trying to show how much he excelled in bodily or in mental energy, put forth his whole strength. It was with much difficulty that they could steer the ships, hold fast to the stays, keep the vessels from dashing against one another, which could scarcely be discovered one from on board the other, on account of the waves of mountain size which often rose between them. At length, God, whom they had incessantly supplicated with vows and piously implored with tears, came to their assistance. Whatever may be assigned as the cause, whether the sons of Leda, as the Greeks believed—the twin brothers propitious to those who navigate the deep;—or blazing vapours carried aloft, which disperse the thick darkness of the storm, as the natural philosophers assert; or, as I think, more in accordance with Christian notions, a certain Saint Elmo, the guardian of those encountering shipwreck, presents himself in answer to the supplications of the sailors: the fact is certain, that two lights shone through the darkness of the night on the topmasts of the Admiral's ship. Forthwith the tempest began to abate, the sea to remit its fury, the waves their violence, and the surface of the ocean became as smooth as polished marble. When the clouds were dispelled and the morning sun arose, those who were most sharp-sighted made long continued efforts to descry land, earnestly longing once more to get on shore; as was to be expected in the case of persons who had, as it were, emerged from the depths of the sea and been rescued from the jaws of the marine monsters. At last, those who were on the look-out in

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the tops of the Admiral's ship announced the sight of land; next, that they saw the summits of mountains; soon after, the verdure of the woods; and, presently after, seven islands came fully in view, which had not been discovered in the former voyage. Then all hearts were cheered. Unmindful of the imminent danger of shipwreck which they had escaped, they returned thanks to God, devoutly engaging in acts of worship. At what country they had arrived, or in what part of the ocean they were, few of them could determine. The Admiral, however, was in no doubt about this.

"To the sun and to the severity of their calamities this aggravation was added, that the water on board was entirely exhausted. This had happened partly on account of the great length of the voyage, and partly through the liberality with which the Admiral had lately distributed the water. For he, having had some experience of the regions, and sagaciously conjecturing in what place and under what part of the heavens these seven islands were situated, by way of cheering his followers, promised that they should see the new world in the space of three days at most, assuring them that they should find peaceful shores, limpid streams, and fountains clear as crystal. For this reason he had distributed nearly all the water among them with large measure, filling vessels more capacious than usual for each man. You might compare him to Moses encouraging the thirsty armies of the Israelites in the arid sands of the wilderness. The hopes which he had thus encouraged did not disappoint his companions, and this circumstance increased their admiration of their leader.

"These islands are under the rule of the Cannibals.¹ This barbarous and indomitable race feeds on human flesh. I might with propriety call them anthropophagi. They wage incessant war against the effeminate and timid Indians for the purpose of obtaining human flesh. This is the booty which they seek, this is the game for which they hunt. They prey upon the Indians, assailing them with savage ferocity. They devour these unwarlike tribes, but abstain from eating their own people, sparing all Cannibals. This we shall show more clearly hereafter.

"The first of these islands toward the south is somewhat elevated, and is conspicuous for the beauty and verdure of its mountains. Trees grow thick down to the shores, so that it bears a resemblance to Thessalian Tempe. They named this island Dominica, in honour of the day on which it was discovered. Leaving this they proceeded to Marivolante, to which, being next to Dominica, they gave the name of the Admiral's ship. Of this they took possession in the name of the Spanish Sovereigns with the usual ceremonies; and in token of this transaction they erected the cross of the Saviour. With reinvigorated strength, they took their departure before morning dawned, and reached a third island distant forty miles from

¹ Dr. Mulligan persistently calls the Canaballi, *Caribs*. This is the first instance in a printed form of the use of this word. Peter Martyr, as we have seen, used it first, but his letter did not publicly appear until it was surreptitiously printed as the *Libretto* at Venice in 1504.

Marivolante. This held the sailors in deeper admiration, being far superior to the others, distinguished by extensive plains and mountains of surpassing beauty.

“One very striking and beautiful object here discovered deserves special notice. A large river bursts from the summit of a mountain, which, dividing into many streams and rapid torrents, flows into the ocean. Among those who viewed this marvellous phenomenon at a distance from the ships, it was at first a subject of dispute, whether it was light reflected from masses of compact snow, or the broad surface of a smooth worn road. At last the opinion prevailed that it was a vast river. This conjecture was soon after confirmed by those who disembarked, with a guard of armed men, to explore the island. These found that there was a fountain in the elevated part of the mountain, from which issued eighteen large streams like several branches of one great river, by which the whole island was well watered. Hence it is all clothed with trees covered with foliage, and carpeted with grasses of various colours. It is all fertile, having a favourable exposure, not niggardly or sparing in its products. The production of this island which excels all others is what they call asses¹; they are very like turnips of a tapering shape, except that they grow somewhat larger, like pumpkins. It must not be omitted that these asses have different tastes according to the manner in which they are prepared. When eaten raw, as in salads, they have the taste of parsnips; when roasted, that of chestnuts; when sodden with pork, that of squashes; when sprinkled with juice of almonds, nothing can taste more delicious, or is eaten with greater avidity. These esculents afford an excellent material for the exercise of the culinary art, and are well adapted for use in eating houses and taverns. They furnish an agreeable variety of dishes very palatable on account of their savoury taste. You might compare them, for their good properties, to the manna gathered by the Israelites; *i. e.*, the Syrian dew. And, since they do not injure the body, nor oppress the stomach, they are prescribed, as wholesome food for invalids and the sick by the physicians appointed by the government to accompany the fleet. Seeds have been brought over to Spain, that our part of the world may be supplied with these prolific and many flavoured vegetables.

“There is here, besides, a prolific sort of grain of the size of a lupin, round like a vetch, from which when broken a very fine flour is made. It is ground like wheat. A bread of exquisite taste is made from it. Many who are stinted in food chew the grains in their natural state. Shrubs of many kinds abound; and also fragrant pears. The boughs of the trees are bent down with wild fruits. There are many shady forests and venerable groves. The seeds that are planted are subject to no kind of injury. They fear no damage from darnel, tares, or sterile wild oats. The harmless purslain is the only weed which springs up in the cultivated lands. There are great numbers of cotton trees, spread over with a fine wool, from which

¹ The writer was trying to say *ajes*.

by the skill of the spinner and the weaver, garments are manufactured similar to those made of silk. The dwellings of the inhabitants are magnificent, being formed of thick reeds interlaced, and resembling a canopy in form. The elegance of these habitations called forth the admiration of our people. The contemplation of the timbers adjusted in a workmanlike manner, and the beams planed and polished with the most exact finish, afforded high pleasure. All this was effected, not with iron or with steel, of which metals they are destitute, but with sharp stones fixed in wooden handles. With instruments of this kind they fell trees, cut the hardest woods, and cleave strong trunks three fathoms in circumference.

"These Cannibals are a race of more than ordinary ferocity, capable of enduring the severest toils; and they are, as we have already said, engaged in constant hostilities with the feeble Indians. Peter Margarita, a Spaniard whose testimony is worthy of all confidence, who was impelled, by the strong desire of visiting newly discovered regions, to join the Admiral in his expedition to the East, testifies that he had seen with his own eyes several Indians fixed on spits and roasted over burning coals to serve the purposes of luxury. At the same time many human bodies lay around in heaps, from which the heads and the extremities had been separated. The Cannibals themselves do not deny this, but openly affirm that they eat men.

"In their battles they use very strong bows, with which they shoot arrows as long as a walking staff, and pointed with a sharp bone formed with barbs to prevent the head of the arrow from being easily extracted from a wound. The bones used for this purpose are said to be the shin-bones of men; thus they permit no part of their victims to be useless after their flesh is devoured. They are skilful archers, and hit with unerring hand whatever they aim at with their shafts. Nor should any one treat what is now asserted as untrue. We read that the Nisitæ, a tribe of maritime Æthiopians, and the Nisicastes, live in these regions; these names signify men who have three or four eyes. They are not so called because they really have this number of eyes, but because they display extraordinary accuracy of sight in directing their arrows.

"The Cannibals are in stature above the middle size, with large paunches. They are entirely naked. They have larger and smaller vessels, called by them canoes, which they impel with oars. They have many boats of a smaller kind formed of a single log hollowed out. Virgil calls such boats *lintres*. Others call them *monoxylæ*. The larger vessels have their sides constructed of timbers fastened together, and are eighty feet long. They rise five palms above the water, and are about four palms wide. For oars they have broad boards, such as our bakers use for oven shovels, only a little shorter. With this kind of boats they cross over to the neighbouring islands, whose inhabitants differ widely from them in manners, in disposition, and in talents. Sometimes they make longer voyages, even to the distance of a thousand miles, for the purpose of plundering. It is their custom to dismember the male children and young slaves whom they capture, and fatten them like capons. They feed with greater care those

that are thin of flesh and emaciated, as we do wethers. By and by, when well grown and fattened, they are devoured with avidity. They assign the women whom they carry off, as maid-servants to their wives, or use them as concubines. If these women bear children, the Cannibals eat them, as they do the captives; thus making what has been fabulously related of Saturn, whom poetical fiction represents as devouring his own offspring, no fable in their case. These people are shrewd, ready witted, astute; so that they may without much difficulty be brought under subjection to our laws, and induced to conform to our mode of living, when they have once become acquainted with the more humane customs of our people and have had an opportunity of observing civilised life. It is therefore hoped that in a short time they will relinquish their ferocity, when our people can at once afford them instruction, and, from time to time, hold out the threat, that unless they abstain from eating human flesh, they must be completely subjected and carried in chains as captives to Spain.

"Hares, serpents, and lizards of monstrous size are produced in this island. There are also dogs which do not bark, and are not subject to canine madness. They divide these at the spine, and after roasting them slightly, satisfy their hunger with them when human flesh cannot be obtained. They have birds of various kinds, among these a prodigious number of parrots.

"The Cannibals who, as we have said, inhabit these seven islands, are all similar in their customs and manners; they are all alike addicted to plundering, alike cruel towards the Indians. As to the rest, these islands have a large population. They abound with odoriferous trees, whose properties are unknown to the inhabitants, and scarcely fully discovered by our people, who have not explored the interior parts, nor yet reached the mountainous regions. When the Spaniards took possession of these islands for their Sovereigns, they gave the most fertile of the group the auspicious name of Saint Mary of Guadaloupe, to whom a celebrated convent is dedicated in the south of Spain.

"During the seven days that the Spaniards remained in this island, many fugitives and female captives from the Cannibals sought refuge in the ships. These being received with humanity and liberally supplied with food, concluded that the gods had come for their deliverance. When they were advised by the Spaniards to return to the Cannibals, they threw themselves at their feet as suppliants, and some clasped their arms round the masts, entreating with floods of tears that they should not be driven away to fall again into the hands of the Cannibals to be butchered like sheep. Very few of the Cannibals were taken, for they are swift of foot and adroit in concealing themselves; besides, securing themselves in places well fortified by nature, they set our people at defiance.

"From the place where they now were, the islands of the Indians—more than one hundred and eighty in number—are to be seen scattered over the Indian sea eastward, stretching on the left side toward the Arabian gulf. Considering the trustworthy statements of C. Pliny and others, I

am led to think that these are the Arabian Isles, whose inhabitants they describe as mild and placid in their manners and exposed to oppression. The islands explored in the voyage of the preceding year are exposed to the incursions of the Cannibals. One or two of the Cannibals often put a whole army of Indians to flight. The Indians are seized with so much fear of them, that, even when they have them securely bound, they still stand in dread of them.

“Leaving Guadaloupe on the tenth of November, as soon as the darkness of night was dispelled, they spread their sails to a favouring breeze which bore them toward Navidad. In this place a number of Spaniards had been left by the Admiral the year before, to protect a fortified castle, to carry on commerce with the inhabitants of the island, and to civilise them by instructing them in our knowledge, and leading them to relinquish their own false principles and evil habits. As soon as the sun arose, they discovered a great number of islands. It was not their intention to approach these. But when on the 14th of November a Cannibal island came in view which, by its fine position and aspect, seemed to invite the approach of the navigators, it was resolved to enter its harbour. A small boat of observation was sent off to ascertain what was the language of the islanders, what their laws and customs. An officer was appointed to the command with some armed men. While he was intent on approaching that part of the harbour where he saw half a dozen of huts, the boat’s company discovered behind them a canoe rowing in from the deep sea direct towards the same huts. When those in the canoe came nearer, they viewed with wonder the strange fleet, astounded at the sight of the tall masts and lofty bulwarks, and then urged their oars more earnestly. Presently they observed the boat with armed men between them and the harbour, and suspecting an ambuscade to intercept them, they immediately turn the head of their canoe towards the nearest part of the island. The officer of the boat suddenly dashes forward and intercepts their course to the shore. On this the Cannibals attack the boat and fight fiercely. They wound two of our men; one of these died of his wounds after four days; the other was badly hurt, and his shield, which saved his life, pierced through. When the officer saw that the Cannibals could not be brought to yield to conditions of surrender, and that they rejected all signs of friendly intercourse, which, through a desire to take them alive, he held out to them, he attacked them with greater violence. He pushed his boat with main force against the canoe and sunk it. The barbarians, being only three men with two women and a single Indian captive (whom they had carried away from the neighbouring islands), persevered in seeking safety by swimming, in which art they are skilful. At last they were captured and taken to the Admiral. One of them was pierced through in seven places and his intestines protruded from his wounds. Since it was believed that he could not be healed, he was thrown into the sea. But emerging to the surface, with one foot upraised, and with his left hand holding his intestines in their place, he swam courageously towards the

shore. This caused great alarm to the Indians who were brought along as interpreters. For they dreaded that the cunning Cannibals, taking to flight, would contrive some more savage scheme of vengeance. They accordingly persisted obstinately in maintaining the opinion that those who were caught should be put out of the way. The Cannibal was therefore recaptured near the shore, bound hand and foot more tightly, and again thrown headlong into the sea. This resolute barbarian swam still more eagerly towards the shore, till, transpierced with many arrows, he at length expired. Scarcely had this been done when the Cannibals came running to the shore in great numbers—a horrible sight. They were of a dark colour, fierce aspect, stained with red interspersed with various colours, for the purpose of increasing the ferocity of their looks. One side of their heads was shorn, the other side covered with straight black hair hanging down at full length. From these also many captives fled to the ships, as it were to the altars, for safety, complaining loudly of the cruelty and ferocity of the Cannibals.

“Next day they departed from this island, to which they gave the name Santa Cruz. Passing many other islands in their course, they came in six days to the Indians. They annexed to the kingdom of Spain a certain island, of large extent and abounding with harbours, to which they gave the name of John the Baptist.

“On the next day when the sun rose, they made sail for that island in which, as we have before related, the Admiral had left the Christians the preceding year, when he returned to Spain to inform the King and Queen of his discoveries. While they were coasting along the shores of this island, they accidentally entered a harbour on their way, which lies under a majestic mountain. This mountain has received the name Monte Christi, and is distant about sixty miles from the place where the Christians were left. Exploring everything on their way, they arrived in eight days at the harbour of the Christians—an event which filled them with great joy, mingled with much anxious solicitude. In the first place they ardently wished to find their friends safe; and then to become acquainted by personal observation with the commerce and the manners of the Indians. But the thing turned out far otherwise than they were hoping it would. For, having entered the harbour sometime after nightfall, when none of the Christians from the fort made answer to their signal, sadness and the most acute grief took possession of their hearts, suspecting, what really was the case, that the comrades whom they had left there were totally extirpated. While they were labouring under this load of sorrow and these horrible forebodings, about ten o'clock an Indian canoe put off from the shore, and speedily approached the ships. Ossichavar was on board this canoe, accompanied by some of the chief men of the tribe. This chief had manifested much friendship towards the Admiral on his visit to the place in his former voyage. The party came with haste to make known that the arrival of the Spaniards was an event grateful to the feelings of Goathanari. They show that the return of the Christians affords much pleasure to the Indians.

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They indicate that the people are delighted, and exhibit the joys expected from their return by various gestures, and by a sweet chant, which they raised with a low voice, and which had a soothing influence on the mind. The Admiral, on his departure for Spain, had commended the Spaniards to the special protection of King Goathanari, and had endeavoured to conciliate his most intimate friendship. A light boat was immediately launched to give assurance to the Indians, and to tow them to the Admiral's ship. They, labouring under suspicion, decline to approach nearer, saying that they would not trust themselves on board the ships, before they had recognised the Admiral with their own eyes.

"After the Admiral had got an opportunity of speaking with them, he first made friendly inquiries about Goathanari, and then he questioned them more eagerly as to what had become of the Christians. They replied that Goathanari was confined to his couch in consequence of a wound, and that all the Christians were killed. When these words were spoken, they delivered the present of the cacique, which was two ewers of pure gold, such as are used on the tables of the wealthy to hold water. Nothing could be elicited that night from these messengers in reference to the kind of death by which the Spaniards perished; nor could the cause of their destruction be ascertained clearly from them. These having returned hastily to the cacique, after daylight, others of the more confidential domestics of Goathanari, who came to pay their respects to the Admiral, disclosed the cause of the calamity. These said that the Spaniards had been slain by Coanabo, a strong and powerful cacique in the neighbourhood. This chief they said was factious, restless, inconstant—an object of terror to all his neighbours. To effect the destruction of the Christians, he had also associated with himself a certain cacique called Marian, as an accomplice in his atrocious undertaking. In this dangerous conjuncture, Goathanari, while aiding the Spaniards with all his might, had received a severe wound in the arm. The cause of the war and provocation of hatred arose from unbridled licence in relation to the women of the Indians. For when each of the Spaniards appropriated five women to himself, for the purpose, as I conjecture, of raising a large offspring, the husbands and kindred of the women could not endure this wrong. [For no race of living beings is exempt from jealousy.] The barbarians, therefore, conspiring together to avenge the insult and wrong done to them, attacked the Christians with a numerous force. These, fighting bravely to the last, when they could no longer withstand the attack of the thronged battalions of their foes, were at length cut to pieces. The information conveyed by the words of Goathanari was confirmed by the discovery of the dead bodies of ten Spaniards. These bodies were emaciated and ghastly, covered with dust and bespattered with blood, discoloured, and retaining still a fierce aspect. They had lain now nearly three months neglected and unburied under the open air. Tears were shed and wailings uttered over their comrades, who were so deformed by decay that they could not be recognised. Their shades were

propitiated by the solemnities of a funereal couch, and their bodies laid in the grave with Christian rites.

"After these obsequies were performed, the Admiral, on the third day, resolved to visit the cacique, who made his abode in a place nearly ten miles from the sea. Attended by one hundred of the more respectable Spaniards, he proceeded to that place, where the smoke of a small village was discovered and many roofs seen. With pipers and drummers arranged in order, and line of battle formed, they march to the residence of the cacique. They are admitted by the officers who have charge of this business. They pay their respects to Goathanari reclining in a hammock, resembling a net made of cotton, wrought in a skilful manner. Tokens of affection were mutually given and received and covenants of friendship made. The cacique professes his joy at the presence of the Spaniards, at the renewal of mutual good-will, the confirmation of their friendship. He relates the story of the slaughter of the Spaniards with an expression of commiseration, and explains the details in sorrowful accents. He describes the furious rage of the caciques who attacked them, the overpowering force of the enemy, the perils of the combat, and uncovers the wound which he had received in the fight.

"When he had finished his speech, he rose from his regal couch, took a golden boss which he wore from his forehead, and handed it respectfully to the Admiral. He put on his head a crown of cotton texture, taken from his own head. He gave him more than a dozen belts polished with admirable art, and some of them variegated with thin plates of gold, interwoven in the cotton fabric with wonderful skill. He added to this munificence several calabashes filled with gold in the condition in which it is collected from the mines. This gold amounted to more than twelve besses; each bes containing eight ounces according to the tables of the money changers. The Admiral, thus adorned with so many marks of the regard of Goathanari, and laden with gifts, by way of return of favours, decorates the cacique magnificently with an inner vest embroidered with Moorish art and variegated with splendid colours. He gives him besides a large brazen wash basin and several rings of tin; lastly, he reverently unfolds an image of the blessed Virgin Mother, which he teaches him is to be religiously worshipped. Following the example of their chief, the Indians, loaded with much gold, stimulate the Spaniards to an exchange of gifts. It was not permitted to all without distinction to accept gifts from the Indians, but only to those who would make some compensation by giving in return small gifts, such as buttons, glass beads, and hawks' bells, in which the Æthiopians and Arabians take great delight, and for which, as we read in ancient histories, they are accustomed to exchange their merchandise. In this manner the Spaniards that day carried back more than thirty besses of gold, for which they gave in exchange to the Indians some trifling presents of the cheapest sort. The Indians chuckled with a broad grin at the cheapness of brazen wares, and our men in turn at this exchange of gold for brass, when the Indians paid down a large quantity of gold for a single

brazen boss. Nor should this appear wonderful to any one, since the rarity of a thing invests it with value. Pennyroyal, than which nothing in our meadows is less valuable, brings a higher price, says he, among the Indians, than pepper.

"While they were making these exchanges, after Goathanari had satisfied his curiosity, his wife, accompanied by twelve damsels entirely destitute of clothing, inspected with wonder the wares of the Spaniards, while their friends and domestics lay prostrate on the ground according to the custom of the Indians. Lest anything should be wanting to complete the regal ceremonial, Goathanari came out of doors, and seats being arranged, he continued the interview there on more familiar terms with his guests. The Admiral who wished to inform the cacique of the purposes of his voyage, called an Indian interpreter, and ordered him to say that the Spaniards had set out to visit foreign regions with the design of rendering the inhabitants more humane by teaching them what is good, and leading them to renounce evil principles and habits, and for the purpose of subjecting these islands to the authority of the powerful Spanish Sovereigns. But that to Goathanari, as their ally and most intimate friend, they would extend special protection. When the cacique heard these things from the Indian [interpreter], he rose from his seat immediately, stamped with his foot on the ground, raised his eyes towards heaven, and uttered a loud shout, to which the rest of the Indians, who were there present to the number of about six hundred, returned a tremendous acclamation. This greatly alarmed our men, of whom only one hundred in light armour were present, and so frightened some of them that they laid their hands on the hilts of their swords, suspecting that all was now to be committed to the decision of arms.

"When this alarm subsided and confidence was restored, Goathanari came down to the shore to see the ships. When there, he admired the lofty bulwarks, examined the tackle of the ships, observed attentively the instruments of iron, but fixed his eyes most upon the horses, of which the Indians are destitute. A great number of fine horses—fleet for the course and strong to bear armour—had been brought out by the Spaniards. These horses had plated bits, housings of gay colours, and straps highly polished. The formidable appearance of these animals was not without terror to the Indians; for they suspected that they fed on human flesh.

"When the cacique came alongside the Admiral's ship, he was received in the most pompous manner—with the beating of drums, the clashing of cymbals, and the flashes of thundering cannon. Being seated in the stern of the ship, they accepted with pleasure an invitation to lunch. Sugared pastils, comfits, and things of this sort were spread liberally on the table. The cacique displayed a venerable gravity of demeanour—a majesty worthy of sovereign power; while the other Indians betrayed astonishment at all they saw. At midnight the cacique returned to his own people.

"The Spaniards now resolved on making a tour to explore the island. Accordingly they set out from that harbour which they called Navidad,

which is capable of containing a great number of ships, and, impelled by the desire of seeing new places, proceeded to the distance of fifteen miles. There they found a well-protected harbour receding deep into the coast. This is called the Royal Harbour, and is, according to the testimony of sailors who have explored all seas, inferior to none in the world. It is remarkable for the abundance of fruit around it, but chiefly for its advantageous natural situation. From this place they proceeded further toward the gold mines, and the streams [rich with golden sands], and found another most charming inlet, which they called the harbour of the Graces. Eight days from Christmas they landed on the shore where the limpid river Caudal glides through a region of remarkable beauty. It is surrounded by much level land, sometimes rising gently into small mountains. The temperature of the atmosphere is admirable. It may be conjectured that, in this place, vines would in a short time furnish wine, and wheat readily germinate; for garden seeds came up in five days after they were sown, and the gardens were speedily clothed in green, producing plentifully onions and pumpkins, radishes and beets. This greatly increased the hopes of all. For the soil, though indeed it is more lavish of its products in gardens near cities, refuses nowhere what is cast upon its bosom, and receives nothing which it does not return with large usury. So great has been the increase from the seeds sown by the Spaniards, that it is thought that the crop will afford them provisions for twenty years. Already vines are planted, the fields have smiled with growing crops, the tender ears of corn have made their appearance, the bearded grain has come to maturity, so that there can be no want during the two years to come either of bread stuffs or the produce of the grape.

“It would not be without reason if I should call this a *Happy Island*, whether it should prove to be one of the Arabian or the Indian islands. Besides many species of leguminous plants, it produces cinnamon in great abundance—a produce which it was not allowed by the ancients to gather till the permission of the Deity was first obtained. It produces ginger and clove-gillyflower trees with branches three cubits long having a pale bark. It produces silk abundantly; it is redolent with castor, which our people call musk; it abounds in frankincense, of which Dioscorides says there are two kinds—the Indian of a reddish colour, and the Arabian of a clear white. The island is also famous for its rhubarb, which is an efficacious remedy against all ailments. Pliny calls it *raconia*. Nor does this bounteous soil bestow these precious gifts in a sparing and niggardly manner, but lavishes them most liberally; so that the great accumulation of them will afford an endless supply of commodities for commerce. Bread-fruit trees flourish in vast numbers; wool-bearing trees bloom in every direction, affording useful materials for making coverlids and for stuffing cushions. There are great quantities of a flax-like grass, as fine as hair, which the inhabitants use for thread. Ropes can be made of this which are much more durable and stronger than those made of hemp. Odoriferous species of wood are found in every direction, and very many things altogether

unknown, and which were, it was said, never seen before. In a word, it has been ascertained that this island spontaneously produces all these things wild, as well as those which, as we have shown above, abound in the Cannibal island, Guadaloupe. The Spaniards will improve this soil by introducing colonists and farmers to work it and sow it, to break it with their hoes, and stir it up by ploughing and weeding, though, thanks to the excellence of the climate there may be no need of manuring.

"Adjoining the beautiful city, which they are engaged in building, there is a fine bay which abounds in fish of the most delicate flavour. These fish, after having been first tried by the physicians, are given to the sick as food conducive to their convalescence. Other monstrous fishes are also caught—of the size of an ox—which they eat after cutting off the feet. They have the savour of veal. If you should taste these, you would abandon the eating of every other kind of fish.

"Our people in fact call this island Belle Isle, since they have given their city the name Isabella. As this island has the advantage of the rest in situation, and in the genial temperature of its climate, it will be well-peopled in a very few years; and abounding in colonists, adorned with houses then completed, and with magnificent walls, it will vie with any of the Spanish cities. The houses are so arranged, and the walls so constructed as both to impart beauty, and form a secure retreat to the inhabitants. A wide street laid out perfectly straight divides the city into two parts, while many cross-streets intersect this transversely. A magnificent citadel with strong ramparts is erected on the shore. The residence of the Admiral is called the Royal Palace; since, under the favour of God, the bountiful giver of so many good gifts, it may at some future time happen that the Sovereigns themselves setting out from Cadiz, may make their way to so rich a portion of their dominions, in order to visit their own islands secured by victories gained in far remote climes under their auspices. There also a magnificent cathedral has been built, rich with gifts—filled with offerings sent over by Queen Isabella from Spain for the service of God; for it is intended that this city shall be the capital of the province. Many illustrious Spaniards have migrated to this place to become inhabitants of the new city. Among these are Oreda¹ and Gorbolan, men distinguished for talents and for wisdom acquired by long experience in public affairs. The Admiral sent these two men into the interior regions of the Sabæans with a retinue of light-armed soldiers to push forward to Saba, a very wealthy chief (as he had heard from the Indians), who resided at no great distance. It is believed that these are the Sabæans whose country produces frankincense, and who are described in our own histories and in the annals of foreign nations. The saying is in everybody's mouth, Kings shall come from Saba bringing gold and incense; and in

¹ Alonzo de Hojeda, or Ojeda, was one of the famous explorers, companion of Columbus, Vesputius, and La Cosa. There was another Alonzo de Ojeda, of whom we will hear by and by as the instrument of evil in defeating a cherished scheme of Bartholomew de las Casas in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the Indians.

these products this island greatly abounds. For the Sabæans are rich in the possession of odoriferous woods, of gold mines, of lands well watered with numerous streams, and in the production of honey and beeswax.

“While Oreda was pursuing his journey toward this place, in passing through the villages, he was hospitably received by the Indians of every hamlet; they offered their services to guide him faithfully to the chief, and cheerfully brought him whatever they had to eat. The head men of the villages are called caciques. He was conducted by the Indians to the mines and to the sands rich with gold. They are distant from the Spanish settlement one hundred and ten miles. He found there many rivers, and more than twenty-four small streams—a region abounding with such rich gifts that the thing is marvellous to tell and incredible when heard. Gold is collected by undermining the bank of a stream. At first, after the bank falls, the water bubbles up and flows away in a turbid condition, but soon having recovered its natural clearness, the grains of gold, which are heavier than the earth in which they are imbedded and settle on the bottom, are clearly displayed to view. These grains are of the weight of a drachm more or less. Oreda himself collected many of these grains. The most splendid thing of all (which I would be ashamed to commit to writing, if it had not been received from a trustworthy source) is, that a rock adjacent to a mountain being struck with a club, a large quantity of gold burst out, and particles of gold of indescribable brightness glittered all around like sparks. Oreda was loaded down with much gold by means of this outburst of the precious ore, and, amazed at the greatness of his treasure, prepared to return to the Admiral with this auspicious news. His comrade, Gorbolan, with a band of Spaniards hastened his journey with greater alacrity to the chief whom they had set out to seek. While hurrying forward earnestly, he was retarded for some time by a considerable river, larger than the Tagus and more rapid than the Ebro. It seemed almost impossible to cross it. When Gorbolan found it impossible to swim across this river on account of the strength of the current, great numbers of Indians assembled from all sides on the farther bank, promising him friendly assistance. With assiduous attention they indicate the places of fording, show the paths to them, and immediately launch two small but very strong boats. In one of these Gorbolan was carried over, not without the greatest risk of life, by reason of the length of the passage and the violence of the current. But all these dangers Spanish valour held in contempt, whilst moved by the impulse to extend the empire of the native country. The supplies were put on board the other boat. Two hundred auxiliary Indians swam around holding to the boat in which the Spaniards were carried over. After having crossed the river, they were treated with many marks of respect by the benevolent Indians, and conducted on their way by the courteous caciques. They offered provisions for their journey. They seemed greatly delighted, and indicated that nothing could be more agreeable to them than to see these regions occupied and cultivated by the Spaniards.

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"When they had related many wonderful stories about the gold mines and the source from which they got silver, by chance one of the caciques led the Spaniards to a workshop, where a goldsmith was beating out gold into very thin plates. The gold was laid on a cylindrical stone with highly polished surface. This artificer, possessing exquisite skill in making wreaths and turbans (for the Indian women use these as sumptuous ornaments for their heads), was engaged in beating out to an extreme degree of tenuity, a plate so large, that to carry it would surpass the power of the strongest man. The workman having promised to discover to them where the gold was obtained, they went with him to a place not far from the hut which he occupied. There they saw four rivers rolling down golden sands. For here the metal was far more abundant than where it had been found by Oreda. Grains of gold were scattered all around, two drachms in weight. Many grains of silver also glittered in the bottoms of the rivers. This abundance, I suppose, is attributable not only to the felicity of the climate, but to the low value set on gold by the Indians; for the use of gold and silver among them is rare. The abundance of the metal diminishes its value in their eyes. It only affords pleasure, and is used solely for the decoration of wreaths and turbans.

"The dispositions of these people are placable. All things are held in common; there is not even a suspicion of avarice. 'This is mine, that is thine'—the cause of so many crimes—is unknown among them. There is no desire of what belongs to another, no lust of possession; envy is completely banished. They live in great harmony and in the exercise of mutual kindness. They are equally distinguished for good faith and reverential respect.

"They live upon roots resembling turnips. After the seed is planted these grow spontaneously without further culture. The women are kind, placid, and of quick apprehension. Whatever is taught them they learn rapidly and retain faithfully. Being taught the *Ave Maria* by our people, they adore the Virgin with deep humility. Their speech is fluent and polished. There is nothing shown to them of which they will not make a good imitation. Leisure time abounds and they spend much of it in amusements and pleasures. They have frequent meetings for drinking and feasting together; though they drink only water, not knowing the use of wine. They sleep on couches made of cotton or of gourds, which are suspended like hammocks and carried from place to place. This is their darling pleasure, this their special delight. They are wonderfully captivated with the sound of bells; so delighted, indeed, that they can scarcely be removed from them. They are eager to come close to them, and spend hours in succession in handling them and causing them to ring. They preserve their bodies, the symmetry of their limbs, and their beauty by the use of a reddish pigment. They have elegant, well polished nails. Their teeth are white as ivory. Their eyes are grey, with spots of various colours [around them]. Their hair is black, soft, and hangs straight down. Their heads are depressed, their foreheads broad. They are beardless, save a few

straggling hairs. They live to an advanced age, and grey hairs are rare with those in the decline of life.

"The figure of the women and their stature are similar. They colour themselves with paints, and are more luxurious in the use of unguents. They apply as a kind of medicament an earth which is found in the island. I should suppose that it is red ochre. This is a common application with them all. When you see their faces at a distance smeared with this medicament (or dye), you would say that they were covered with blood from the skin being flayed off. Early in the morning they wash themselves in a seemly manner in the nearest clear running stream. It is not known whether they do this as an act of devotion or for the sake of cleanliness. They are somewhat lascivious in their demeanour and movements. They jest with our people and coquet with great freedom, provided that no improper subject is treated; for they take offence when you abuse the liberty of jesting.

"Their manner of dancing is nearly as follows: Several women at once, having their hair confined under wreaths and turbans, start off from the same line sometimes with an ambling, sometimes with a slower movement. The plates of metal which they wear attached to their fingers are mutually struck against one another, not merely in sport, but for the purpose of producing a tinkling sound. They accompany this sound with a voice not deficient in modulation, and singing that is not wanting in sweetness; and in a gracefully voluptuous manner, through winding mazes execute a languid dance in beautiful order, with multiform involutions, while no one claims a conspicuity above her companions; the whole performance eliciting the admiration of the spectators. Being at last both excited and fatigued by the sport, they hurry forward with equally accelerated steps, and in a more petulant and frolicsome mood, and with voices raised to a higher pitch, finish their dance.

"When Gorbolan had made the discoveries above mentioned, he was disposed to delay no longer the announcement of his good fortune. Having relinquished the journey which he was hastily making to the chief of the Sabæans, he turned his footsteps with speed to the Admiral, like a wealthy Mercury to announce to him what he had ascertained with his eyes in regard to the rivers teeming with gold, and to tell him of the inestimable riches of the region which he had visited.

"The Admiral was greatly cheered with these tidings, and first rendered public thanks to God, the greatest and the best of beings; presently after he distributed a part of the gold among his followers who were sharers in the discovery of so many good things, and whom he had associated to himself as the faithful companions of his toils by land and by sea. By their aid the dominions of the Spaniards had been vastly enlarged, unknown lands discovered, innumerable nations extending towards the remotest South beyond the limits of the equator and the ardent heats of the zodiac [the tropics], received in subjection, races brought within the knowledge of civilised man, which were scattered in small bodies without law, and which may soon be converted to the religion of Christ.

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"The Admiral therefore resolved to give immediate information to the Sovereigns of all these discoveries, and of the success of his enterprise. He sent back to Spain twelve caravels with these happy tidings. He himself is engaged with alacrity in building the city, pressing forward the erection of the walls. A surprising multitude of Indians is daily crowding into the new city of Isabella, who take a deep interest in the enterprise of the Spaniards, bestow on them marks of kindness and attention, and almost pay them divine honours.

"Immense praise is certainly due to the Admiral Columbus, the first in our age who has conducted a fleet into the Indian Ocean. Greater still is the glory of those excellent Sovereigns, by whose command these things have been achieved. Those Sovereigns, who, bending all their efforts to the promotion of the Christian faith, and obtaining a memorable victory—a trophy which surpasses all description—were the first to restore the whole of Spain to those to whom it properly belongs, having expelled from it the arrogant King of Granada, who had for a long period held the richest portion of Andalusia. They have also driven the Jews far away from the wide territories which they rule, and have utterly extirpated all the adherents of false religions. Now these most Christian Sovereigns earnestly direct their efforts to explore the shores of the East and extend the influence of Christianity."

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE LETTER OF DR. CHANCA¹

“PETER MARTYR wrote the account of this second navigation in Latin to Rome, and as a certain Dr. Chanca, a native of Seville, went on this voyage and armada, by command of the Catholic Sovereigns, and from the Indies wrote to the Lords of the Chapter of Seville what befell them and what he saw, I place below the copy of his letter, although his account and Martyr’s amount to the same thing. But the one writer tells the story as he heard it and the Sevillian tells it as he saw it, and neither contradicts the other and some little things are left out by the one which the other relates. And as some have a more pleasing manner of telling stories than others, below is the letter of the said Dr. Chanca, which he wrote to the city of Seville in regard to this second voyage, as follows:”

“MOST NOBLE LORD:—

“As the things which I write personally to others in other letters are not as interesting as those contained in this communication, I have resolved to write the news from here separately and the other matters which it is fitting for me to entreat of your Lordship. And the news are the following:—

“That the fleet which the Catholic Sovereigns, our Lords, sent from Spain to the Indies, under command of their Admiral of the Ocean-sea, Christopher Columbus, by the divine permission, started from Cadiz, Sept. 25 of the year — with weather and wind suitable for our journey, and this weather lasted two days, in which time we were able to go about fifty leagues. Then the weather changed during two more days, in which time we made very little or no headway. It pleased God that after these two days, good weather should set in again, so that in two more days we arrived at the Grand Canary where we entered a harbour, which it was necessary

¹ The Spanish from which this introductory passage is taken, as well as the *Letter* itself, will be found in Navarrete, vol. i., p. 198.

for us to do in order to repair a vessel which was leaking badly. We remained there all that day and then the next day we started and were becalmed several times, so that we were four or five days in reaching Gomera. At Gomera we were obliged to remain some days to take provisions of meat and as much wood and water as we could carry for the long journey we expected to make without seeing more land. The time of our stay in this harbour and one day after our departure from Gomera when we were becalmed and which delayed us in reaching the island of Fierro, amounted to nineteen or twenty days. From this time, through the goodness of God, we again had good weather, the best ever experienced by a fleet on such a long voyage, so that having left Fierro, October 13, inside of twenty days we caught sight of land. And we should have seen it in fourteen or fifteen days if the ship *Capitana* had been as good a sailor as the other ships, for very often the other vessels lowered their sails because they were leaving us far behind. During all this time we had very fine weather, for neither at this time nor in all the way did we have a tempest, except the eve of St. Simon, when we had one which placed us in great danger for four hours. The first Sunday after All Saints' Day, which was November 3, about the hour of dawn, a pilot on the ship *Capitana* cried, 'The reward, land is in sight!' The people were so pleased that it was astonishing to hear the cries and demonstrations of pleasure made by every one: and it was with good reason, for the people had become so greatly worn by the bad living and by pumping out the water, that every one was very desirous of reaching land. On that day the pilots of the fleet reckoned from the island of Fierro to the first land that we saw,—some 800 leagues, others 780, so that the difference was not great. And in addition, 300 which they reckoned from the island of Fierro to Cadiz, made in all 1100 leagues. So that I do not think that any one had not been satisfied with the sight of water. On the Sunday morning aforesaid we saw from the prows of the vessels, an island, and then at the right hand another appeared. The first island showed the high land of mountain ranges on the side that we saw. The other was level land entirely covered with dense groves of trees, and as soon as it became lighter other islands began to appear in one direction and another, so that we saw six islands in different directions that day, and most of them were very large ones. We went directly toward the one we had first seen so as to examine it, and having reached the coast we went more than a league looking for a harbour so as to anchor. This we were unable to find in going that distance. All that we could see of this island was mountainous and it was very green and beautiful down to the water's edge, so that it was delightful to look at it, because at that time there is hardly a green thing in our country. When we could not find a harbour there, the Admiral decided that we would go to the other island which we could see at the right, which was four or five leagues from this one. One vessel remained all that day at this island looking for a harbour, in preparation for the time when it should be necessary to come there and they found a good one and saw houses and people, and then that

night they returned to the fleet, which had entered a harbour on the other island. The Admiral landed on that island with many people and with the Royal banner in his hands, and there took possession for their Highnesses in due form. On this island the groves were so dense that it was wonderful and there was such a variety of trees unknown to any one, that it was astonishing. Some of them bore fruit and some were in bloom, so that all were green. There was a tree there whose leaf had the finest odour of cloves I ever noticed and was like a laurel, except it was not as large. I think therefore that it was of the laurel species. There were wild fruits there of different kinds and some of the people who were not very wise tried them: and in tasting them by only touching them with the tongues, their faces became swollen and they felt such great heat and pain that it seemed as if they were mad, which conditions were soothed by cool applications. As no people or signs of them were found on this island, we believe that it was unpopulated. We remained there a good two hours, as when we arrived there it was towards evening, and then the next day in the morning we started for another island, which appeared below this one and which was very large and was situated at a distance of about seven or eight leagues. We reached the latter island near a large mountain which seemed almost to reach heaven, and in the centre of that mountain there was a peak which was much higher than all the rest of the mountain, and from which many streams flowed in different directions, especially toward the direction in which we lay. At a distance of three leagues a waterfall appeared as large through as an ox, which precipitated itself from such a high point that it seemed to fall from heaven. It was at such a distance that there were many wagers on the ships, as some said that it was white rocks and others that it was water. As soon as they arrived nearer, the truth was learned, and it was the most beautiful thing in the world to see from what a high place it was precipitated and from what a small place such a large waterfall sprang. As soon as we arrived near the island the Admiral ordered a light caravel to go along the coast in search of a harbour. This caravel went forward and having reached the land some houses were seen, and the Captain landed with a boat and went to the houses in which he found some people, and as soon as these people saw the Spaniards they fled crying out and he [the Captain] entered the houses, where he found their possessions as they had not taken anything away. He took two parrots which were very large and very different from any that had been seen. He found a great deal of cotton spun and ready to spin and their provisions, and he brought away a little of everything, especially four or five bones of the arms and legs of men. As soon as we saw the latter we suspected that those islands were the islands of Carib, which are inhabited by people who eat human flesh. For the Admiral, in accordance with the indications given him of the situation of these islands on his first voyage, by the Indians of the islands which he had discovered before, had taken the way to discover them, because they were nearer Spain and also because they lay on the direct route to the island of Española, where he

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had left the people before and to whom, by the goodness of God and the good judgment of the Admiral, we came as straight as if it had been by a known and frequented route. This island is very large and it appeared to us that the coast extended lengthwise 25 leagues. We went along the coast more than two leagues in search of a harbour. On the side where we were going there were very high mountains, and the part which we were leaving appeared to consist of great plains. There were some small settlements on the seashore and as soon as the people saw the sails, they all fled. Having gone two leagues, we found a harbour and it was very late. That night the Admiral resolved that in the morning he would send out some one to talk with the natives and learn what people they were, notwithstanding the suspicion because of those he had already seen fleeing that they were a naked people like the others whom the Admiral had already seen on his first voyage. That morning certain Captains started. Some of them came back at the hour of eating and brought a youth of towards fourteen years, as they afterwards learned: and he said that he was one of a number whom these people were holding as captives. The other Captains separated and some took a little boy whom a man was leading by the hand and whom he had abandoned in order to make his own escape. This child they sent on board immediately with some of their own number. Others remained on land and took certain women who were natives of the island and other women who came away willingly, as they were captives. One Captain, not knowing that communication had been held with the people, strayed away with six men. He became lost together with those who were with him and they did not know how to return, until at the end of four days they encountered the seacoast and following along the coast they again found the fleet. We already considered that they were lost and had been eaten by those people who are called Caribs, because there was not sufficient reason to believe that they were lost in any other manner. There being pilots among them, sailors who knew how to go to and come from Spain by means of the North Star, we believed that they could not become lost in so small a place. That day before we landed there, many men and women went along the beach near the water looking at the fleet and wondering at a thing so new to them. And when a boat reached the shore, in order that the Spaniards might talk with them, saying *tayno*, *tayno*, which means *good*, they remained as long as the Spaniards did not leave the water, keeping near it so that when they wished they could escape. The result was that we could not take any of the men either by force or willingly, except two who became confident and then we took them away by force. More than twenty of the captive women were taken and came away willingly, and others who were natives of the island were attacked and captured by force. Certain captives, youths, came to us, fleeing from the natives of the island who had them in captivity. We remained in this harbour eight days on account of the loss of the aforesaid Captain, during which time we landed many times, going among the dwellings and villages which were on the coast. We found a great quantity of human bones there, and the

skulls fastened in the houses like vessels to hold things. Not many men appeared here. According to what the women told us this was because ten canoes filled with men had gone to attack other islands. These people appeared to us more civilised than those who dwell in these other islands which we have seen, although they all have dwellings made of straw. But the dwellings of this people are much better constructed and better provided with food, and they appear to be more industrious, both the males and females. They had a great deal of cotton spun and ready to spin, and many woollen blankets woven so well that they lose nothing in comparison with those of our country. We asked the women who were captives on this island what people these were and they replied that they were Caribs. After these captive women understood we abhorred such a people on account of their bad custom of eating human flesh, they were greatly rejoiced, and if any man or woman of the Caribs was brought anew they said to us secretly that they were Caribs, because even there where they were all in our power, the captives showed fear of the Caribs, like a subjugated people, and from that appearance of fear we knew which were Caribs among the women and which were not. For the Caribs wear large rings woven of cotton on each leg, one next the knee and the other next the ankles. This makes the calves of the legs appear large and the places where the rings are, appear very small, and it seems to me that they consider this causes a very pleasing appearance. So that by this difference we knew them one from the other. The customs of these people of the Caribs are brutal. There are three islands. This is called *Turuqueira*, the other which we saw first is called *Ceyre*, and the third is called *Ayay*. They are at peace as if they were one tribe, which causes no confusion. Both make war on all the other neighbouring islands and they go out to sea 150 leagues with many canoes which they possess, to attack them. These canoes are small *justas* made of one single piece of wood. Their arms are arrows instead of iron weapons. As they have no iron they place upon their arrows tips made of tortoise-shell. Others of the other island use tips made of fish-bones which are indented. These bones are naturally indented like very rough saws and among an unarmed people, as they all are, these weapons can kill and do great injury. But among people of our nation they are not arms to be feared. These people attack the other islands and bring away what women they can capture, especially young and beautiful girls whom they keep to serve them or to have for mistresses, and they bring away so many that in fifty houses no men appeared and of the captives more than twenty were young girls. These women also say that the Caribs use them so cruelly that it appears incredible: that the children to whom they give birth are eaten and they only rear those they have by their native wives. Of the men they capture, those who are alive they take to their houses to slaughter them, and those they have killed they eat at once. They say that the flesh of men is so good that there is nothing like it in the world and it certainly appears to be so. For they had gnawed everything that could be gnawed from the bones which we found in their houses, as there was noth-

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ing left upon them except what was so hard that it could not be eaten. In this place we found the neck of a man boiling in a pot in one house. They cut off the genital member of the boys they capture and make use of them as servants until they become men, and then when they wish to make a feast they kill and eat them, because they say that the flesh of boys and women is not good to eat. Three of these boys came fleeing to us, all three having the genital member cut off. At the end of four days the Captain who had been lost came back. We had already despaired of his coming, for we had twice sent other parties to search for these men, and that day one party had returned without learning anything certain about them. We rejoiced at their coming as if they had been found anew. This Captain brought, besides those who went away with him, ten persons, boys and women. Neither this party nor the other parties who went to look for them found any men, because they had fled, or perhaps because there were few men in that vicinity, as we learned from the women that ten canoes filled with men had gone to attack other islands. This Captain and the men who went with him came back from the mountain so exhausted that it was a pity to see them. Upon our asking them how they had become lost, they said that the trees were so thick that they could not see the sky and that some of their number, who were sailors, had climbed the trees to look for the North Star, and that they were continually unable to see it, and that if they had not come to the sea it would have been impossible to return to the fleet. We left this island eight days after we reached it. Then the next day at midday we saw another not very large island which was about twelve leagues from this one. As we were becalmed the greater part of the first day after we left, we went close to the coast of this island, and the Indians whom we had with us said that it was not inhabited, for the Caribs had depopulated it and on that account we did not remain there. Then that afternoon we saw another island. At night near this latter island we found some shoals for fear of which we anchored, as we did not dare to go on until daylight. Then in the morning another very large island appeared. We did not go to any of them, that we might hasten on and comfort the people who had been left on Española; and it was not pleasing to God as will appear later. The next day at the hour of eating we arrived at an island and it appeared very good because it seemed to be well populated according to the great quantity of tilled land there was upon it. We went there and entered a harbour on the coast. Then the Admiral sent a boat to land well filled with people to see if they could talk with the natives in order to learn what people they were and also because it was necessary for us to obtain information about our course. Although the Admiral, who had never been over that course before, had taken a very direct route, as appeared eventually. But as one should always seek to verify doubtful things with the greatest possible certainty, the Admiral desired to talk with the people there. For this purpose certain of the men who went in the boat landed and arrived at a village from which the people had already gone into hiding. They took

there five or six women and certain boys, most of whom were also captives the same as in the other island, for these islands also belonged to the Caribs, according to what we had already learned from the story of the women we were taking with us. Just as this boat was about to return to the ships with the captives which had been taken below this place, a canoe came along the coast containing four men, two women, and a boy, and as soon as they saw the wonderful fleet they were so struck with amazement that for a good hour they did not move from one place at a distance of about two lombard shots from the vessels. In this position they were seen by those who were in the boat and even by all the fleet. Then the men in the boat went toward them, keeping so near the land that in the amazed condition in which they were, wondering and thinking what kind of a thing it could be, they did not see the boat until it was very near them so that they could not well flee, although they made a great effort to do so. But our people went so fast that they could not get away. The Caribs, as soon as they saw that their flight did not serve them, very boldly took up their bows, the women as well as the men. And I say very boldly, because there were not more than four men and two women and we numbered more than twenty-five, of whom they wounded two. One they hit twice with an arrow in the breast and the other they hit once in the side. And had it not been that our men carried shields of leather or wood and that they sheltered themselves with the boat and overturned their canoe, they would have wounded most of them with their arms. And after their canoe was overturned they remained in the water swimming and at times wading, as there were some shallow places there, and our men had to make great efforts to capture them, because they still fired upon them when they could. And with all that, there was one whom they could not take until he was so badly wounded with a lance that he died, and in this condition they brought him to the ships. The difference between these and the other Indians in dress is that the Caribs wear their hair very long and these others wear it braided and they paint their faces in a hundred thousand different ways with crosses and divers other devices, each one according to his fancy. This they do by means of sharp sticks. All the people of the Caribs as well as the others have no beards, so that they marvel greatly at a man who wears one.¹ These Caribs whom they captured there had their eyes and eyebrows tinted, which as it appears to me they do for ornamentation, and in that manner they look more frightful. One of these Indians says that on one of these islands called *Cayre*, which is the first one that we saw, and to which we did not go, there is a great quantity of gold: that they go there with nails and tools to make their canoes and that they bring away as much gold as they like. When on that day we started from that island, having remained there not more than about six or seven hours, we went toward another land which was visible to the eye and which lay on the route we had to take. At night we arrived near this

¹ We may infer that Columbus and his companions for the most part wore beards when upon their voyages.

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land. The next day in the morning we went along its coast. It was of great extent, although not all one island, for there were more than forty large islets, consisting of very high land, and the most of it bare, which was unlike any we had seen previously or any we have since seen. It seemed like land which would naturally contain metals. We did not draw near enough to land, but one lateen caravel approached one of these large islets on which they found certain fishermen's houses. The Indian women whom we were taking with us said that they were not populated. We went along this coast the greater part of that day until the next day in the afternoon, when we arrived in sight of another island called *Burenquen*,¹ along the coast of which we ran for the entire day. We judged that it extended thirty leagues on that side. This island to appearance is very beautiful and very fertile. The people from the Caribs come here to make conquests and they take many people away. These people have no *fustas* and do not know how to sail on the sea. But, according to what these Caribs whom we took, say, they use bows the same as they [the Caribs] do, and if by chance when the Caribs come to assault them they are able to capture them, they also eat the Caribs the same as the Caribs eat them. We remained two days in one harbour of this island, where many of the people landed. But we never were able to talk with them, for they all fled away like people who were terrorised by the Caribs. All of these islands mentioned were discovered on this voyage, for until now the Admiral had not seen any of them on the first voyage. All are very beautiful and the land is very good, but this one appears best of all. At this place was the end of the islands lying in the direction of Spain which the Admiral had not previously seen, although we consider it certain that there is land more than forty leagues nearer Spain than these first islands, because two days before we saw land we saw some birds called frigate pelicans [which are marine birds of prey which do not sit or sleep upon the water] go circling around and then rise in the air and take their way in search of land so as to sleep. As it was evening these birds could not have been going more than twelve or fifteen leagues to settle down. And this was on our right when we were coming, from the direction of Spain. From this fact every one thought that land lay in that direction, but we did not seek for it, that in so doing it might not delay us in the course we were pursuing. I hope that in a few voyages it will be found. We left this aforesaid island one morning, and that day before night we caught sight of land which was also unknown to any one of those who had come on the first voyage. But from the information derived from the Indians we had with us we suspected that it was Española upon which island we are at the present time. Between this island and the other island of Buriquen, another appeared at a distance, although it was not large. Then we reached Española. The first part of the island consisted of very low and level land and every one was doubtful whether it was Española or not, because neither the Admiral

¹ This is Puerto Rico, called by the Admiral *San Juan Bautista*. Navarrete or the manuscript spells the Indian name indifferently, *Burenquen* and *Buriquen*.

nor the others who had come with him had seen that part. And this island, as it is large, is named by provinces. The part where we first arrived is called Hayti¹ and then the province next this is called Xamaná and the other Bohio in which we are at the present time. Moreover there are many other provinces in these regions because the island is a large one. According to what those persons who have seen the coast along the side say, it is about 200 leagues in length. It seems to me to be at least 150 leagues long. Its width is not now known. A caravel has been gone forty days for the purpose of sailing around it and up to the present has not returned. It is a remarkable country where there are an infinite number of large rivers and extensive mountain ranges and great level valleys and high mountains. I suspect that the grass is never dry in all the year. I do not believe that there is any winter in this island or in the others, because at Christmas many birds' nests are found, some with birds and some containing eggs. Neither in this island nor in the others has a four-footed animal ever been seen, except dogs of all colours the same as in our country, which are shaped like large curs. There are no wild animals. Besides, there is an animal the colour of a rabbit and the size of a young one, with fur like one, the tail long and the fore and hind feet like a rat. They ascend the trees. Many have eaten them and say that they are very good to eat. There are many snakes, but they are not large ones. There are not many lizards, because the Indians make as much of a feast out of them as we would yonder in Spain out of pheasants. They are the same size as our lizards, but they are different in shape. Although on a small island which lies next to a harbour called *Monte Cristi* where we remained some time, they saw repeatedly a very large lizard which they said was about as large around as a calf and as long as a lance. They many times started to kill it, but the woods being so thick it got away from them into the sea so that they were unable to finish it. On this island and the others there are an infinite number of birds like those of our country and many others that never were seen there. No domestic fowls have ever been seen here save that in *Zuruquia* there were some ducks in the houses, most of them white as snow and some of them black, very pretty with flat crests. They are larger than those in Spain, but smaller than geese. We ran along the coast of this island nearly 100 leagues, because it was about this distance to the place where the Admiral had left the people, which was in the middle or centre of the island. In going by the province called *Xamaná* we sent one of the Indians whom the Admiral had taken on the first voyage directly to land, clothed and carrying some trifles which the Admiral had ordered given to him. There, a Biscayan sailor who had been wounded by the Caribs, died. These Caribs, as I have already said, were captured because of their lack of caution. And as we were going along the shore it gave us an opportunity to send a boat to bury the sailor and two caravels approached the land to guard this boat. On reaching land many Indians

¹ This is the first time this exact form is used to designate Española or any part thereof. It will be observed that this form now is applied to the western part of the island.

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came out to the boat, some of whom wore gold on their necks and in their ears. They desired to come with the Christians to the ships and the Christians did not wish to take them as they did not have permission from the Admiral. As soon as these Indians saw that they would not take them, two of them got into a small canoe and came to one of the caravels which had drawn near the land, upon which they were kindly received and were taken to the Admiral's ship, where they said by means of an interpreter that a certain king sent them to learn what people we were and to beg us to land, as they had a great deal of gold and would give it to us as well as their articles of food. The Admiral ordered that each should be given shirts and caps and other trifles and told them that as he was going to the place where Guacamari was, he could not delay, but that at another time he would be able to see them. And at this they went away. We pursued our course until we reached a harbour called *Monte Cristi*, where we remained two days to examine the situation of the land as the place where the Admiral had left the Christians to make a settlement had not appeared to him to be healthful. We landed to investigate the situation. There was a large river of very good water near there, but the land is all submerged and very ill disposed for habitations. In going along looking at the river and country some of our people found two dead men on one side near the river, one with a rope on his neck and the other with one on his foot. This was the first day. The next day following they found the bodies of two more dead men farther along than the others. One of these bodies was in such condition that it could be seen he had been heavily bearded. Some of our people suspected more evil than good and with good reason. The Indians are all beardless as I have said. This harbour is 12 leagues from the place where the Christians were left. Two days having passed, we made sail for the place where the Admiral had left the aforesaid people in company with an Indian king who is called Guacamari, who I think is one of the leading men of this island. That day we arrived directly at this place; but it was already late and as there were some shoals there upon which, on that other day, the ship upon which the Admiral was going had been lost, we did not dare enter the harbour near land until the morning of the next day, when we would be able to enter in safety. We remained that night less than a league from land. That afternoon a canoe came quickly toward us from some distance away, in which were five or six Indians. The Admiral, believing that he was assuring our safety by raising his sails, would not wait for them, but they persisted and arrived within a lombard shot from us and stopped to look. At that distance, as soon as they saw that we would not await them, they turned about and retraced their course. After we had anchored in that spot on the aforesaid afternoon, the Admiral ordered two lombards to be fired to see if the Christians whom he had left with the said Guacamari would reply, as they also had lombards. They did not reply and further there appeared no fires or signs of houses in that place. On this account the people became very depressed and began to entertain the suspicion which would

naturally be held in such a case. In this state with every one very sad, four or five hours of the night having passed, the same canoe came which we had seen that afternoon, and the Indians came calling aloud and asking of the Captain of the caravel which they first reached, for the Admiral. They were conducted to the ship of the Admiral, but would not enter until the Admiral spoke to them. They demanded a light in order that they might recognise him and when they recognised him they entered. One of them was a cousin of Guacamari, who [Guacamari] had sent these Indians the first time. Then they had returned that afternoon bringing masks of gold which Guacamari sent as a present. One was for the Admiral and the other for a Captain who had been with him on the first voyage. The Indians remained on the ship three hours talking with the Admiral in the presence of all and manifesting great pleasure. He asked them for the Christians who had remained there, and the cousin of the King said that they were all well, although there had been some deaths among them from disease and others caused by quarrels which had arisen among them.¹ He said that Guacamari was at another place, being wounded in the leg, and that he had not come on that account, but that he would come the next day. They said that two other kings, one called Caonabó and the other Mayrení had come to fight with him and had burned his village. Then that night the Indians returned saying that the next day they would come with the said Guacamari, and at this they left us comforted for that night. The next day in the morning we were waiting for the said Guacamari to come, and in the meantime by command of the Admiral some of the Christians landed and went to the village where they had been accustomed to stay and found it was burned. A certain strong house somewhat fortified by a palisade where the Christians had dwelt was burned and destroyed, and they found certain cloaks and clothing which the Indians had brought and thrown into the house. The said Indians who made their appearance there, seemed very wild, so much so that they did not approach us but on the contrary fled away. This did not appear well to us for the Admiral had told us that on reaching that place so many canoes would come out to the sides of the vessels to see us that we would not be able to defend ourselves from them, and that on the first voyage they had done so. And as we saw now that they were suspicious of us it did not seem favourable to us. Notwithstanding, by flattering them that day and throwing them some things such as hawks' bells and beads we reassured the said relative of Guacamari and three others who entered the boat and we brought them to the vessel. After they were asked about the Christians they said that all were dead, although we had already been told that by one of the Indians we had brought from Castile, who had been told so by the two Indians who had previously come to the ship and who had remained beside the ship with their canoe, but we had not believed this Indian. This relative of Guacamari was asked who had killed them. He said that it was the King

¹ The account of the fate of the forty-three Spaniards at La Navidad, as given by Dr. Chanca, is somewhat fuller than that given by Peter Martyr or in the narrative of Coma.

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of Caonabó and the King Mayrení, and that they burned the things in the village and that many were wounded by them. That the said Guacamari had also been wounded in the thigh and that he was in another place, and that he wished to go there immediately to call him. These Indians were given some things and they immediately started for the place where Guacamari was staying. All that day we were awaiting them and as soon as we saw that they did not come, many began to suspect that the Indians who had come the previous night had been drowned, because they had been given wine to drink two or three times and they came in a small canoe which could easily have been overturned. The morning of the next day the Admiral and some of our people landed and went where the village had been situated and saw everything burned and the clothing of the Christians was found in the grass. At that time we saw no dead bodies. There were many different opinions among us, some suspecting that Guacamari himself was concerned in the treason or death of the Christians. Others thought that it appeared not to be so since his village was burned, so that the matter was very doubtful. The Admiral ordered all the place where the Christians had had their fortress to be investigated, for he had given them orders as soon as they found any quantity of gold to bury it. While this was being done he wished to go and explore about a league from there where it appeared to us that it might be a site for the building of a settlement as it was already time to do this. Certain ones of us went there with him looking along the coast until we arrived at a village where there were seven or eight houses which the Indians had abandoned when they saw us coming and had carried away what they could, leaving the rest hidden in the grass near their houses. They are such an unintelligent people that they have not sense enough to seek for a place to dwell. It is wonderful how miserably those who live by the sea build, for the houses they have in that vicinity are so covered with grass and are so damp that it is astonishing to me how they live. In these houses we found many things belonging to the Christians which we did not believe they had traded away, such as a very pretty Moorish garment which had not been unfolded by those who brought it from Castile, and trousers and pieces of cloth and an anchor belonging to the vessel which the Admiral had lost there on the first voyage and other things. The finding of these things strengthened us more in our opinion. In that place in searching for the things they had concealed we found in a small pannier closely woven and very secure, the head of a man very well hidden. We concluded from this that it might be the head of a father or mother or of some person whom they greatly loved. Since then I have heard that many have been found in this way, from which I believe that the conclusion we arrived at there was correct. We returned from that village on that day and came by way of the place where the village had been and when we arrived there we found many Indians who had become reassured and who were bartering gold. They had bartered it to the value of a mark. We found that they had shown the place where were the dead bodies of eleven Christians already

covered with grass which had grown over them, and the Indians were all agreed in saying that Caonabó and Mayrení had killed them. But nevertheless it began to appear that one of the Christians had three wives and another four, from which we believed that the evil which had befallen them had come from jealousy. The morning of the next day—as during all that day no place had been found where we could make a settlement—the Admiral decided to send a caravel in one direction to look for a convenient place, and some who were with him went in another direction, where they found a very safe harbour and the land very well situated for a building spot. But as it was a long distance from where we desired to locate the gold mine the Admiral resolved not to settle there but in another direction, which would be safer provided it should be found to be conveniently situated. When we came back we found that the caravel which had gone to seek for the said building spot in the other direction and upon which Melchior had gone and four or five other worthy men, had arrived. As they were going along the coast a canoe containing two Indians had come out to meet them. One Indian was the brother of Guacamari, who was known to a pilot on the said caravel, and he asked who was going there. The Indians said to the officers on the caravel that Guacamari begged them to land at his village which contained as many as fifty houses. The said officers jumped into the boat and landed and went where Guacamari was, whom they found in his bed and pretending that he was suffering from a wound. They talked with him, asking him for the Christians. He replied, agreeing with the story of the other Indians, that it was Caonabó and Mayrení who had killed them, and that they had wounded him in the thigh, which he showed them all bandaged up. It seemed to those who saw him in this condition that what he said was true. When they took leave of him he gave to each one of them a golden ornament, its value being according as it appeared to him that each one merited it. They prepare this gold in very thin leaves as they want it to make masks, and so that they can set it in bitumen which they make, and if it were not so prepared they could not use it in this manner. They prepare it otherwise to wear on the head and to hang in their ears and nostrils, so that it is yet necessary that it should be thin, since they value it not at all for riches, but only for ornamentation. The said Guacamari said by signs and as well as he could that since he was thus wounded they must tell the Admiral to kindly come and see him. As soon as the Admiral arrived the aforesaid Captain told him this story. The morning of the next day he decided to start to see Guacamari, at whose village they would arrive inside of three hours, as it was distant hardly three leagues from where they were. Therefore when they reached that place it was the hour for eating. We ate before landing. As soon as we had eaten the Admiral ordered all the Captains to assemble with their boats so as to land, for already that morning before we started from the place where we were, the aforesaid brother of Guacamari had come to talk with the Admiral and hasten his departure from the village of the said Guacamari. The Admiral landed at that place

with all the worthy men with him decked out in such manner as seemed fitting in such an important city. He carried some things to present to the King as he had already received quite a quantity of gold from him, and it was right to respond with the same good deeds and with the same goodwill as Guacamarí had shown. The said Guacamarí himself had made ready to give the Admiral a present. When we arrived we found him in his bed, the bed being the kind they use, hung in the air and made of cotton like a net. He did not arise, but from his bed he made as courteous a salutation as he knew how and showed much feeling with tears in his eyes for the death of the Christians and commenced to talk about it, showing as well as he could how some died of disease and how others had gone to Caonabó to search for the mine of gold and that Caonabó had killed them there and that he had come there to kill others in his own village. According to the appearance of the bodies it was not two months since it happened. Then Guacamarí presented the Admiral with [the value of] eight and one half marks of gold and five or six hundred cut stones of different colours and a cap set with the same stone, which stone it seems to me they must value greatly. In the cap was a jewel which Guacamarí gave the Admiral with great veneration. It seems to me that they value copper more highly than gold. I was present with a surgeon of the fleet. Then the Admiral said to the said Guacamarí that we were skilled in the diseases of men and that perhaps he would like to show us his wound. He replied that it was pleasing to him to do so, for which purpose I told him that it would be necessary (if he was able to do so) to go out of the house, because there being so many people it was dark and I could not see well. This he did immediately, I believe more from fear than desire. Leaning upon some one he went outside. After he was seated the surgeon approached him and began to unbind his leg. Then he said to the Admiral that the wound was done with a *ciba*, which means with a stone. After taking off the bandage we felt his leg with our hands. It is certain that he felt no more pain in that leg than in the other, although he artfully pretended that it pained him greatly. Certainly we could not well determine the truth since the reasons were unknown, and surely there were many things which showed that a hostile people had come to attack him. So the Admiral did not know what to do. It seemed to him and to many of the others that for the time and until the truth should be exactly learned we had better dissimulate, because after learning the truth every one who might so desire could obtain compensation from Guacamarí. And that afternoon Guacamarí came with the Admiral to the ships and they showed him the horses and all that they had there, at which he was greatly amazed as such things were unknown to him. He partook of a repast on the vessel and then that afternoon he returned to his house. The Admiral said that he would like to go and live there with him and would like to build houses, and he replied that it was agreeable to him, but that the place was unhealthy as it was very damp: and unquestionably it was true. All this conversation took place by means of two Indian interpreters of

those who had gone to Castile on the first voyage. These two Indians had lived out of seven whom we took in the harbour, for five died on the way and these escaped by only a hair's breadth. The next day we remained at anchor in the harbour and Guacamari wished to know when the Admiral would start. The Admiral gave orders that he should be told that it would be the next day. That day the aforesaid brother of the King with others came to the ship and brought some gold for trading. Thus the day that we left that place a good quantity of gold was obtained in trade. There were ten women on the ship of those who had been taken in the islands of Cariby. Most of them were from Boriquen. That brother of Guacamari talked with them. We believe he told them the plan which they at once carried out that night, and that is that early in the night they very quietly threw themselves into the water and went to land, so that when it was discovered that they were missing they were such a distance away that we could only capture four with the boats, which four we took as they were getting out of the water. They swam more than a good half league. The morning of the next day the Admiral sent to say to Guacamari that he must send back to him those women who had fled the night before and that he must look for them at once. When the messengers went they found the village deserted for there was not a person in it. At this many were strongly confirmed in their suspicions and others said that the Indians had moved to another settlement and that such is their custom. We remained there that day as the weather was unfavourable for our starting out. The morning of the next day, the Admiral decided, since the weather was contrary, that it would be well to go with the boats to examine a harbour up the coast, which was about two leagues away, so as to see if the land was favourably situated for the making of a settlement. We went there with all the ships' boats, leaving the ships in the harbour. We ran along the coast, and the Indians wherever we went did not show much confidence in us. We reached one village from which all had fled. In going about this village we found near the houses, lying on the mountain, an Indian wounded with a dart, whose wound gaped open at his shoulders, and who had been unable to flee any farther. The people of this island fight with sharp darts which they fire by means of straps like those which the boys use for firing rods in Castile. with which they shoot very accurately at a long distance. It is certain that they can inflict great injuries for an unarmed people. This wounded Indian told us that Caonabó and his people had wounded him and had burned the houses of Guacamari. Therefore our imperfect understanding of the Indians and the equivocal reasons they gave us have rendered us so puzzled that up to the present time we have not been able to learn the truth in regard to the death of our people. And we did not find that the situation of the harbour was healthful enough for the making of a settlement. The Admiral resolved that we should return up the coast whence we had come from Castile, as the reports of the gold were from that direction. The weather was unfavourable for us so that it was more difficult for us to go thirty leagues

backward than to come from Castile, and with the bad weather and length of the course three months had already passed when we landed. It pleased our Lord that by means of the unfavourable weather which would not allow us to go farther onward, we were obliged to land on the best and most favourably disposed site that could be found where there is a very good harbour and most excellent fishing. We are in great need of the fish on account of the lack of meat. There are in this country very strange fish which are better food than the fish in Spain. It is true that the climate does not permit of fish being kept from one day to the other as it is warm and damp, and for that reason animal foods become quickly corrupted. The land is very rich for all purposes. There is a large river near and somewhat farther away is another quite large one of very remarkable water. The city of Marta¹ is building on the bank of this large river so near that the water marks its boundaries in such a manner that half the city is surrounded by water with a ravine of cleft rock so that there is no need of any defence on that side. The other half is surrounded by so dense a grove that a rabbit could hardly get through it. This grove is so green that fire could not consume it at any time of the year. A canal has been commenced from the river which the engineers say they will put through the centre of the place and construct upon its banks wind-mills, sawmills, and whatever mills can be operated by water. A great deal of garden stuff has been sown and it is certain that it grows more in eight days than it does in Spain in twenty days. Many Indians come here continually and caciques with them, who are their captains and also many Indian women. They all come laden with *ages* which are like turnips, a very excellent food, and of which they make many kinds of dishes here, in different ways. It is such an invigorating food that we are all much revived by it, for in truth our provisions upon the sea have been the most meagre that men ever lived upon, and it had to be so, as we did not know what weather we would have and how long God would permit us to be on the way. Therefore it was prudent to limit ourselves in order that however long a time we might be in coming, we would be able to preserve life. They trade the gold and provisions and all that they bring for the ends of straps, for beads, for pins, and for broken bits of porringers and of plates. The people of Caribi call this *age*, *nabi*, and the Indians call it *hage*. All these people, as I have said, go naked as they were born, except that the women of these islands have their genital parts covered, some of them with cotton cloths which they gird around the hips and others with grasses and the leaves of trees. The gala attire of the men and women consists in painting themselves. some black, others white and red, making such visages that it is very laughable to see them. Their heads are shaved in places and in places have tufts of tangled hair arranged in so many ways that they cannot be described. Finally, everything that a madman would do to his head in Spain, here the highest of them consider a great compliment to you. We

¹ This contradicts the statement of Coma that the earliest name given the site of the first city was Isabella. See the account in the *Libretto*.

are near many gold-mines here, for according to what they say no one of them is more than twenty-five or thirty leagues away. Some say that they are in *Niti* in possession of Caonabó, he who killed the Christians. There are others in another place which is called *Cibao*, which if it pleases our Lord, we will examine and will see with our own eyes before many days pass. This would be done now, but that there are so many things to do that there are not enough people for everything, as a third of them have fallen ill in four or five days. I believe the principal cause of this has been the labour and hardship endured and the bad passage. Besides there is the difference in the country. But I hope in our Lord that all will get up restored to health. From what appears of this people it seems that if we could talk with them, all would be converted, because those who observe us do as much as they can by kneeling at the altars, repeating the *Ave Maria* and the other prayers and crossing themselves. They all say that they would like to be Christians, although they really are idolaters, because there are many kinds of images in their houses. I have asked them what they are and they tell me that it is something from *Turey*, which means from heaven. I undertook to throw them into the fire and it disturbed them so greatly that they would weep. But likewise they think that whatever we bring is something from heaven, all of which they call *Turey*, which means heaven. The day that I went to sleep on land was the first day of the Lord. The little time that we have spent on land has been passed more in building a place to stay and in seeking the necessary things than in learning what there is in the country. But, although this latter time has been short, things greatly to be wondered at have been seen, for trees have been seen which bear very excellent wool, of such quality that those who understand the art say that good cloth could be made from it. There are so many of these trees that the caravels could be loaded with the wool, although it is hard to gather as the trees are very thorny. But a way could very well be found to gather it. There is a great amount of cotton on ever-living trees as large as peach trees. There are trees which bear wax as good in colour and in taste and for burning as that made by bees, so that there is not much difference in these two kinds of wax. There is a great quantity of turpentine here, very remarkable and excellent. There is a great deal of tragacanth [a gum], also very good. There are trees which I think bear nutmegs but they are now without fruit, and I say that I think so because the taste and smell of the bark is like that of nutmeg trees. I saw a ginger root which an Indian was wearing fastened on his neck. There are also aloes, although not of the kind which up to the present have been seen in our lands. But it is not to be doubted that it is one of the kinds of aloes which we doctors use. Also a kind of cinnamon has been found. True it is not as good as that which has been seen yonder. We do not know whether, by chance, this poor quality is caused by their not knowing how to gather it in due season as it should be gathered, or whether by chance the land does not bear a better quality. Also lemon-coloured myrobalans have been found, but at

present they are only found under the trees. As the land is very damp they are rotten and have a very bitter taste, which I believe is caused by their being rotten. But in every other respect except the taste, which is corrupted, they are like true myrobalans. There is also very good mastic. None of the people of these islands which have been seen up to the present time possesses any iron. They have many tools like hatchets and fish-hooks made of stone, so good and well done that it is wonderful how they can make them without iron. Their bread is fruit made of the root of a tree which is between a tree and an herb in size, and the *age*, of which I have already said that it is like turnips, which is a very good food. They have for a spice to season their food, something which is called *agi*, which they eat with fish, also with birds when they can obtain them, as there are many birds of many different kinds. They also have grain like hazelnuts, very good to eat. They eat what snakes, lizards, spiders, and worms are found on the ground. So that it seems to me that they are more beastly than any beasts in the world. Although the Admiral had at one time determined to leave the discovery of the mines until after sending away the ships which were to leave for Castile, on account of the great amount of sickness which had been among the people, he resolved to send two parties with two captains, one party to Cibao and the other to Niti, where Caonabó was, of whom I have already told. They went and one party returned January 20 and the other January 21. The one that went to Cibao found gold in so many places that a man dare not tell it, but truly they found gold in more than fifty streams and rivers and outside the rivers on land. So that they say that wherever they wish to seek for gold in all that province they will find it. They brought specimens from many places, viz., in the sand of the rivers and in the springs which are in the country. It can be believed that by digging as we know how to do, it will be found in larger nuggets, as the Indians do not know how to dig nor have they anything with which to dig down the length of a palm. The other party which went to Niti also brought news of a great deal of gold in three or four places and likewise they brought specimens of it. So that certainly the Sovereigns, our Lords, from the present can consider themselves the most prosperous and richest Princes in the world, for no such thing has been seen or read of before in the world. Truly when the ships return on another voyage they can take away such a quantity of gold that whoever knows of it may wonder at it. Here it appears to me well to end the story. I believe that those who do not know me who will hear these things, will consider me prolix and a man who has somewhat spun out his story. But God is my witness that I have not passed the bounds of the truth one jot."

"Up to this point this is the copy of what pertains to the news from these regions and Indies. The remainder which was contained in the letter does not relate to the case, as they are per-

sonal matters which the said Dr. Chanca, as a native of Seville, entreated and recommended to the Chapter of Seville in regard to his household and people whom he had left in the said city. And this reached Seville in the month of —————, 1493."¹

(Navarrete, Vol. I. p. 198.)

¹ Navarrete found the month and day wanting in the manuscript preserved for a long time in the monastery of Mejorada. It is evident, however, that the letter was sent to Spain at the time the twelve ships returned under Antonio de Torres. As this fleet only put to sea from Isabella on the second day of February in the year 1494, the memorandum is not correct as to the year in which it was received in Seville. The original manuscript is lost, that at Mejorada being only a copy somewhat later.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE CITY OF ISABELLA

As the principal narrative here recorded was taken from a letter written by Guglielmo Coma and forwarded in the ships returning under Antonio de Torres on February 2, 1494, it necessarily gives us only the early events experienced on this voyage. It carried the Admiral and his expedition from the ill-fated La Navidad along the coast eastward until finally, on December 17, 1493, a site was selected for a permanent settlement. Here a harbour called by the Spaniards the "Port of the Graces" and some ten leagues east of Monte Christi, opened its arms to the fleet and a narrow channel admitted the vessels, one by one, through the reefs to the shore. A beach of yellow sand, stretching not more than 275 feet, invited the tired Spaniards to embark and rest. On either end of this beach was a coral bluff, while back of the sandy landing-place toward the east were forest-covered hills. North and south were mangrove swamps, the one to the north, when filled with water pouring into it from the neighbouring range of hills, forming a good-sized lake. It was around this lake that the Spaniards began to construct the first city in the New World and to which they gave the name Isabella, in honour of the Queen of Castile.¹ Coma

¹ Las Casas says:

"... cuyo nombre quiso que fuese la Isabela, por memoria de la reina Doña Isabel, á quien él singularmente tenia en gran reverencia, y deseaba más servirla y agradarla que á otra persona del mundo."

"... the name of which he desired should be Isabella, in remembrance of the Queen, Doña Isabella, whom he singularly held in great reverence, and he was more desirous of serving and pleasing her than any other person in the world."

The first printed news we have of the name of the earliest European settlement is where in 1495 Syllacius—quoting Guglielmo Coma—says that the new city was called *Isabella*. The second is where in the *Libretto* the city is said to have been established at *Locinfrone*, a place near a harbour. Later on the *Libretto* tells us the city was called

says: "Our people indeed call this island Belle Isle, since they have given their city the name of Isabella." The ground covered by the buildings probably did not comprise more than a few acres. The surrounding hills made admirable natural fortresses. Coma speaks particularly of the fruitfulness of the earth; some seed developed in five days after they were planted: but the soil, however rich, seems to have been very thin and found on the hills only in crevices of the white coral rocks. Here were the feeding-places for the cactus, the *lignum-vitæ*, and other vines and thorny bushes found growing in almost impenetrable masses. The impression of wealth made by sea, air, river, soil, and rock must have been strong in the mind of each member of that expedition, and if afterward there was to be some disappointment we must remember the expectations aroused by the accounts sent home by the Admiral, by Coma, and Dr. Chanca, as well as the more elaborate descriptions written by Peter Martyr and distributed among the learned in many foreign countries.¹

Isabella. Dr. Chanca writing at the end of January, 1494, says it was called Marta, meaning Martha.

The nearest port is Puerto Plata, some fifty miles still farther to the east. Here the traveller should have his point of departure, finding transportation in some little coasting boat likely to pass the ancient site of Isabella. The ideal way would be to engage a small steam launch in some of the larger ports of Cuba or San Domingo for the entire journey.

¹ In the month of May, 1891, some officers belonging to the steamship *Enterprise* of the United States Navy made an examination of the ruins of the ancient city of Isabella, and their Report we now present to the public for the first time:

"U. S. S. *Enterprise* (3rd Rate)

"Lat. N. 23° 40'

"At Sea

"Long. W. 76° 31'

"May 16th, 1891.

"Commander G. A. CONVERSE,

"Commanding U. S. S. *Enterprise*.

"SIR:—

"In obedience to your orders of the 13th inst. we respectfully submit the following report of the results of an exploration of the ruins of the city of Isabella.

"The party left the *Enterprise*, then anchored off Puerto Plata, Island of Santo Domingo, at 6.30 on the morning of the 14th of May and proceeded in the steam-cutter thirty miles to the westward along the north shore of the island of Santo Domingo. We were accompanied by an old native pilot who was recommended by the U. S. Consul at Puerto Plata as familiar with the coast and such traditions as exist among the natives respecting the first settlement of Columbus. He has piloted vessels to and from the port of Isabella for many years.

"About eight miles inside the cape now known as Isabella there is a bay of considerable size; on its easter shore a slight rocky projection of land formed by one of the numerous bluffs was chosen for the first permanent settlement of the Spaniards in the New World. Small craft may anchor in this bay in from one to three fathoms of water, while larger vessels would have to remain outside the coral reef that extends out some four hundred yards from shore. This position would be quite convenient for communicating with the ruins at Isabella, and boats of the size of cutters may

Here in Isabella we see exhibited for the first time the executive ability of Christopher Columbus. His colony, or at least his expedition, consisted of twelve hundred persons, Spanish knights and Castilian labourers, proud hidalgos, exacting priests, irresponsible magistrates, and wild soldiers. Every element, except the presence of the Spanish woman, which could make

approach the shore and land upon a smooth sandy beach. The anchorage is open to the northward and north-westward. A shallow inlet marks the landing place near the ruins. About a mile further up the bay is the Isabella river, a swift running stream of shallow, muddy water quite broad at this season.

"The shore at this part of the bay is generally low and interspersed with lagoons and dry sandy watercourses but rises rapidly to hills behind. The country is thickly covered with young trees, caetous plants, tangled vines and bushes. Cliffs of limestone and coral formations rise abruptly from the water at intervals and extend some ten miles to the eastward of Cape Isabella, they present a curious appearance, especially near the cape, where their fantastic shapes closely resemble the battlements and towers of castles and forts and the similarity is increased by numerous caves that appear like doors, windows and port holes cut in the faces of the gray walls.

"For many years Isabella has been a port of shipment for mahogany and lignum vitæ, woods which grow in abundance in the neighborhood.

"No habitations are to be found within a mile and a half of the ruins, but the native wood-cutter that we met verified the statements of the pilot as to the traditional genuineness of the site which he pointed out.

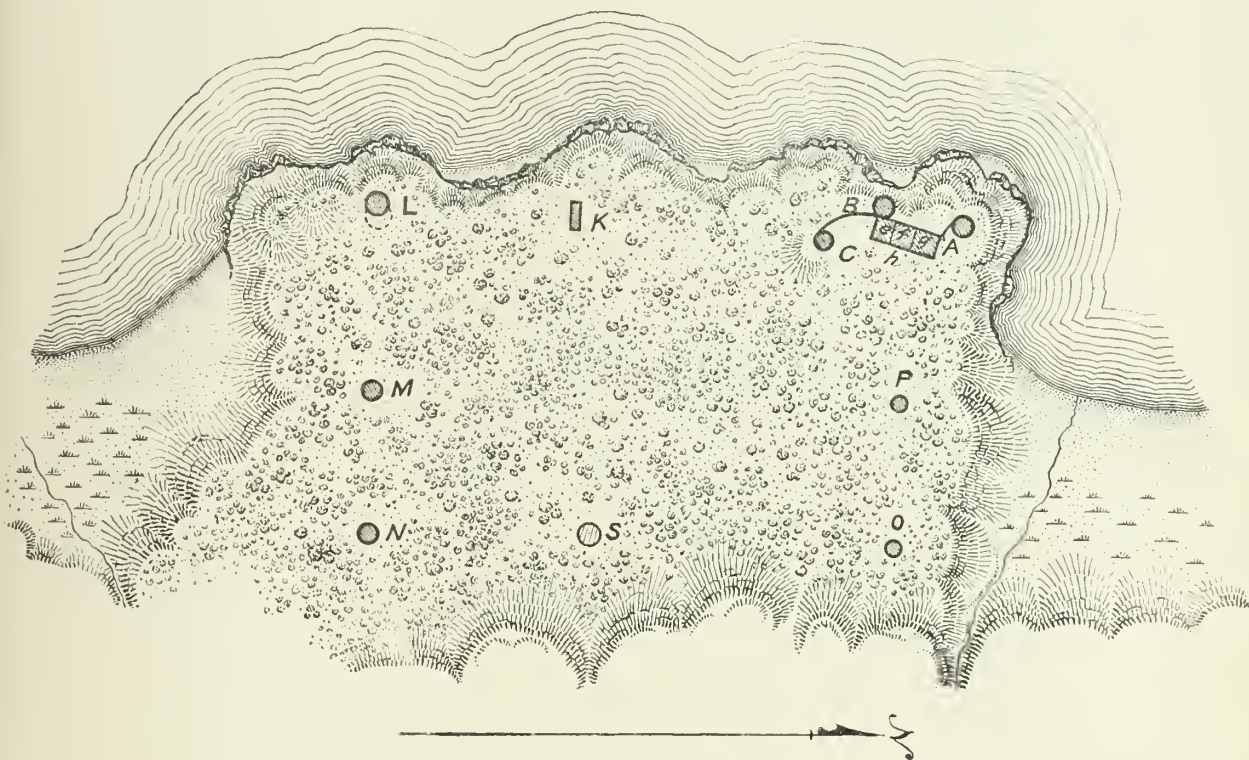
"On landing we turned to the right and ascended a gentle slope to a little plain about two acres in area; this slightly projects into the bay and is bounded on the north and south by two dry watercourses forming natural ditches, or moats, and terminating abruptly on the western, or water side, in cliffs from twenty to thirty feet high formed by large boulders containing fossil coral and shells. Tradition points to this little plateau as the site of the ancient city and here were found scattered at intervals various small, ill-defined heaps of stones, remnants of walls built of small unhewn stones, evidently laid in mortar, pieces of old tiles and potsherds, some of the latter glazed, and fragments of broad roughly made bricks. There were a half dozen or more blocks of dressed limestone that may have been part of the walls of buildings somewhat finished and permanent in character. The trees, matted roots and trailing vines overspread the ground and rendered progress slightly difficult. The soil is shallow, covering in some places only a foot or so a bed of limestone rock. The application of pick and spade brought to light nothing of particular interest but enabled us to follow the traces of walls in some instances.

"It should be stated that the piles of stones that we saw convey very little idea of the original forms of the structures to which they belonged and give no indication of their uses. Our guide took us first to what he called 'the fort,' a pile of stones a little larger than the others; there is nothing to indicate that it was a fort, either in position or form. In describing the accompanying plan the terms 'tower' and 'bastion' have been used, but it is merely a conjecture that they were such.

"By digging and working with the pick at intervals we were able to form some idea of the ground plan of the place and follow a portion of the lines of walls. The general outline of the ground occupied seems to have been a slightly irregular parallelogram inclosing less than two acres of surface. There are no traces of a continuous wall about this space. The site was well chosen for defence and the watercourses to the north and south are convenient substitutes for trenches; there is no sign of their having been connected by a trench in the eastern or land side, from which an attack by Indians might have been most naturally expected. The thickness of trees and bushes to the eastward renders examination more difficult there, but as we traversed the ground for about a mile in every direction without finding other remains it is probable that they are confined to the little plateau in question.

"In the N. W. angle of this plateau and near the shore are the remains of a wall connecting three small martello towers or bastions, marked A, B, C on the plan; they were probably circular in form and their remains are mounds of reddish earth scattered with small unhewn stones, many pieces of roofing tile and a few fragments of brick; the mounds are about three feet high and twenty feet in diameter. The wall is about a foot high and runs S. S. W. from the northern to the middle bastion for about one hundred feet; it there curves to the southward for about eighty feet and joins the third mound or bastion, which is of the same character as those described above. At right angles to the wall between the first two bastions are traces of walls

BAY OF ISABELLA



Plan of the Ruins
of
THE CITY OF ISABELLA
Santo Domingo.

1891



a settlement, had its representative. Over all these was an Italian adventurer lately promoted to a station more lofty than that filled by any of their own race except their King. In the New World, it was reported he was to be supreme. He was a partner, the Spaniards heard, of the Sovereigns, and was to share almost equally with them in the gold and honours

about forty feet long (marked d, f, g, on plan) connecting with a fourth wall (marked h) that runs nearly parallel with the first and a rectangular space is thus divided into three portions.

"About one hundred yards S. E. of this are the foundations of a rectangular building (marked k) forty feet long by twenty feet broad. Sixty yards south and a little east of this is another mound marking what was apparently a circular building inclosed on its east side by a semicircular wall, here were found several stones about 18" x 18" x 8" in place, not cemented and a few squared stones with mortar on them; this is what is known as the 'fort'; the debris here is about four feet high by fifty feet broad (marked L on the plan). Nearly due east of this appear at intervals of forty and fifty yards what may have been circular towers (marked M, N, on plan) their remains are mounds of stone, earth and tile from three to four feet high and thirty feet in diameter. On the north side and nearly opposite in position to those last mentioned are two ruins of a similar kind but less extensive (marked O, P). Near the centre of the eastern limit is a pit some twenty feet in diameter by from ten to fifteen feet deep (marked S); it is said to have been dug by treasure-seekers; it may be that a cellar or cistern was found here, as the depth of the pit would perhaps indicate something of the kind.

"The space between the limits mentioned bears traces of other structures of small rough stones and doubtful evidences of a cement pavement or flooring.

"There are many holes dug among the ruins which we were informed were the work of treasure-hunters, and as vessels touching at this port have carried away relics from time to time the remains are much diminished; the pilot remembered when he was a boy the walls were much higher and a hewn circular stone was removed some fifteen years ago by an American ship master.

"A block of hewn limestone twenty inches long, twenty-seven inches wide and from six to eight inches thick we brought away with us. It has a square moulding worked on one side and was the most finished stone that we saw.

"We overturned all the cut blocks of stone and examined them carefully in the hope of finding some marks or dates, but without success, and it is our belief that nothing of the kind exists.

"Of the surface remains at Isabella it is our opinion that there is nothing that is of sufficient interest to be removed, except, perhaps, the few blocks of cut limestone and there is nothing that would convey an idea of the architecture and workmanship of the buildings erected by the first settlers.

"It does not appear to us that any extended excavations would be rewarded with better results. Isabella was occupied for only about two years by the original settlers, the rough and unfinished character of the work is manifest in the ruins and further research could accomplish nothing more than, perhaps, to determine more clearly the ground plan of the place.

"By giving two or three days' notice a sufficient number of workmen could be procured from among the wood-cutters in the neighborhood to undertake any clearing of the ground or excavating that might be thought necessary. Laborer's wages are fifty cents a day, but probably they would charge more if working for foreigners.

"Tools and implements should be carried to Isabella if any work is contemplated; the natives generally use nothing but the *machete*. A force of twenty men superintended by two intelligent overseers would be able in a week to clear the ground and make an exhaustive examination. December, January and February are the most favorable months for such work.

"Should further exploration be made it would be of undoubted scientific interest to examine the fauna and flora of this region and there are evidences of interesting fossil remains. The caves in the cliffs of Cape Isabella and vicinity would probably yield interesting relics of the aborigines—the now extinct Caribs.

"These cliffs are full of caves and from the description given by the pilot of stones found in them they probably contain metals, rollers, etc.

"In 1872 Isabella was visited by Mr. Samuel Hazard who describes it as follows in his work entitled *Santo Domingo, Past and Present*: 'There was absolutely nothing to repay me for my trouble, the place possessing no natural beauty and the few ruins

of the new lands. Power of an extraordinary kind was lodged in his hands and obedience to his authority was demanded of all. There were those who drew a somewhat different picture and told of other interests more powerful than his and nearer to the light from the throne, which were not preparing to bow the knee to an Italian upstart, but whose interests would be best subserved by his downfall and a redistribution of honours and a freer opportunity for fortune and promotion.

Putting hand to this work, moulding and forming these ele-

remaining having no particular form or meaning, being mostly covered with running vines and vegetation. With much difficulty can be made out where has originally run a small village street.'

"The second voyage of Columbus brought to Samana Bay, Nov. 22d, 1493, a fleet of seventeen vessels and twelve hundred men of various ranks and conditions together with provisions and animals for a permanent settlement. After some explorations a colony was established near a small river on the north side of the island which was named Isabella in honor of the Queen.

"It was the intention to make this settlement permanent, and it was laid out in the form of a regular town and a substantial stone church and houses for officers were built. The whole was surrounded by a wall and ditch. After this establishment was made expeditions were sent to the interior chiefly with a view to finding gold and silver. Columbus gave some personal attention to this settlement and selected a council over which his brother Diego presided.

"Misfortune, however, marked the attempt; fevers caused by the unhealthy location, mutiny and insubordination soon produced much discontent among the colonists and in 1496, after an occupation of about two years the City of Isabella was abandoned for the banks of the Ozama on the south side of the island, where a more healthy and convenient location and the romantic stories of Miguel Diaz and his Indian queen, with visions of silver mines offered inducements to the Spanish mind that resulted in the founding of the city of Santo Domingo.

"Santo Domingo is now the oldest existing city in the New World and it is an historical fact that Isabella was not the first attempt made by Columbus at a settlement. During his first voyage in Dec. 1492 he crossed from Cuba to Santo Domingo which he named Hispaniola, or little Spain, imagining that it resembled the 'most favored province of Andalusia.'

"The island was called by the natives Haiti, which signifies high land. The first place where Columbus landed he called St. Nicholas, it being the *fete* day of that saint (6th Dec.) and the first settlement was made on the bay of St. Thomas, to-day called Acul, in Haiti; this originated through the wrecking of one of the two remaining caravels; for Martin Pinzon had deserted Columbus off the coast of Cuba with the third.

"From the materials of the wreck a fort, or tower, was built, which was called La Navidad and a part of the crew were left to occupy it. They were probably killed by the natives as no traces of them were found by Columbus on his second voyage.

"We desire to express our appreciation of the valuable aid and advice rendered us in examining the ruins by Lieuts. H. S. Waring and Walter McLean, U. S. N. These gentlemen accompanied us as volunteers on the expedition.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obdt. servants,

"G. P. COLVOCORESSES, Lieutenant, U. S. N.,

"M. H. SIMONS, Surgeon, U. S. N.,

"M. M. TAYLOR, Naval Cadet, U. S. N.

"Report of a Reconnoissance of the

"Ruins of the City of Isabella, Santo Domingo, May 13, 1891,

"by

"Lieutenant G. P. COLVOCORESSES, U. S. N.,

"Surgeon M. H. SIMONS, U. S. N.,

"Naval Cadet M. M. TAYLOR, U. S. N.,

"of the

"U. S. S. *Enterprise* (3rd Rate)."

Christopher Columbus

ments, the Admiral began his settlement. Streets were laid out, regular and broad, crossing each other in symmetrical right lines, houses of brick and wood were erected, public warehouses and hospitals were builded, and a dignified palace was constructed above the other edifices as a home for the Admiral not unworthy the Royal representative. Even a temple was raised to the glory of God and the religious professions of the Spaniards. Some fifty years ago there was still to be seen a conspicuous monument on the site of Isabella. It was a pillar of masonry and was supposed to have been among the first work of the colony, erected to indicate from its towering height the location of the settlement.¹ About the year 1876 some persons supposed to have been treasure-seekers destroyed this pillar and carried away a memorial marble tablet. The monument was mined and demolished by powder, but no treasure was found, and to-day there remains a hollow in the earth and heaps of débris to speak of the recklessness and folly of ignorant and greedy men. A traveller has left on record the following description of his visit to the site of ancient Isabella:

"Fifty years ago much of the original city [Isabella] was visible, and in the midst of the forest the traveller saw all the remains of the structures erected by Columbus: the pillars of the church; remains of the King's storehouse; part of the residence of Columbus; the small fortress, and a circular battlemented tower. When Mr. Gibbs was here he saw the ruins of the church, fifty feet wide by one hundred feet long; now nothing can be seen but the faintest outline. Nothing remains here as a structure, or of great importance as a ruin: shapeless heaps, only, or *montones*, of stone and brick, with here and there a hewn rock, occasional shards of pottery and fragments of tiles. From the northern point of the bluff, where the pillar stood, following along the shore, there is a semi-lunar-shaped heap of débris about a hundred feet long. A little farther on, at about the centre, a quadrilateral depression in the soil, where the church once stood, and near there are some traces of what may have been a fortified wall, and scattered stones. At the southern bluff, overlooking the river, and perhaps five hundred feet from the pillar-site, is the most conspicuous *monton*, or heap of stones, mixed together with tiles. This is conjectured to have been the 'King's house' or the smelting works, where the gold was assayed

¹ Others regard it as a commemorative shaft, made to record some great event, and a comparison has been instituted between that and others on Turk Island and at Sand Key. Hon. George Gibbs read a paper on October 6, 1846, before the New York Historical Society, in which he sought to prove that the landfall of Columbus took place on Turk's Island, presenting the alleged resemblance between those columns or pillars as an argument of one and the same construction sources.

that the explorers brought from the mountains. I found several hewn stones here, as well as heaps of tiles, and what we think were the fragments of crucibles. This is the most commanding point of the bluff, and it appears possible that the river, though now some distance away, once laved the base of the cliff. Not far away, buried in the woods, is another large heap of stones and bricks near a hole some ten feet deep. This is supposed to have been the powder-magazine, and has often been searched for treasure."

Columbus chose this particular place not from chance, nor yet from its natural advantages as a refuge for ships and as a position of defence, but rather because it was near the province of Cibao, the place of gold, of which the natives had never ceased to speak when importuned to locate the principal source of that metal, so common and abundant.

The Admiral having decided to build a city, pushed it to completion with unusual vigour. The Plaza was planned after the manner of the places at home where the citizens met and enjoyed popular pastimes. The public buildings were constructed of stone. Those for residence were less elaborately builded, wood serving for the frames and thatched straw for the roofs. So diligent was the Admiral and so constant and hard were the hours of toil that scarcely was the city ready for habitation when nearly all were taken ill. The provisions brought from Spain had been husbanded with great care and the food of the Indians, new to the colonists, had been substituted, causing many disorders. The climate, delightful as it was, proved enervating, and in the middle of the day seemed ill adapted to extreme exertions such as were exacted of them. To crown all, the location which at first seemed so inviting was not wholesome or healthful, and as Las Casas says: "There scarcely remained a man from among the hidalgos or plebeians, however robust he might be, who did not fall ill of terrible fevers." Homesickness, common to all peoples and to men of all ages, and a growing sense of despondency at finding gold less plentiful than they had been led to expect, deprived them of the mental buoyancy which can sometimes fight off and counteract bodily infirmities. The Admiral himself was confined to his bed, brought low by his responsibility, his constant vigils on the sea, his anxieties in building the city, and his solicitude for the welfare of his colony. Las Casas here calls attention to the

marvellous care Providence had thus far exhibited toward its precious instrument, Christopher Columbus, who was suffered to guide a few men over an unknown sea, curbing for him the violence of the waves, encouraging the winds to blow favourably on his sails, giving him a great discovery such as had never come to another human being, providing him with the help of earthly sovereigns and the moral support of the supreme Head of the Church, furnishing him an immense fleet of ships and a large concourse of eager colonists for a new voyage, and permitting him to erect a city like unto one in Andalusia where men should live in law and order, and to build a great church where God should be praised for His goodness to men, and for all this time until this very hour, says Las Casas, the Admiral had never once been sick or succumbed to any bodily ailment, thus proving the watchfulness of the Divine Paternity over its chosen instrument. Whether the Bishop would have us infer that the Divine arm was now shortened that it could not help or the Divine ear heavy that it could not hear, we do not know, but we do know that at this time the leader of the expedition, the skilled captain, the indefatigable discoverer, was ill of body and sick like the meanest of his men. The reins of government reached into the sick man's room and from his bed the Admiral directed an important expedition, headed by Alonzo de Hojeda and Ginès de Gorbalan, to travel back into the island and to learn what they could of the region called Cibao and the Indian settlements thereabouts. He also arranged for the return of twelve of the fleet which had brought over him and his expedition, leaving five for the necessities of the colonists and to serve for making further discoveries. After a few days Alonzo de Hojeda returned with the glad tidings that he had found a rich country, going over at first a somewhat unsatisfactory territory but making his way through a pass¹ and coming out into a delightful land, where he met with many settlements and many courteous natives whose chief received him with demonstrations of pleasure as if, says Las Casas, they had been angels. Ginès de Gorbalan,² continuing his journey, arrived at the province of Cibao in five or six days, which province commenced after passing the great river Yaquí, the mouth of which the Admiral had

¹ The Sierras of Cibao between the coast and the plains.

² Coma speaks of this man simply as Gorbalan. So also does Las Casas.

himself named on his first voyage, when he was on the coast, *Rio del Oro*, and the land at its mouth he had called *Monte Christi*. The Indians, in the presence of the Spaniards, gathered many specimens of gold, proving it to be a country very rich in this respect, "as in truth it is," says Las Casas, "an untold quantity and the purest in the world, being afterward taken from it." Gorbalan also returned in haste to the Admiral to impart his story of the further revelations made of the very rich country by the Cibians.

CHAPTER LXXIX

SLAVERY

THE Admiral, most pleased of all at the news brought by Hojeda and Gorbalan, determined to go and see with his own eyes this province of Cibao. But first he must send back some ships to Spain with the glad tidings. He wrote a long account to the Sovereigns and sent with it specimens of the gold, confiding both to the care of Antonio de Torres, the brother of the Nurse to the Prince. This Captain departed from Isabella with the twelve ships on the second day of February in the year 1494. The letter which Columbus sent home by Torres is so interesting that we venture to print it in full. According to Navarrete the document was drawn up in the city of Isabella on January 30, 1494. It contains the first mention of the name given to the new settlement, referring to Antonio de Torres as the *Alcalde de la Ciudad Isabella*.

The Sovereigns dealt with the several items of this document on August 15, 1494, and their minutes show their regard for the Admiral and their confidence in his management. We see his expedition suffering from the same spirit of fraud which has so often marked the equipment of fleets and armies. The casks containing the precious wine were cheaply made, inferior beasts had been substituted for the good horses exhibited for selection at Seville, and foods and materials seem to have been subject to the treachery of the contractor.

It is in this interesting document that Columbus suggests the transportation of the cannibal Caribs as slaves.¹ The ends to be gained are expressly stated:

¹ When Columbus was on his first voyage he heard of Indians living on an island called Charis, Indians eating human flesh and warring on neighbouring tribes. The name Charib or Carib, first employed to identify these cannibals, in later times was

First. By taking them to Castile they would at once be made to abandon the inhuman custom of eating men.

Second. By their learning the language in Castile they would more quickly receive baptism and provide for the safety of their souls.

Third. Their capture would secure for the Spaniards the submissive respect of the other inhabitants of the islands as they beheld the comparative weakness of their fellow natives, whole communities fleeing before a single one of the new enemy.

Those who criticise Columbus and lay at his door the horrible cruelties which followed for more than three centuries and a half in the wake of the slavery system should remember the age in which he lived, and particularly the work he was called upon to perform. He brought to the New World the people of Europe, not to tarry for a moment while they gathered gold and then to return to Europe, but to settle and occupy the new lands, to found cities, establish colonies, enlarge boundaries, subdue opposition, and dominate man and beast and field. The New World was not and never had been a land of peace. There were relative orders of natives, some mild and gentle, some harsh and fierce. The weak went down before the strong. The fierce conquered the gentle. As a mere matter of police regulation there was no other way. An individual lawbreaker might be locked away in a prison; but what dungeon in Spain or Española could hold a tribe? Those who ate human flesh were few. They were fierce, courageous, war-like. They made predatory excursions to Española and Cuba, killing some and capturing others. The captured were taken back to the island of the Cannibals to a fate worse than death. It was such natives, not the pacific inhabitants of Española, that Columbus proposed to enslave. For what purpose? For the good of the cannibals themselves and, further, for the good of the native inhabitants of the islands occupied by the Europeans. The Spanish and Portuguese had long been no strangers to slavery. Not only had the dark-skinned Moors been in bondage, but full black slaves had been brought from Senegambia and made to wear chains and bear

used for all the natives of the New World in the regions round about the Caribbean Sea

The name Charis is not found in the Spanish Folio or Quarto Letter of Columbus, but in the Latin translation of the Letter written to Sanchez.

their heavy burdens. In Spain the Moors ransomed their brethren held in slavery with black people they themselves had captured in Africa. It was the fifteenth century, the end of the fifteenth century, somewhat lighted with truth and knowledge, but not yet ablaze. It is not for us who have lived in the nineteenth century to cast stones. It took three and forty years of agitation for emancipation to strike off English-welded chains. It took years of appeal, millions of money, and thousands of human lives to free the bondsmen in the United States. Even if Columbus had proposed to place in bondage the good and Christianised Indians of Española, the age could not call him guilty, whatever we might call him to-day. But he is to be judged,—how? Let us hear him plead, for the reader knows how cabals were formed against him in after years and how designing men peered out from hypocritical mantles of virtue and accused him of cruelly enslaving human beings:

“Yo he perdido (es estos trabajos) mi juventud, y la parte que me pertenece de estas cosas y la honra dello; mas non fuera de Castilla adonde se juzgaran mis fechos y seré juzgado como a capitan que fue a conquistar de España fasta las Indias y non a gobernar cibdad ni villa ni pueblo, puesto en regimiento, salvo a poner so el señorío de S.A. gente salvage, bellicosa y que viven por sierras y montes.”

“I have lost (in these labours) my youth and the part of these things which belongs to me, and likewise the honours; but it should not be outside of Castile where my deeds should be judged, and where I shall be judged, as a Captain who went to conquer from Spain to the Indies and not as a governor of a city or of a people already under government, but to place under the sovereignty of their Majesties a people, savage, warlike and who live among the hills and mountains.”

These savage cannibals fought as beasts fight, for the love of killing, but they fought as men fight, with cunning and finesse. Their arrows were dipped in poison. They hunted the woods and fastnesses, descending like a storm with death in its wing, slaughtering men and making captives of women and youths. The cannibals were Ishmael to the other tribes. Their horrid practices were recognised as contrary to natural rights and at enmity with natural laws. Justice called for their punishment, and this punishment would have been administered by the rest of the tribes, but these were of far less physical courage and strength. Into such a world the Europeans penetrated. Were

they to be more gentle than the fierce, or less fierce than the gentle; or were they to assume control over the gentle and fierce alike? The meek must be content to occupy the kingdom of which they are heirs when they are entered into it in the world beyond. In the early colonisation of new and hostile lands only the strong and forceful should have a part. Some tribes of the Caribs, the cannibals, were hostile, and if the Spaniards succumbed to them, the more gentle Indians of Española would have lost their fear of the Spaniards and have grown bold and contentious. There were three courses open to the first colonists: One was to flee before the cannibals, in which event they would have been obliged to go back to Spain; the second was to exterminate these savages at once, tribe by tribe, man by man; the third was to so dominate them that they would have respect and fear, and under judicious treatment gradually become weaned from their inhuman practices. At that time there was no other way. When, a generation later, Bartolomé de las Casas tried his experiment in the Tierra de la Guerra, the conditions had changed. Columbus suggested the third method mentioned above and to put this into operation advised the carrying of some of these man-eating Caribs to Spain for civilising and Christianising influences. That he did not contemplate their perpetual slavery is evident from his suggestion in regard to their acting as interpreters among the natives when once they had learned the Castilian tongue. If once we comprehend the situation of the colonists and the conditions surrounding them, the slavery proposition, confined as it was to tribes of neighbouring cannibals, is not discreditable to Columbus. To expect that the Europeans would abandon their discoveries would be absurd. As regarded the cannibals, slavery of a few was better than the extermination of the whole. As regarded the little European colony, slavery of the cannibals was a measure of safety founded on the principle of self-preservation.

A distinction surely should be made between enslaving an enemy like the Carib, a cannibal, preying on the weaker inhabitants of Española and the neighbouring islands, and that system of involuntary servitude which afterward sprang up in the colonies and under which the most horrible cruelties were perpetrated. The Admiral never proposed, encouraged, or approved

of that system. Indeed, he is on record as protesting vehemently against its horrors. He did permit servitude as a punishment for infringement of law. When an Indian thief was taken in the act, he did permit justice to slit the offender's ear, according to the ancient code of Valencia, and the institutes of the Hermandad. But here again, the exigencies of a first colony in the New World, the presence of mixed elements, of wild and turbulent adventurers, the jealousy of authority, the observant eyes of the Indians, all suggested the rigorous application of the rod when the rules were disobeyed. A government must govern. The workman employs the tools at hand. How could there be the process of courts when there were no courts! Punishment for crime had to be prompt in its administration. The hand of justice had to fall with rapid stroke. If anywhere we find Columbus proposing the perpetual slavery of a human being or of a tribe, we shall condemn him. But we cannot convict him on the indictment that he proposed to bind the hands of a cannibal lest he kill and eat.

CHAPTER LXXX

THE DE TORRES MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM in regard to the success of his second voyage to the Indies, and at the end of each item the reply of their Highnesses, which the Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus, gave to Antonio de Torres, January 30, 1494, in the city of Isabella, for the Catholic Sovereigns:

"What you, Antonio de Torres, captain of the ship *Marigalante* and Alcalde of the City of Isabella, are to say and supplicate on my part to the King and Queen, our Lords,—is as follows:—

"First.—Having delivered the letters of credence which you carry from me for their Highnesses, you will kiss for me their Royal feet and hands and will recommend me to their Highnesses as to a King and Queen, my natural Lords, in whose service I desire to end my days: as you will be able to say this more fully to their Highnesses, according to what you have seen and known of me.

*"Their Highnesses hold him in their favour."*¹

"Item. Although by the letters I write to their Highnesses, and also the father Friar Buil and the Treasurer, they will be able to understand all that has been done here since our arrival, and this very minutely and extensively: nevertheless, you will say to their Highnesses on my part, that it has pleased God to give me such favour in their service, that up to the present time I do not find less, nor has less been found in anything than what I wrote and said and affirmed to their Highnesses, in the past: but rather, by the Grace of God, I hope that it will appear by works much more clearly and very soon, because such signs and indications of spices have been found on the shores of the sea alone, without having gone inland, that there is reason that very much better results may be hoped for: and this also may be hoped for in the mines of gold, because by two persons only who went to investigate, each one on his own part, without

¹ "The replies are on the margin of each item, in the original memorandum and in the copy in the Register, from which this copy is taken."—Navarrete, vol. i., p. 225.

remaining there because there was not many people, so many rivers have been discovered so filled with gold, that all who saw it and gathered specimens of it with the hands alone, came away so pleased and say such things in regard to its abundance, that I am timid about telling it and writing it to their Highnesses: but because, Gorbalan, who was one of the discoverers, is going yonder, he will tell what he saw, although another named Hojeda remains here, a servant of the Duke of Medinaceli, a very discreet youth and very prudent, who without doubt and without comparison even, discovered much more according to the memorandum which he brought of the rivers, saying that there is an incredible quantity in each one of them: for this their Highnesses may give thanks to God, since He has been so favourable to them in all their affairs.

"Their Highnesses give many thanks to God for this, and consider as a very signal service all that the Admiral has done in this matter and is doing: because they know that after God they are indebted to him for all they have had, and will have in this affair: and as they are writing him more fully about this, they refer him to their letter.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses, although I already have written it to them, that I desired greatly to be able to send them a larger quantity of gold in this fleet, from that which it is hoped may be gathered here, but the greater part of our people who are here, have fallen suddenly ill: besides, this fleet cannot remain here longer, both on account of the great expense it occasions and because this time is suitable for those persons who are to bring the things which are greatly needed here, to go and be able to return: as, if they delay going away from here, those who are to return will not be able to do so by May: and besides this, if I wished to undertake to go to the mines or rivers now, with the well people who are here, both on the sea and in the settlement on land, I would have many difficulties and even dangers, because in order to go 23 or 24 leagues from here where there are harbours and rivers to cross, and in order to cover such a long route and reach there at the time which would be necessary to gather the gold, a large quantity of provisions would have to be carried, which cannot be carried on the shoulders, nor are there beasts of burden here which could be used for this purpose: nor are the roads and passes sufficiently prepared, although I have commenced to get them in readiness so as to be passable: and also it was very inconvenient to leave the sick here in an open place, in huts, with the provisions and supplies which are on land: for although these Indians may have shown themselves to the discoverers and show themselves every day, to be very simple and not malicious: nevertheless, as they come here among us each day, it did not appear that it would be a good idea to risk losing these people and the supplies. This loss an Indian with a piece of burning wood would be able to cause by setting fire to the huts because they are always going and coming by night and by day: on their account, we have guards in the camp, while the settlement is open and defenceless.

"That he did well.

“Moreover, as we have seen among those who went by land to make discoveries that the greater part fell sick after returning, and some of them even were obliged to turn back on the road, it was also reasonable to fear that the same thing would happen to those who are well, who would now go, and as a consequence they would run the risk of two dangers: the one, that of falling sick yonder, in the same work, where there is no house nor any defence against that Cacique who is called Caonabó, who is a very bad man according to all accounts and much more audacious and who, seeing us there, sick and in such disorder, would be able to undertake what he would not dare if we were well: and with this difficulty there is another—that of bringing here what gold we might obtain, because we must either bring a small quantity and go and come each day and undergo the risk of sickness, or it must be sent with some part of the people, incurring the same danger of losing it.

“He did well.

“So that, you will say to their Highnesses, that these are the causes why the fleet has not been at present detained, and why more gold than the specimens has not been sent them: but confiding in the mercy of God who in everything and for everything has guided us as far as here, these people will quickly become convalescent, as they are already doing, because only certain places in the country suit them and they then recover; and it is certain that if they had some fresh meat in order to convalesce, all with the aid of God would very quickly be on foot, and even the greater part would already be convalescent at this time: nevertheless they will be re-established. With the few healthy ones who remain here, each day work is done toward inclosing the settlement and placing it in a state of some defence and the supplies in safety, which will be accomplished in a short time, because it is to be only a small dry wall. For the Indians are not a people to undertake anything unless they should find us sleeping, even though they might have thought of it in the manner in which they served the others who remained here. Only on account of their [the Spaniards'] lack of caution—they being so few—and the great opportunities they gave the Indians to have and do what they did, they would never have dared to undertake to injure them if they had seen that they were cautious. And this work being finished, I will then undertake to go to the said rivers, either starting upon the road from here and seeking the best possible expedients or going around the island by sea as far as that place from which it is said it cannot be more than 6 or 7 leagues to the said rivers. In such a manner that the gold can be gathered and placed in security in some fortress or tower which can then be constructed there, in order to keep it securely until the time when the two caravels return here, and in order that then, with the first suitable weather for sailing this course, it may be sent to a place of safety.

“That this is well and must be done in this manner.

“Item. You will say to their Highnesses, as has been said, that the cause of the general sicknesses common to all is the change of water and

air, because we see that it extends to all conditions and few are in danger: consequently, for the preservation of health, after God, it is necessary that these people be provided with the provisions to which they are accustomed in Spain, because neither they, nor others who may come anew, will be able to serve their Highnesses if they are not well: and this provision must continue until a supply is accumulated here from what shall be sowed and planted here. I say wheat and barley, and vines, of which little has been done this year: because a site for the town could not be selected before, and then when it was selected the few labourers who were here became sick, and they, even though they had been well, had so few and such lean and meagre beasts of burden, that they were able to do but little: nevertheless, they have sown something, more in order to try the soil which appears very wonderful, so that from it some relief may be hoped in our necessities. We are very sure, as the result makes it apparent to us, that in this country wheat as well as the vine will grow very well: but the fruit must be waited for, which, if it corresponds to the quickness with which the wheat grows and of some few vine-shoots which were planted, certainly will not cause regret here for the productions of Andalusia or Sicily: neither is it different with the sugar-canes according to the manner in which some few that were planted have grown. For it is certain that the sight of the land of these islands, as well of the mountains and sierras and waters as of the plains where there are rich rivers, is so beautiful, that no other land on which the sun shines can appear better or as beautiful.

"Since the land is such, it must be managed that the greatest possible quantity of all things shall be sown and Don Juan de Fonseca is to be written to send continually all that is necessary for this purpose.

"Item. You will say that, inasmuch as much of the wine which the fleet brought was wasted on this journey, and this, according to what the greater number say, was because of the bad workmanship which the coopers did in Seville,—the greatest necessity we feel here at the present time is for wines and it is what we desire most to have: and although we may have biscuit as well as wheat sufficient for a longer time, nevertheless it is necessary that a reasonable quantity should also be sent, because the journey is long and provision cannot be made each day: and in the same manner some salted meat, I say bacon, and other salt meat better than that we brought on this journey. It is necessary that each time a caravel comes here, fresh meat shall be sent, and even more than that, lambs and little ewe lambs, more females than males, and some little yearling calves, male and female, and some he-asses and she-asses and some mares for labour and breeding as there are none of these animals here of any value or which can be made use of by man. And because I apprehend that their Highnesses may not be in Seville, and that the officials or ministers will not provide these things without their express order and as it is necessary they should come at the first opportunity and as in consultation and reply, the time for the departure of the vessels—which must be here during all of May—will be past: you will say to their Highnesses that I charged and

commanded you to pledge the gold you are carrying yonder and place it in possession of some merchant in Seville who will furnish therefor the necessary maravedis to load two caravels with wine and wheat and the other things of which you are taking a memorandum; which merchant will carry or send the said gold to their Highnesses that they may see it and receive it, and cause what shall have been expended for the fitting out and loading of the said two caravels to be paid: and in order to comfort and strengthen these people remaining here, the utmost efforts must be made for the return of these caravels for all the month of May, that the people before commencing the summer may see and have some refreshment from these things, especially the invalids: the things of which we are already in great need here are such as raisins, sugar, almonds, honey and rice, which should have been sent in large quantities and very little was sent, and that which came is already used and consumed and even the greater part of the medicines which were brought from there, on account of the multitude of sick people. You are carrying memoranda signed by my hand, as has been said, of things for the people in good health as well as for the sick. You will provide these things fully if the money is sufficient, or at least the things which it is most necessary to send at once, in order that the said two vessels can bring them, and you can arrange with their Highnesses, to have the remaining things sent by other vessels as quickly as possible.

"Their Highnesses sent an order to Don Juan de Fonseca to at once obtain information about the persons who committed the fraud of the casks, and to cause all the damage to the wine to be recovered from them, with the costs: and he must see that the canes which are sent are of good quality, and that the other things mentioned here are provided at once.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses that as there is no language here by means of which this people can be made to understand our Holy Faith, as your Highnesses and also we who are here, desire, although we will do all we can towards it—I am sending some of the cannibals in the vessels, men and women and male and female children, whom their Highnesses can order placed with persons from whom they can better learn the language, making use of them in service, and ordering that little by little more pains be taken with them than with other slaves, that they may learn one from the other: if they do not see or speak to each other until some time has passed, they will learn more quickly there than here and will be better interpreters,—although we will not cease to do as much as possible here. It is true that as there is little intercourse between these people from one island to another, there is some difference in their language, according to how far distant they are from each other. And as, of the other islands, those of the cannibals are very large and very well populated, it would appear best to take some of their men and women and send them yonder to Castile, because by taking them away, it may cause them to abandon at once that inhuman custom which they have of eating men: and by learning the language there in Castile, they will receive the baptism

much more quickly, and provide for the safety of their souls. Even among the peoples who are not cannibals we shall gain great credit, by their seeing that we can seize and take captive those from whom they are accustomed to receive injuries, and of whom they are in such terror that they are frightened by one man alone. You will certify to their Highnesses that the arrival here and sight of such a fine fleet all together has inspired very great authority here and assured very great security for future things: because all the people on this great island and in the other islands, seeing the good treatment which those who behave well receive and the bad treatment given those who behave ill, will very quickly render obedience so that they can be considered as vassals of their Highnesses. And as now they not only do willingly whatever is required of them by our people, but further, they voluntarily undertake everything which they understand may please us, their Highnesses may also be certain that in many respects as much for the present as for the future, the coming of this fleet has given them a great reputation, and not less yonder among the Christian princes: which their Highnesses will be better able to consider and understand than I can tell them.

"That he is to be told what has befallen the cannibals who came here. That it is very well and must be done in this manner, but that he must try there as much as possible to bring them to our Holy Catholic faith and do the same with the inhabitants of the islands where he is.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses that the safety of the souls of the said cannibals, and further of those here, has inspired the thought that the more there are taken yonder, the better it will be and their Highnesses can be served by it in this manner: having seen how necessary the flocks and beasts of burden are here, for the sustenance of the people who must be here, and even of all these islands, their Highnesses can give licence and permission to a sufficient number of caravels to come here each year, and bring the said flocks and other supplies and things to settle the country and make use of the land: and this at reasonable prices at the expense of those who bring them: and these things can be paid for in slaves from among these cannibals, a very proud and comely people, well proportioned and of good intelligence, who having been freed from that inhumanity, we believe will be better than any other slaves. They will be freed from this cruelty as soon as they are outside their country and many of them can be taken with the row-boats which it is known how to build here: it being understood, however, that a trustworthy person shall be placed on each one of the caravels coming here, who shall forbid the said caravels to stop at any other place or island than this place, where the loading and unloading of all the merchandise must be done. And further, their Highnesses will be able to establish their rights over these slaves which are taken from here yonder to Spain. And you will bring or send a reply to this, in order that the necessary preparations may be made here with more confidence if it appears well to their Highnesses.

"This project must be held in abeyance for the present until another method

is suggested from there, and the Admiral may write what he thinks in regard to it.

“Item. Also you will say to their Highnesses that it is more profitable and costs less to hire the vessels as the merchants hire them for Flanders, by tons, rather than in any other manner: therefore I charged you to hire the two caravels which you are to send here, in this manner: and all the others which their Highnesses send here can be hired thus, if they consider it for their service: but I do not intend to say this of those vessels which are to come here with their licence, for the slave-trade.

“Their Highnesses order Don Juan de Fonseca to hire the caravels in this manner if it can be done.

“Item. You will say to their Highnesses, that to avoid any further cost, I bought these caravels of which you are taking a memorandum in order to retain them here with these two ships: that is to say the *Gallega* and that other, the *Capitana*, of which I likewise purchased the three eighths from the Master of it, for the price given in the said memorandum which you are taking, signed by my hand. These ships not only will give authority and great security to the people who are obliged to remain inland and make arrangements with the Indians to gather the gold, but they will also be of service in any other dangerous matter which may arise with a strange people; besides the caravels are necessary for the discovery of the mainland and the other islands which lie between here and there: and you will entreat their Highnesses to order the maravedis which these ships cost, paid at the times which they have been promised, because without doubt they will soon receive what they cost, according to what I believe and hope in the mercy of God.

“The Admiral has done well, and to tell him that the sum has been paid here to the one who sold the ship, and Don Juan de Fonseca has been ordered to pay for the two caravels which the Admiral bought.

“Item. You will say to their Highnesses and will supplicate on my part as humbly as possible, that it may please them to reflect on what they will learn most fully from the letters and other writings in regard to the peace and tranquillity and concord of those who are here: and that for the service of their Highnesses such persons may be selected as shall not be suspected, and who will give more attention to the matters for which they are sent than to their own interests: and since you saw and knew everything in regard to this matter, you will speak and will tell their Highnesses the truth about all the things as you understood them, and you will endeavour that the provision which their Highnesses make in regard to it shall come with the first ships if possible, in order that there may be no scandals here in a matter of so much importance in the service of their Highnesses.

“Their Highnesses are well informed in regard to this matter and suitable provision will be made for everything.

“Item. You will tell their Highnesses of the situation of this city, and the beauty of the surrounding province as you saw and understood it and

how I made you its Alcalde, by the powers which I have for same from their Highnesses: whom I humbly entreat to hold the said provision in part satisfaction of your services, as I hope from their Highnesses.

"It pleases their Highnesses that you shall be Alcalde.

"Item. Because Mosen Pedro Māgarite, servant of their Highnesses, has done good service, and I hope he will do the same henceforward in matters which are intrusted to him, I have been pleased to have him remain here, and also Gaspar and Beltran, because they are recognised servants of their Highnesses, in order to intrust them with matters of confidence. You will specially entreat their Highnesses in regard to the said Mosen Pedro, who is married and has children, to provide him with some charge in the order of Santiago, whose habit he wears, that his wife and children may have the wherewith to live. In the same manner you will relate how well and diligently Juan Aguado, servant of their Highnesses, has rendered service in everything which he has been ordered to do: and that I supplicate their Highnesses to have him and the aforesaid persons in their charge and to reward them.

"Their Highnesses order 30,000 maravedis to be assigned to Mosen Pedro each year, and to Gaspar and Beltran, to each one, 15,000 maravedis each year, from the present, August 15, 1494, henceforward: and thus the Admiral shall cause to be paid to them whatever must be paid yonder in the Indies, and Don Juan de Fonseca whatever must be paid here: and in regard to Juan Aguado, their Highnesses will hold him in remembrance.

"Item. You will tell their Highnesses of the labour performed by Dr. Chanca, confronted with so many invalids, and still more because of the lack of provisions: and nevertheless, he acts with great diligence and charity in everything pertaining to his office. And as their Highnesses referred to me the salary which he was to receive here, because, being here, it is certain that he cannot take or receive anything from any one, nor earn money by his office as he earned it in Castile, or would be able to earn it being at his ease and living in a different manner from the way he lives here; therefore, notwithstanding he swears that he earned more there, besides the salary which their Highnesses gave him, I did not wish to allow more than 50,000 maravedis each year for the work he performs here while he remains here. This I entreat their Highnesses to order allowed to him with the salary from here, and that, because he says and affirms that all the physicians of their Highnesses who are employed in Royal affairs or things similar to this, are accustomed to have by right one day's wages in all the year from all the people. Nevertheless, I have been informed and they tell me, that however this may be, the custom is to give them a certain sum fixed according to the will and command of their Highnesses in compensation for that day's wages. You will entreat their Highnesses to order provision made as well in the matter of the salary as of this custom, in such manner that the said Dr. Chanca may have reason to be satisfied.

"Their Highnesses are pleased in regard to this matter of Dr. Chanca,

and that he shall be paid what the Admiral has assigned him together with his salary.

"In regard to the day's wages of the physicians, they are not accustomed to receive it, save where the King, our Lord, may be in person.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses that Coronel is a man for the service of their Highnesses in many things, and how much service he has rendered up to the present in all the most necessary matters and the need we feel of him now that he is sick: and that rendering service in such a manner, it is reasonable that he should receive the fruit of his service, not only in future favours, but in his present salary, so that he and those who are here may feel that their service profits them; because, so great is the labour which must be performed here in gathering the gold that the persons who are so diligent are not to be held in small consideration: and as, for his skill, he was provided here by me with the office of Alguacil Mayor of these Indies; and since in the provision the salary is left blank, you will say that I supplicate their Highnesses to order it filled in with as large an amount as they may think right, considering his services, confirming to him the provision I have given him here, and assuring it to him annually.

"Their Highnesses order that 15,000 maravedis more than his salary shall be assigned him each year, and that it shall be paid to him with his salary.

"In the same manner you will tell their Highnesses how the lawyer Gil Garcia came here for Alcalde Mayor and no salary has been named or assigned to him: and he is a capable person, well educated and diligent and is very necessary here: that I entreat their Highnesses to order his salary named and assigned so that he can sustain himself and that it may be paid from the money allowed for salaries here.

"Their Highnesses order 20,000 maravedis besides his salary assigned to him each year, as long as he remains yonder, and that it shall be paid him when his salary is paid.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses although it is already written in the letters, that I do not think it will be possible to go to make discoveries this year, until these rivers in which gold is found are placed in the most suitable condition for the service of their Highnesses, as afterwards it can be done much better. Because it is a thing which no one can do without my presence, according to my will or for the service of their Highnesses, however well it may be done, as it is doubtful what will be satisfactory to a man unless he is present.

"Let him endeavour that the amount of this gold may be known as precisely as possible.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses that the Squires who came from Granada showed good horses in the review which took place at Seville and afterward at the embarkation I did not see them because I was slightly unwell, and they replaced them with such horses that the best of them do not appear to be worth 2000 maravedis, as they sold the others and bought these; and this was done in the same way to many people as I very well saw yonder, in the reviews at Seville. It appears that Juan de Soria, after

he had been given the money for the wages, for some interest of his own substituted others in place of those I expected to find here, and I found people whom I had never seen. In this matter he was guilty of great wickedness, so that I do not know if I should complain of him alone. On this account,—having seen that the expenses of these Squires have been defrayed until now besides their wages and also wages for their horses, and it is now being done: and they are persons who, when they are sick or when they do not desire to do so, will not allow any use to be made of their horses save by themselves: and their Highnesses do not desire that these horses should be purchased of them but that they should be used in the service of their Highnesses: and it does not appear to them that they should do anything or render any service except on horseback, which at the present time is not much to the purpose:—on this account, it seems that it would be better to buy the horses from them, since they are of so little value and not have these disagreements with them every day. Therefore their Highnesses may determine this as will best serve them.

“Their Highnesses order Don Juan de Fonseca to inform himself in regard to this matter of the horses, and if it shall be found true that this fraud was committed, those persons shall be sent to their Highnesses to be punished: and also he is to inform himself in regard to what is said of the other people, and send the result in the examination to their Highnesses: and in regard to these Squires, their Highnesses command that they remain there and render service, since they belong to the guards and servants of their Highnesses: and their Highnesses order the Squires to give up the horses each time it is necessary and the Admiral orders it, and if the horses receive any injury through others using them, their Highnesses order that the damage shall be paid to them by means of the Admiral.

“Item. You will say to their Highnesses that more than 200 persons have come here without wages, and there are some of them who render good service. And as it is ordered that the others rendering similar service should be paid: and as for these first three years it would be of great benefit to have 1000 men here to settle and place this island and the rivers of gold in very great security, and even though there were 100 horsemen nothing would be lost, but rather it seems necessary, although their Highnesses will be able to do without these horsemen until gold is sent: nevertheless, their Highnesses must send to say whether wages shall be paid to these 200 persons, the same as to the others rendering good service, because they are certainly necessary, as I have said in the beginning of this memorandum.

“In regard to these 200 persons, who are here said to have gone without wages, their Highnesses order that they shall take the places of those who went for wages, who have failed or shall fail to fulfil their engagements, if they are skilful and satisfactory to the Admiral. And their Highnesses order the Purser [Contador] to enrol them in place of those who fail to fulfil their engagements, as the Admiral shall instruct him.

“Item. As the cost of these people can be in some degree lightened

and the better part of the expense could be avoided by the same means employed by other Princes in other places: it appears that it would be well to order brought in the ships, besides the other things which are for the common maintenance and the medicines, shoes and the skins from which to order the shoes made, common shirts and others, jackets, linen, sack-coats, trousers and cloths suitable for wearing apparel, at reasonable prices: and other things like conserves which are not included in rations and are for the preservation of health, which things all the people here would willingly receive to apply on their wages: and if these were purchased yonder in Spain by faithful Ministers who would act for the advantage of their Highnesses, something would be saved. Therefore you will learn the will of their Highnesses about this matter, and if it appears to them to be of benefit to them, then it must be placed in operation.

"This arrangement is to be in abeyance until the Admiral writes more fully and at another time they will send to order Don Juan de Fonseca with Jimeno de Bribiesca to make provision for the same.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses that inasmuch as yesterday in the review people were found who were without arms, which I think happened in part by that exchange which took place yonder in Seville, or in the harbour when those who presented themselves armed were left, and others were taken who gave something to those who made the exchange, it seems that it would be well to order 200 cuirasses sent and 100 muskets and 100 cross-bows, and a large quantity of arsenal supplies, which is what we need most, and all these arms can be given to those who are unarmed.

"Already Don Juan de Fonseca has been written to make provision for this.

"Item. Inasmuch as some artisans who came here, such as masons and other workman, are married and have wives yonder in Spain and would like to have what is owing them from their wages given to their wives or to the persons to whom they will send their requirements in order that they may buy for them the things which they need here: I supplicate their Highnesses to order it paid to them, because it is for their benefit to have these persons provided for here.

"Their Highnesses have already sent orders to Don Juan de Fonseca to make provision for this matter.

"Item. Because, besides the other things which are asked for there according to the memoranda which you are carrying signed by my hand, for the maintenance of the persons in good health as well as for the sick ones, it would be very well to have 50 casks of molasses [*miel de azucar*] from the island of Madeira, as it is the best sustenance in the world and the most healthful and it does not usually cost more than 2 ducats per cask, without the cask: and if their Highnesses order some caravel to stop there in returning, it can be purchased and also ten cases of sugar, which is very necessary; as this is the best season of the year to obtain it, I say between the present time and the month of April, and to obtain it at a reasonable price. If their Highnesses command it, the order could be given and it would not be known there for what place it is wanted.

"Let Don Juan de Fonseca make provision for this matter.

"Item. You will say to their Highnesses that although the rivers contain gold in the quantity related by those who have seen it, yet it is certain that the gold is not engendered in the rivers but rather on the land, the waters of the rivers which flow by the mines bringing it enveloped in the sands: and as among these rivers which have been discovered there are some very large ones, there are others so small that they are fountains rather than rivers, which are not more than two fingers of water in depth, and then the source from which they spring may be found: for this reason not only labourers to gather it in the sand will be profitable, but others to dig for it in the earth, which will be the most particular operation and produce a great quantity. And for this, it will be well for their Highnesses to send labourers, and from among those who work yonder in Spain in the mines of Almaden, that the work may be done in both ways. Although we will not await them here, as with the labourers we have here we hope with the aid of God, once the people are in good health, to amass a good quantity of gold to be sent on the first caravels which return.

"This will be fully provided for in another manner. In the meantime their Highnesses order Don Juan de Fonseca to send the best miners he can obtain; and to write to Almaden to have the greatest possible number taken from there and sent.

"Item. You will entreat their Highnesses very humbly on my part, to consider Villacorta as specially recommended to them, who, as their Highnesses know, has rendered great service in this business and with a very good will, and as I know him, he is a diligent person and very devoted to their service: it will be a favour to me if he is given some confidential charge for which he is fitted, and where he can show his desire to serve them and his diligence: and this you will obtain in such a way that Villacorta may know by the result, that what he has done for me when I needed him profits him in this manner.

"It will be done thus.

"Item. That the said Mosen Pedro and Gaspar and Beltran and others who have remained here gave up the captainship of caravels, which have now returned, and are not receiving wages: but because they are persons who must be employed in important matters and of confidence, their compensation which must be different from the others, has not been determined: You will entreat their Highnesses on my part to determine what is to be given them each year, or by the month, according to their service.

"Done in the city of Isabella, January 30, 1494.

"This has already been replied to above, but as it is stated in the said item that they enjoy their salary, from the present time their Highnesses order that their wages shall be paid to all of them from the time they left their captainships."

CHAPTER LXXXI

REBELLION AND CIBAO

THERE had evidently been a report that Ginès de Gorbalan had returned to Spain with Antonio de Torres, but we find Las Casas saying: "Some say that he [the Admiral] sent a Captain named Gorbalan with these ships, but it is not so, as I have seen in a letter written by the Admiral to the Sovereigns, a copy of which in his own handwriting I have had in my possession." The feeling of discontent fanned into flame by the departure of the twelve ships broke out into a spirited conflagration and a party, headed by Bernal Diaz de Pisa, sought the capture of one or more of the five remaining ships with which they hoped to return to Spain. The Admiral discovered a complaint drawn up in elaborate form by this Bernal, concealed, as Ferdinand says, in a secret place in one of the ships, or which, as Las Casas says, was hidden in a buoy. The Admiral arrested Bernal, the ringleader, and placed him on a ship to go back to Spain for punishment and himself inflicted penalties on the other principal heads of the trouble. The ammunition and weapons belonging to the four ships were placed in one vessel in charge of trustworthy persons lest another attempt at their capture might be made. This was the first outbreak in the New World and Las Casas is inclined to criticise the Admiral for his harshness and for the exhibition of characteristics which led afterward to much more serious difficulties.

"Perhaps," writes Las Casas, "on account of the punishment which he inflicted on those whom he found guilty in this conspiracy, there began both with the Sovereigns and in all the realm of Spain an impression that he was a rigorous judge, insufferably and infamously cruel, an impression which I well remember to have existed even before I went to those regions, or before I knew the Admiral, because of its publicity in Castile."

Such is the brief castigation administered the memory of the Admiral by Las Casas. The condition of affairs on the island was such as might occasion a mutiny at sea and the chief in command was bound to subdue it in the speediest manner. Surrounded by the paraphernalia of law and justice, such a breach or offence against authority, had it happened in Spain, might have been more gently handled, but even Las Casas is obliged to admit that situated as he was, without adequate judicial machinery, a leader over jealous and hostile subordinates, the Admiral was forced to a show of severity which the author of the *Historia* seems to think was expressed in the execution of some of the conspirators. But, nevertheless, the impression of cruelty doubtless did assume form at that time and may have aroused at home some of the bitter feeling which met and followed the Admiral for the remainder of his days.

Having overcome the rebellion, the Admiral resolved himself to visit the land of Cibao. He appointed his brother, Diego Columbus, his Lieutenant in his absence. This brother was mild, gentle, a candidate for priesthood, and altogether different from the second of the Columbus brothers, Bartholomew, who had not yet arrived at Española. In order to impress the Indians, the Admiral directed that a large part of the soldiers in the form of an army, with flying banners, armed horsemen, drums, and trumpets, should accompany him. In departing from Isabella, Wednesday, March 12, 1494, and on entering and leaving every town, he emphasised the power and importance of his expedition by the firing of musketry. At the end of that day they came to a mountain at the foot of which they encamped. The path used by the natives was inadequate for the purpose of a large force and the Admiral, the next day, set to the work of constructing a road through the pass many of the hidalgos and common labourers. Because of the efficient if humiliating work of these gentlemen of Spain, the pass was named by the Admiral, *El Puerto de los Hidalgos*.¹ Before the sun set that night of Thursday, March 13, 1494, the eyes of the Spaniards beheld from the top of the mountain, or the summit of *El Puerto de los Hidalgos*, the magnificent plain extending eighty leagues,

¹ Hidalgo is in Spanish the *son of somebody*, compounded from *hijo*, son, and *d'alguno*, of somebody. Hence, the meaning of nobility or of a higher class of persons.

a fourth part of which was plainly visible, so green, level, luxuriant, and with all so beautiful, that the Admiral gave thanks to God and christened it *La Vega Real*, or, the Royal Plain. On descending the sierra to the plain, which was there five leagues in width, they came to the river called Yaquí, seen a few weeks before by Hojeda and Gorbalan. This river the Admiral named *Rio de las Cañas*, not knowing that he had called this same river *Rio del Oro* when by its mouth at Monte Christi, on his first voyage. The camp that night was laid at the bank of the river. Wherever the Indians were met the inhabitants received them with joy and showered upon them all they possessed, treating them, Las Casas says, as if they had come from heaven. This common ownership of goods seemed natural to the natives, for at first they did not hesitate to enter the tents of the Spaniards and appropriate for themselves such things as they liked. They seemed to think that this was a custom which must prevail in the homes whence their strange guests had come. Friday, March 14, 1494, they crossed the Yaquí and came to another river which the Admiral called *Rio del Oro*, because they found some gold in the waters. This stream flows into the Yaquí and is identified by Las Casas as either the Nicayagua or else the Mao. The sands of these rivers, and indeed of all the rivers of this region, were golden grains, covering not the treasure-chambers themselves, but simply holding the overflow which the rains had washed out into the swiftly flowing streams to scatter the shining particles on their way to the sea. Back in the hills were the golden vaults of wealth, and to this day they have been practically untouched by man. About eleven leagues from the pass of the Hidalgos and farther to the south-east, they came to another pass which the Admiral called *Puerto de Cibao*, because from it commenced the province of Cibao. Here the Admiral sent a force of men with beasts of burden back to Isabella for provisions, for the expedition, not satisfied with the native foods, had soon consumed the supply brought with them. On Sunday, March 16, they entered the land of Cibao, a region of hills, barren and stony. Las Casas says the Indians named the region *Cibao*, from a native word meaning "stone." Arrived at a point eighteen leagues from Isabella, he selected a site on a hill above a river so still and pure that its waters seemed to have been distilled. The land was dry and the air bracing.

Christopher Columbus

The river he called Xanique, although it was the same river to which he had twice before given names, the Yaquí. Here the Admiral built a fortress to which he gave the name of Sancto Tomas.¹ At the base of the hill was a plain called by the Indians, Cabana. Las Casas tells us that some years afterward, when this fortress was no longer utilised, he had a farm on that same plain. There is still a small village in the hollow of the hills called Sancto Tomas, from which a peon, or peasant, will guide the traveller to the ruins of the fortress a short distance away on a commanding bluff. This fortress was the first milestone of the march of the Europeans in the New World. From here the trail reached across the island, over into Cuba, to Puerto Rico, to Jamaica, to the Continental lands on the north and on the south. It was a march of progress, but directly in its wake were distress, cruelty, ruin, and decay.

The Admiral appointed Pedro Margarite, an Aragonese gentleman, a Knight of Spain, to be commander of the fortress, and gave him command over fifty-two men. Then on Friday, March 21, the Admiral started on his homeward journey to Isabella, meeting on his way the returning train of provisions, which he sent onward to the fortress of Sancto Tomas. On Saturday, March 29, 1494, he arrived at Isabella to find great disorder existing within its walls, many of the people sick and dying, the food nearly all gone, and abject despair clouding the settlement. Immediately the Admiral set the people at work, making no distinction between the priests and their attendants, the hidalgos and their satellites, and the common people to whom toil was their natural condition. It was this failure to observe customs and lines of social separation which aroused in the proud Spaniards bitter resentment and which made of Father Buil an inveterate and unrelenting enemy.²

¹ It is said that the name was suggested as a rebuke to the doubting sentiments of some who declared that there was no gold in the New World, and who would not believe it until they saw its gleaming grains with their own eyes.

² Andreas Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios, relates that much of the trouble arose from the actions of a Spanish assayer, named Fermin Cedo, who accompanied the expedition and who was ignorant of his art. He reported that the nuggets of gold brought by the Indians to Columbus were pieces of melted gold and had not been found free in the rivers and streams, but had been for generations preserved in the families and tribes of the Indian nations. Moreover, he declared that the gold was alloyed with brass and was worth but little. So he made an important alloy himself in the life of the settlement and contributed his full share to the discontent of the colony.

Irving and later historians have anticipated this action of Fermin Cedo, and

The Admiral had scarcely returned to Isabella when he was followed by a messenger from the fortress of Sancto Tomas, bearing news from Pedro Margarite, the commander, that the Indians were making hostile demonstrations, leaving the settlements near the fort, and that a cacique named Caonabo was preparing to descend upon the Spaniards. This report was brought in on Tuesday, April 1, 1494, and the following day the Admiral despatched seventy men to the fort, twenty-five of whom were to act as soldiers and guards, and the remainder were to build a road for easier communication between the two settlements. One week later, Wednesday, April 9, 1494, Hojeda was sent with four hundred men to explore and subjugate the country. Some time before, a small party of Spaniards had been travelling from Sancto Tomas to Isabella and had been given by the cacique a few Indians to carry their baggage and to help them in crossing the fords of the many streams in their route. At one of these fords the Indians left the Spaniards and took with them the clothing of the little party. The matter was reported to the cacique and the punishment of the Indians demanded. This was not accorded them, and when Hojeda arrived in the country he proceeded to visit upon the Indians what he believed was an adequate punishment. He made prisoners of the chief of the settlement, together with his brother and his nephew, sending them in chains back to Isabella and in the presence of the Indians he caused the ears of one of the Indian servants to be severed. A neighbouring chief, across the river Yaquí, who had witnessed the scene, made a journey to Isabella to see the Admiral and to make peace with him, giving assurances that no such unfriendly act should again occur. He arrived in time to behold the Plaza of Isabella filled with the populace gathered to witness the execution of the three prisoners who had been sent to Columbus by Hojeda and whose death had been decreed by the Admiral. The friendly cacique, on seeing this, besought the Admiral to spare their lives, promising obedience in the

placed it at the time of the return to Isabella of the expedition headed by Hojeda and Goralan, giving it as a contributing cause of the rebellion of Bernal Diaz de Pisa, whereas, according to the Curate of Los Palacios, it occurred after the establishment of the settlement in Sancto Tomas, and was the result of an examination by Fermin Cedo of the gold nuggets which Columbus himself obtained when at that fortress in Cibao. Bernaldez says this Fermin Cedo was at the fortress of Sancto Tomas at the time. Neither Las Casas nor Ferdinand relates this incident.

future on the part of all the Indians, and this prayer was heard and the lives of the three important natives were spared. While this scene was enacting, a horseman rode up to relate that in passing through the village of that cacique who had been condemned to death, he found five of the Spaniards surrounded by Indians who were about to kill them, when, by aid of his horse, he put them to flight, wounding many of the natives. The sight of a horse never failed to excite the terror of the Indians and one mounted Spaniard was able to put to flight an entire army of the natives. Las Casas assumes that some of these Indians were killed and declares that this was the first shedding of blood by the Spaniards and the beginning of a shower which never fell in more copious floods in any land or among any people.

The Admiral, having decided to explore the neighbouring land of Cuba, appointed a Council with his brother Diego at the head, consisting of Father Buil, who held power from the Pope and was his Legate in the newly discovered lands; Pedro Hernandez Coronel, Alguazil Mayor or High Constable; Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, formerly Governor of Baza and in the future to be the personal representative of Columbus in Española and elsewhere in the New World; Juan de Luxan, a Gentleman of Madrid and an attendant in the Royal Household. To these five the Admiral intrusted the government of the island. He charged Mosen Pedro Margarite and the four hundred soldiers under him with the subjugation of the Indians, giving to each detailed instructions according to what, says Las Casas, seemed to him proper for the service of God and their Highnesses. On Thursday, April 24, 1494, with one large vessel and two caravels he departed from Española to go to Cuba.

CHAPTER LXXXII

ATTEMPT TO EXPLORE CUBA

THESE ships were the *San Juan*, the *Cardera*, and the *Niña*.¹ The fleet moved to the westward and first anchored at the port of Monte Christi, the mouth of the river Yaquí. The following day he went to the port of La Navidad, the scene of the terrible disaster to the forty-three men left there when the Admiral returned to Spain from his first voyage, all of whom were massacred by the Indians.² The King Guacanagari fled when he beheld the Spaniards, his servants promising his return, but Columbus did not care to wait for him. The Admiral then sailed six leagues farther west to the island of Tortuga, where he met with such contrary currents that on Sunday, April 27, 1494, he was obliged to go back to a port at the mouth of the river which he had, on his first voyage, called Guadalquivir.³ On Tuesday, April 29, 1494, according to Ferdinand he arrived at the port of St. Nicholas, whence he sailed across the gulf to the eastern end of Cuba, the point which he had named on his first voyage Alpha and

¹ We do not think this is the same gallant little vessel which bore Columbus back to Spain from his first voyage. Experience had taught him that small vessels were best adapted to exploring the coasts of the islands, but the *Niña* of the first voyage, none too good a vessel to begin with, had been sadly handled by the tempests and storms, and she certainly stood in dire need of repair and strengthening after her return.

This *Niña* was sometimes called the *Santa Clara*.

² Las Casas says that the number of men left in the fort of La Navidad was thirty-eight. This is according to the holograph manuscript! The printed edition gives this number as thirty-nine. As the reader knows, we give the number of forty-three from the list itself as given in Navarrete.

³ This is the Port Paix of to-day. The island of Tortuga, so called by the Spaniards from its resemblance to a sea-turtle or *tortuga de Mar*, is a fine strategic point, commanding the marine channel between Cuba and the island of San Domingo as well as the sea road to Jamaica. It was headquarters for the buccaneers who later preyed on the commerce of the New World and the revenues of Spain.

Omega,¹ the Cape Maysi of to-day. Ferdinand Columbus says he sailed along the southern coast of Cuba one league to a Cape Forte, and from there to a port which he called *Puerto Grande*. On Thursday, May 1, 1494,² he continued on his way, always coasting. He found in the sea much of that grass which he had noticed in coming from Spain. The natives came out to meet them, believing their visitors to have come from heaven, and offered them their foods, cassava-bread and fish as well as fresh water, for which things the Admiral ordered payment to be made by his men. The Indians told Columbus that in a southerly direction lay a land rich in gold, and on Sunday, May 4, 1494, he approached the land, which was the island of Jamaica, anchoring there the following day, Monday, May 5, 1494. The island appeared to him the finest and most beautiful he had yet seen. He gave it the name of Sant Yago, or Santiago; but, as Charlevoix remarks, the name by which the Indians themselves designated the island has prevailed to this day. The Admiral sailed along the island in search of a good port, which he found in the beautiful harbour of St. Anne and of which we shall hear more on his fourth voyage. Columbus gave the name Santa Gloria to this harbour. Four leagues to the west he found another harbour which Bernaldez says was a singular port, into which he entered and anchored. This was probably Puerto Bueno, which is a bay shaped like a horseshoe. The shore was well adapted to his present purpose and the Admiral careened his ships and put them in repair. The Indians were painted divers colours, principally black, and seemed inclined to be hostile. Here, if we are to believe the Curate of Los Palacios, the Spaniards let loose a dog which they had with them, at which the Indians fled in terror.³ After this the natives sent

¹ The reader will recall that the Admiral gave to this point the title of Alpha and Omega, because he thought it the end of the journey to one travelling around the world eastwardly and the beginning to one going in a westerly direction.

² Las Casas says this occurred on Sunday, May 1, 1494. As he afterwards says that May 4 fell on Sunday, we can charge the good Bishop with a *lapsus pennæ*.

The reader is cautioned against accepting the dates in the printed edition of Las Casas, and is advised to turn to the *Scritti di Cristoforo Colombo* by Cesare de Lollis, since this writer has carefully collated the printed edition with the holograph manuscript displayed in Madrid at the Columbian Exposition.

³ Las Casas does not mention the introduction of the dog, which, if we may believe the not altogether trustworthy Bernaldez, is the first instance of the use of this animal as an accessory of war. For the earliest employment of this ferocious beast we must blame Columbus, for, even if this scene on the island of Jamaica is not

ambassadors to testify their willingness for friendship with the Spaniards, and from that time on, while the latter were on the island, they were profuse in their attentions.

On Friday, May 9, 1494, the Admiral left this Puerto Bueno, sailing along the coast of the island, meeting the Indians in friendship wherever he had occasion to land. The Admiral determined, on Tuesday, May 13, 1494, to cross over to Cuba, intending to navigate several hundred leagues along the coast to settle the vexed question as to whether it was an island or the mainland. The day he departed from Jamaica an Indian youth, followed by his relatives and friends, came to the vessel and asked the Admiral to take him back to the home of the

veritable, a little later, as we shall see, on the island of Española, in the expedition against the King Manicategu, March 24, 1495, the Admiral and his brother Bartholomew made use of twenty fierce dogs to aid in intimidating and subjugating the Indians. From that day on, running side by side with the slave-master, ready to spring on any escaping bondsman, was the dog of the Spaniard. Not only was the dog the plantation detective, but in time of war the etiquette of the field permitted him a sanguinary part. As late as 1802, Humboldt says the French expedition to Santa Domingo shows us not only negro prisoners burned at the stake, in the midst of a great population, but also the dogs of Cuba, possessors of a miserable reputation, employed in hunting men. What a contrast in the use of the dog, the natural friend and companion of man, is presented by his present employment in the German army, where he is attached to the hospital corps and made to administer to the wants of the wounded and unfortunate!

Even while we gaze with horror at the blood-dripping jaws of the Spanish hounds, we pause to admire the courage, sagacity, and fidelity of the noble dog Becerillo, so called as the diminutive of *becerro*, a calf. The war-like propensities of this hound were employed by Juan Ponce de Leon in subduing the first revolt of the Indians on Puerto Rico. Father Charlevoix, *Histoire de l'Isle Espagnole*, Paris, 1730, honours this intelligent animal with a recital of his bravery and virtues. When heated with the chase, Becerillo was more to be feared than many armed soldiers. He was an animal of rare judgment, and was able to discover friends from foes and foes in the disguise of friends. While he possessed the strength and ferocity of a lion, he had the generosity which in more unfamiliar days was generally accorded to the King of Beasts. There is an anecdote related by Charlevoix which reveals the illimitable moral gulf in that day between a dog and a man. An aged Indian woman had the misfortune to displease some of the Spaniards, who determined to give her to be devoured by Becerillo. They gave her a letter with instructions to bear it to a certain place where the dog was to be loosed. Thither faithfully she went, and soon came in sight of the beast, who, with open jaws, made ready to spring upon her. Throwing herself upon her knees and showing him her letter, she thus supplicated Becerillo: "O Lord Dog! I am on my way with this letter which I carry to the Christians. I beseech thee, do me no harm." At these words the dog hesitated, for a moment peered into the frightened face of the old woman, and turned from her in dignified consent, suffering her to go on her way unmolested. History records that he died as a warrior should, on the field of battle, where, pursuing some fleeing natives along the shore, far from the assisting firearms of his Spanish masters, he received in his body an arrow from an Indian in his canoe, and soon lay stiffened on the ground. Thus died Becerillo, worthy his place in the Parthenon for dogs.

white men. This is the first instance of that desire to see other peoples and other lands told of any native Indian. Curiosity brought them to the shore and even on board the Spanish ships, but before this ambitious youth none ever asked to be taken away from home and kindred and to be indulged in travel and mysterious journeys. He finally hid himself on the ships and when his relatives departed he again appealed to the Admiral, who consented to his joining the expedition. The youth may have had his ambition justified by a sight of European lands, powerful peoples, great cities, and rich coasts, but if so, his experiences have been told by no historian or sung by no poet.¹

On Wednesday, May 14, 1494, the Admiral arrived off Cabo de Cruz.² Continuous lightnings and violent storms met him on his approach, and the shore was guarded by dangerous shoals. To avoid the latter he needed the use of his sails, and to guard against the violence of the storm he required bare poles. Thus he was in an unpleasant dilemma. His skill as a sailor came to his aid and enabled him to escape both kinds of danger. He discovered innumerable islands, some small, but others nearer the coast large and green, and to the cluster he gave the name of *Jardin de la Reina*.³ They saw on these islands many cranes of the kind seen in Castile, only bright in colour, most of them being scarlet. Turtles of many kinds were noticed and their eggs were discovered in the sands. The air was sweet with the odour of flowers, as if roses were grown in every corner. Some natives were fishing for turtles with a fish having a sort of sucker under its body, which was let down with a cord until, striking a turtle, it fastened on its prey and both were drawn up to the canoes of the Indians. It is to be remarked that the Admiral and the Spaniards with him were observant persons. Wherever they found themselves they noticed natural objects, made comparisons with similar things in their own country, inquired concerning the customs and habits of the natives, and generally showed themselves alert

¹ The Curate of Los Palaeios, whom Irving loves so to follow, tells us nothing of this youth.

² Ferdinand and Las Casas give this date, but the printed edition of the latter—Madrid, 1875—gives this date as Tuesday, May 18, 1494. On the very same page the printed edition says of another event, Wednesday, May 18.

Ferdinand calls this point of Cuba "Capo di Santa Croee."

³ Ferdinand says they numbered no less than one hundred and sixty islands.

and active in studying the new and strange lands to which fortune had brought them. Ferdinand speaks of the incessant fogs, black and thick, which prevailed in this place and which made coasting so dangerous for vessels. He says, moreover, that during the night the prevailing winds blew from the north and when the sun arose the course of the winds was changed. On Thursday, May 22, 1494, the Admiral arrived at a large island, to which he gave the name of Santa Maria. There was a great village from which the inhabitants had fled and in which there were found some forty dogs unlearned in the art of barking and which, from their appearance, they judged to be fattening for food.¹ Passing on among a lot of other islands and over bothersome shoals, he was obliged to follow the channel whithersoever it led, regardless of the direction. He finally succeeded in getting out into open water and resolved to make for Cuba to replenish his water-casks. He reached that land² on Tuesday, June 3, 1494, at a point where there was much wood, so that the Admiral could not determine if there were native settlements or not. He sent a boat to shore, when one of the sailors encountered a band of Indians to the number of thirty, armed with spears and bows and arrows. This sailor told a weird story of seeing in the midst of this crowd one being wearing a white tunic falling to his feet.³ This meeting with a being differing from the Indians hitherto seen and the war-like attitude of the natives frightened the sailor, who shouted for his companions, whereat the Indians fled. Much has been made of this incident. There are those, among them Irving and Humboldt, who explained this strange figure by imagining the frightened sailor to have seen a white crane feeding in a marsh. We have just called attention to the alertness with which natural objects were noticed, examined, and recorded by the people with Columbus. Each man was trained to see quickly and accurately, and it is absurd that any sailor could have made such a mistake. But if the record is any guide at all, it should

¹ Irving places this incident in the islands of the *Jardin de la Reina*.

² The first European settlement on the island of Cuba was not until 1511, when Don Diego Velasquez founded the town which took its name from his patron saint and whose waters lately witnessed the overthrow of the Spanish power in Cuba.

³ Ferdinand, in relating this, speaks of the tunic-wearers being three in number, two wearing that civilised garment to the knees, the third having it extended to the feet

be taken in its entirety,—meagre as it is,—and that includes this one or more white figures in the crowd of thirty armed savages. If the sailor could observe the spears, the bows and arrows and count the figures, he could have told the difference between a white crane and a figure wearing a white tunic falling to its feet. However much like a white-robed man a crane may look as to its folded wings, its thin legs would not convey an impression of a gracefully falling garment. From Columbus in his cabin reading Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, to the common sailors forward telling yarns by the moon's pale light, all were prepared for the sight of a people more civilised than any yet seen. And there were legends of far-away days when some priests sailed westward from the shores of Ireland, whose return never was chronicled, and who were believed to have found their way to a mysterious land out in the Ocean-sea. A little farther on we shall hear a saintly cacique whom the Spaniards met in the *Jardin de la Reina* telling of a chief on the island of Cuba whose habit it was to wear a garment like that of a priest, he having observed the dress of one who accompanied the expedition and whom he saw engaged in reciting mass. This, to our mind, explains the presence in Cuba of men dressed like Europeans and it disposes of the legend—so stoutly urged by the believers in the Pilot story—that when the Europeans first visited the New World, the natives declared they had seen before men clothed like unto them.

The following day the Admiral sent on shore some explorers to see if they could verify this strange report of the sailor, but the marshes on the shore prevented them making the necessary search. He continued sailing to the westward and after going ten leagues they found a settlement from which the people came with food and water. He ordered one Indian to be retained, desiring his services as a guide and promising to return him safely to his people. This Indian certified to the Admiral that this land was an island surrounded by water and that it was governed by a king who did not speak, but at whose sign all things were done.

CHAPTER LXXXIII

THE PSEUDO-CONTINENT

IT was a few days after this, on Thursday, June 12, 1494, that a most interesting event occurred and which has entered into history with a decidedly wrong colouring. The Admiral on this day called to him one of the public notaries, Fernand Perez de Luna, and told him that he believed this land of Cuba which on his first voyage he had called the island Juana was really continental land, since they had sailed along it for a distance of 335 leagues without finding any ending and seeing the land turn to the south-west, and that no one might belittle the great achievement of having found continental land, he directed the said notary to take witnesses and go to each ship, interview each person, whether officer, mariner, or ship's boy, on the three caravels, and ask each whether he had any doubt that this land was the mainland and that if such a one had any doubt *the notary was to beg him* to make it known, because then the Admiral would remove the doubt and would show him that it was true and that it was indeed the continental land. This was all, absolutely all the notary was ordered to do. Now what did he do? He went to each man with a prepared form, submitting to each the same words, and then fixing, upon his own responsibility, a penalty of ten thousand maravedis and the cutting out of the tongue for every time that any one of them should say anything to the contrary,—not that it was not continental land but, having *agreed* that it was continental land, he must abide by his statement under this penalty. The Admiral never authorised this enforced expression of opinion. He never even suggested it. It was the officious action of Fernand Perez de Luna. Fortunately this agent repeats the exact directions given him by the Admiral

and then shows that he exceeded his instructions by adding, "I placed them under a penalty. . . ." It seems that the Admiral himself had no copy of this paper. He appears to have attached no great importance to it. After the death of the notary, which soon followed this event, the Admiral being in the city of Isabella on Wednesday, June 14, 1495, caused Diego de Penalosa to make a search among the papers of the late Fernand Perez de Luna and see if he could find this very paper. Columbus wanted the circumstances explained to each man and if any doubted the continental character of the land, he would explain his reasons for considering it the mainland. The Admiral never required any oath and never imposed a penalty.

INFORMACION Y TESTIMONIO ETC.

"En la carabela Niña, que ha por nombre Santa Clara, Jueves doce días del mes de Junio, año del Nacimiento de nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mil é cuatrocientos é noventa é cuatro años, el muy magnífico Señor D. Cristóbal Colon, Almirante mayor del mar Océano, Visorey é Gobernador perpetuo de la isla de S. Salvador, é de todas las otras islas é tierra-firme de las Indias descubiertas é por descubrir por el Rey é por la Reina nuestros Señores, é su Capitan general de la mar, requirió á mí Fernand Perez de Luna, Escribano público del número de la Cibdad Isabela, por parte de sus Altezas, que por cuanto él habia partido de la dicha Cibdad Isabela con tres carabelas por venir á descubrir la tierra-firme de las Indias puesto que ya tenia descubierto parte della el otro viage que acá primero habia hecho el año pasado del Señor de mil é cuatrocientos é noventa é tres años, y no habia podido saber lo cierto dello; porque puesto que andobiese mucho por ella non habia fallado personas en la costa de la mar que le supiesen dar cierto relacion dello, porque eran todos gente desnuda que no tiene bienes propios, ni tratan, ni van fuera de sus casas, ni otros vienen á ellos, segund dellos mismos supo, y por esto no declaró afirmativo que fuese la tierra-firme, salvo que lo pronunció dubitativo, y la habia puesto nombre *La Juana*, á memoria del Príncipe D. Juan, nuestro Señor, y agora partió de la Cibdad Isabela á veinte y cuatro días del mes de Abril, é vino á demandar la tierra de la dicha *Juana* mas propinca de la isla Isabela, la cual es fecha como un giron que va de Oriente á Occidente, y la punta está de la parte del Oriente propinca á la Isabela veinte é dos leguas, y siguió la costa della al Occidente de la parte del Austro para ir á una isla muy grande á que los Indios llaman Jamayca, la cual falló despues de haber andado mucho camino, y le puso nombre la *Isla de Santiago*, y anduvo la costa toda della de Oriente á Occidente, y despues volvió á la tierra firme, á que llama la *Juana*, al lugar que el habia dejado, y siguió la costa della al Poniente muchos días, atanto que dijo que por su navegacion pasaba de trescientas é treinta é cinco leguas desde que comenzó entrar en ella fasta agora, en el cual camino conoció muchas veces, y lo pronunció, que

esta era tierra firme por la fechora é la noticia que de ella tenia, y el nombre de la gente de las Provincias, en especial la provincia de Mango; y agora, despues de haber descubierto infinitísimas islas que nadie ha podido contar del todo, y llegado aquí á una poblacion, tomó unos indios, los cuales le dijeron que esta tierra andaba la costa de ella al Poniente mas de veinte jornadas, ni sabian si allí hacia fin, que fasta donde llegaba determinó de andar mas adelante algo, para que todas las personas que vienen en estos navíos, entre los cuales hay Maestros de cartas de marear y muy buenos Pilotos, las mas famosos que él supo escoger en la armada grande quél trajo de Castilla, y porque ellos viesen como esta tierra es grandísima, y que de aquí adelante va la costa della al mediodia, así como les decia, anduvo cuatro jornadas mas adelante porque todos fuesen muy ciertos que era tierra firme, porque en todas estas islas é tierras no hay puebla á la mar, salvo gente desnuda que se vive de pescado, y nunca van en la tierra adentro, ni saben que sea el mundo, ni dél cuatro leguas lejos de sus casas, y creen que no hay en el mundo salvo islas, y son gente que no tienen ley ni seta alguna, salvo nacer y morir, ni tienen ninguna polecia porque pueden saber del mundo; y porque despues del viage acabado que nadie no tenga causa con malicias, ó por mal decir y apocar las cosas que merecen mucho loor, requirió á mí el dicho Escribano el dicho Señor Almirante, como de suso lo reza, de parte de sus Altezas, que yo personalmente con buenos testigos fuese á cada una de las dichas tres carabelas é requiriese al Maestre é compañía, é toda otra gente que en ellas son publicamente, que dijese si tenian dubda alguna que esta tierra no fuese la tierra firme al comienzo de las Indias y fin á quien en estas partes quisiere veni de España por tierra; é que si alguna dubda ó sabiduría dello toviesen que les rogaba que lo dijese, porque luego les quitaria la dubda, y les faria ver que esto es cierto y qués la tierra firme. E yo así lo cumplí y requerí publicamente aquí en esta carabela Niña al Maestre é compañía que son las personas que debajo nombraré á cada uno, por su nombre y de donde es vecino, é asimismo en las otras dos carabelas suso dichas requerí á los Maestres é compañía y así les declaré por ante los testigos abajo nombrados; todo así como el dicho Señor Almirante á mí habia requerido yo requerí á ellos, y les puse pena de diez mil maravedis por cada vez que lo que dijere cada uno que despues en ningun tiempo el contrario dijese de lo que agora diria, é cortada la lengua; y si fuere Grumete ó persona de tal suerte, que le daría ciento azotes y le cortarían la lengua; y todos así requeridos en todas las dichas tres carabelas, cada uno por sí con mucha diligencia, miraron los Pilotos, é Maestres, é Marineros en sus cartas de marear, y pensaron y dijeron lo siguiente:

“Francisco Niño, vecino de Moguer, Piloto de la carabela Niña, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho no oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas é treinta é cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acabada de andar; y que veía agora que la tierra tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suduest y Oest, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra-firme; antes lo afirma y defendería ques la tierra

Christopher Columbus

firme y no isla, y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde tratan gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: Alonso Medel, vecino de Palos, Maestre de la carabela Niña, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas é treinta é cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acabada de andar; y que veia agora que la tierra tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suduest y Oest, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra-firme; antes lo afirmaba y defendería que es la tierra-firme y no isla, y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra, adonde tratan gente política de saber y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: Johan de la Cosa, vecino del Puerto de Santa María, Maestro de hacer cartas, Marinero de la dicha carabela Niña, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho, que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acabada de andar; y que veia agora que la tierra firme tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suduest y Oest, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra firme, antes lo afirmaba y defendería que es la tierra-firme y no isla; y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde trata gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: todos los Marineros é Grumetes, é otras personas que en la dicha carabela Niña estaban, que algo se les entendia de la mar, dijeron á una voz todas públicamente, é cada uno por sí, que para el juramento que habian hecho, que aquella era la tierra-firme, porque nunca habian visto isla de trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa, y aun no acabada de andar; y que ciertamente no tenian dubda dello ser aquella la tierra firme, é antes lo afirmaban ser así: los cuales dichos Marineros é Grumetes son los siguientes, é nombrados en la manera que se sigue: Johan del Barco, vecino de Palos, Marinero: Moron, vecino de Moguer: Francisco de Lepe, vecino de Moguer: Diego Beltran, vecino de Moguer: Domingo Ginoves: Estefano Veneciano: Juan de España Vizcaino: Gomez Calafar, vecino de Palos: Ramiro Perez, vecino de Lepe: Mateo de Morales, vecino de S. Juan del Puerto: Gonzalo Vizcaino, Grumete: Alonso de Huelva, vecino dende, Grumete: Francisco Ginoves, vecino de Córdoba: Rodrigo Molinero, vecino de Moguer: Rodrigo Calafar, vecino de Cartaya: Alonso Niño, vecino de Moguer: Juan Vizcaino.

“Item: Bartolomé Perez, vecino de Rota, Piloto de la carabela de San Juan, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho, que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acabada de andar: y que veia agora que la tierra firme tornaba al Sur Sudueste y al Suest y Est, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra-firme: antes lo afirmaba y lo defendería que es la tierra firme y no isla, y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde trata gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: Alonso Perez Roldan, vecino de Málaga, Maestre de la dicha carabela de S. Juan, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho, que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acababa de andar, y que veía agora que la tierra-firme tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suest y Est, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra firme, antes lo afirmaba y lo defendería ques la tierra firme y no isla, y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde tratan gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: Alonso Rodriguez, vecino de Cartaya, Contramaestre de la dicha carabela S. Juan, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho, que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acabada de andar, y que veía agora que la tierra-firme tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suest y Est, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra firme, antes lo afirmaba y lo defendería qués la tierra firme y no isla, y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde tratan gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: todos los Marineros é Grumetes, é otras personas que en la dicha carabela de S. Juan estaban, que algo se les entendia de la mar, dijeron á una voz todos publicamente, é cada uno de por sí, para el juramento que habian hecho, que aquella era la tierra-firme, porque nunca habian visto isla de trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa y aun no acabada de andar; y que ciertamente no tenian dubda dello ser aquella la tierra-firme, antes lo afirmaban ser así: los cuales dichos Marineros é Grumetes son los siguientes, é nombrados en la manera que se sigue: Johan Rodriguez, vecino de Ciudad-Rodrigo, Marinero: Sebastian de Ayamonte, vecino dende, Marinero: Diego del Monte, vecino de Moguer, Marinero: Francisco Calvo, vecino de Moguer, Marinero: Juan Dominguez, vecino de Palos, Marinero: Juan Albarracin, vecino del Puerto de Santa María, Marinero: Nicolas Estefano, Mallorquin, Tonelero: Cristóbal Vivas, vecino de Moguer, Grumete: Rodrigo de Santander, vecino dende, Grumete: Johan Garces, vecino de Beas, Grumete: Pedro de Salas, Portuguese, vecino de Lisboa, Grumete: Hernand Lopez, vecino de Huelva, Grumete.

“Item: Cristóbal Perez Niño, vecino de Palos, Maestre de la carabela Cardera, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho, que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acabada de andar; y que veía agora que la tierra firme tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suest y Est, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra-firme, antes lo afirmaba y lo defendería qués la tierra firme é no isla, y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde tratan gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo &c.

“Item: Fenerin Ginoves, Contra-maestre de la dicha carabela Cardera dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho, que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á

Levante, y aun no acabada de andar; y que veía agora que la tierra-firme tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suest y Est, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese la tierra firme antes lo afirmaba y lo defendería qués la tierra firme é no isla; y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde tratan gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: Gonzalo Alonso Galeote, vecino de Huelva, Marinero de la dicha carabela Cardera, dijo que para el juramento que habia hecho, que nunca oyó ni vido isla que pudiese tener trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa de Poniente á Levante, y aun no acabada de andar; y que veía agora que la tierra firme tornaba al Sur Suduest y al Suest y Est, y que ciertamente no tenia dubda alguna que fuese tierra-firme, antes lo afirmaba y lo defendería qués la tierra-firme é no isla, y que antes de muchas leguas, navegando por la dicha costa, se fallaria tierra adonde tratan gente política de saber, y que saben el mundo, &c.

“Item: todos los Marineros é Grumetes, é otras personas que en la dicha carabela Cardera estaban, que algo se les entendia de la mar, dijeron á una voz todos públicamente é cada uno por sí, que para el juramento que habian hecho que aquella era la tierra firme, porque nunca habian visto isla de trescientas treinta y cinco leguas en una costa, y aun no acabada de andar; y que ciertamente no tenian dubda dello ser aquella la tierra-firme, antes lo afirmaban ser así; los cuales dichos Marineros é Grumetes son los siguientes, é nombrados en la manera que se sigue: Juan de Jerez, vecino de Moguer, Marinero: Francisco Carral, vecino de Palos, Marinero: Gorjon, vecino de Palos, Marinero: Johan Griego, vecino de Génova, Marinero: Alonso Perez, vecino de Huelva, Marinero: Juan Vizcaino, vecino de Cartaya, Marinero: Cristóbal Lorenzo, vecino de Palos, Grumete: Francisco de Medina, vecino de Moguer, Grumete: Diego Leal, vecino de Moguer, Grumete: Francisco Niño, vecino de Palos, Grumete: Tristan, vecino de Valduerna, Grumete.

“Testigos que fueron presentes á ver jurar á todos é á cada uno por sí de los suso dichos, segund y en la manera que de suso se contiene, Pedro de Terreros, Maestre-sala del dicho Señor Almirante; é Iñigo Lopez de Zuñiga, trinchante, criados del dicho Señor Almirante; é Diego Tristan, vecino de Sevilla; é Francisco de Morales, vecino de Sevilla, &c.

“En la cibdad Isabela, Miercoles catorce dias del mes de Enero, año del Nascimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesucristo de mil cuatrocientos noventa y cinco años, el dicho Señor Almirante mandó á mí Diego de Peñalosa, Escribano de Cámara del Rey é de la Reina, nuestros Señores, é su Notario público en la su Corte é en todos los sus Reinos é Señoríos, que catase los registros é protocolos de Fernand Perez de Luna, Escribano público del número de la dicha cibdad, defunto que Dios haya, que en mi poder habian quedado por virtud de un mandamiento por el dicho Señor Almirante á mí el dicho Diego de Peñalosa dado, firmado de su nombre, para que yo pudiese sacar de los dichos registros é protocolos cualquier escritura que á mí fuese demandada autorizadamente; por el cual dicho mandamiento yo fui requerido por parte del dicho Señor Almirante mirarse los dichos registros é

protocolos del dicho Fernand Perez de Luna, en los cuales fallaria el dicho requerimiento que aquí en esta dicha escriptura va declarado, é ge lo diese firmado é signado con mi signo en pública forma en manera que faga fé, por cuanto se entiende aprovechar dél en algun tiempo que le convenga. E yo Diego de Peñalosa, Escribano suso dicho, por virtud del dicho mandamiento que del dicho Señor Almirante tengo para sacar cualesquier escripturas en limpio, autorizadamente, que hayan pasado ante el suso dicho Fernand Perez de Luna, Escribano defunto que Dios haya, que en mi poder estan, lo fice escrebir é saqué en limpio é conforme, é signé de mi signo á tal. En testimonio de verdad.

DIEGO DE PEÑALOSA."

[Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 143.]

INFORMATION AND TESTIMONY, ETC.

"On the caravel *Niña*,¹ which is named *Santa Clara*, Thursday, June 12, in the year of the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1494, the Most Magnificent Lord, Don Christopher Columbus, High Admiral of the Ocean-Sea, Vice-Roy and perpetual Governor of the Island of San Salvador, and of all the other islands and continental land of the Indies, discovered and to be discovered, for the King and for the Queen, our Lords, and their Captain-General of the sea,—required me, Fernand Perez de Luna, one of the Public Notaries of the City of Isabella, on the part of their Highnesses: that inasmuch as he had left the said City Isabella with three caravels to come and discover the continental land of the Indies, although he had already discovered part of it on the other voyage which he had first made here the past year of the Lord 1493, and had not been able to learn the truth in regard to it: because although he travelled a long distance beside it, he had not found persons on the seacoast who were able to give a trustworthy account of it, because they were all naked people who did not possess property of their own nor trade, nor go outside their houses, nor did others come to them, according to what he learned from them: and on this account he did not declare affirmatively that it was the continental land, except that he pronounced it doubtful, and had named it *La Juana* in memory of the Prince Don Juan, our Lord: and now he left the said city of Isabella the 24th day of the month of April and came to seek the land of the said *Juana* nearest to the island of Isabella, which is shaped like a triangle extending from east to west, and the point is the eastern part, twenty-two leagues from Isabella: and he followed its coast from the east to the west in order to go to a large island which the Indians called Jamaica, which he found after having gone a long distance, and he named it *La Isla de Santiago*, and went along all its coast from East to West, and afterwards returned to the continental land, which he called *La Juana*, to the place which he had left: and he followed the coast of *La Juana* to the west many days, so that he said that according to his navigation he passed 335 leagues from the time he commenced to enter it until the present time, on which

¹ Notwithstanding the repetition of the several certificates, we have thought it well to present this document in its entirety, as it records the names and stations of the first explorers of Cuba.

journey he perceived many times and pronounced this to be continental land, by its formation and the information he had in regard to it, and the name of the people of the Provinces, especially the Province of Mango: and now, after having discovered an infinite number of islands, of which nobody has been able to count the whole, and arrived here at a settlement, he took some Indians, who told him that the coast of this land extended to the west more than twenty days' journeys, nor did they know if it ended there: that from the place at which he had arrived, he determined to go somewhat farther onward, in order that all the persons who came in these ships, among whom there are Masters of charts of navigation and very good Pilots, the most famous that he could select in the great armada which he brought from Castile; and in order that they might see how very great this land is, and that from here the coast extends onward to the south, as he told them, he went four days farther forward that all might be very certain that it was continental land, because in all these islands and lands there are no people by the sea, except naked people who live by fishing, and never go inland, nor know what the world is, nor anything about it at four leagues distance from their houses; and they believe that there is nothing in the world save islands, and are a people who have no law nor doctrine, save to be born and to die, nor have they any knowledge that they may be able to know of the world: and in order that, after having finished the said voyage, no one might have cause, with malice, to speak ill of, and belittle the things which merit great praise, the said Lord Admiral required me, the said Notary, as recited above, on the part of their Highnesses, to go personally with good witnesses to each one of the said three caravels and publicly require the Master and company, and all the other people upon them, to say whether they had any doubt that this land was the mainland of the commencement of the Indies and the end to whomever in these parts might wish to come to Spain by land: and that if they had any doubt or knowledge in regard to it, that I should beg them to make it known, because then he would remove the doubt and would show them that this is certain and that it is the continental land. And I complied with the request in this manner, and publicly required here in the Caravel *Niña* of the Master and Company, who are the persons I shall name below, each one by his name and of what place he is a citizen, and in the same manner in the other two caravels aforesaid, I required of the Masters and company, and I thus declared it to them before the witnesses named below: everything in the manner that the said Lord Admiral had required it of me, I required of them; and I placed them under a penalty of 10,000 maravedis and the cutting out of the tongue for every time that each one hereafter should say contrary to what they should now say: and if it shall be a ship's boy or a person of such condition, that he should be given one hundred lashes and have his tongue cut out: and every one having been thus required in all the three said caravels, each one by himself with great care, the Pilots, and Masters and Mariners looked at their navigator's charts, and considered and said as follows:

“Francisco Niño, citizen of Moguer, Pilot of the caravel *Niña*, said that by the oath he had taken, he did not hear of or see an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther: and that he saw now that the land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-west and west, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather, he affirms it, and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island, and that before many leagues, in sailing along the said coast, land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence, who trade and who know the world, etc.

“Item: Alonso Medel, citizen of Palos, Master of the caravel *Niña*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of or saw an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther than that: and that he saw now that the land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-west and west, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island, and that before many leagues in sailing along the said coast, land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence, who trade and who know the world, etc.

“Item: Johan de la Cosa, citizen of the Puerto de Santa Maria, Master of chart-making, Mariner of the said caravel *Niña*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of nor saw an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther: and that he saw now that the land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-west and west, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island: and that before many leagues, in sailing along the said coast, a land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence, who trade and who know the world, etc.

“Item: all the Mariners and ship’s boys, and other persons who were in the said caravel *Niña*, who understood something in regard to the sea, all said with one voice publicly, and each one for himself, that by the oath he had taken, that that was the continental land, because they never saw an island having 335 leagues on one coast, and which extended still farther than that: and that certainly they had no doubt of its being the continental land, and rather they affirmed it to be so: which said Mariners and ship’s boys are the following, and named in the following manner: Johan del Barco, citizen of Palos, Mariner: Moron, citizen of Moguer: Francisco de Lepe, citizen of Moguer: Diego Beltran, citizen of Moguer: Domingo Ginoves: Estefano Veneciano: Juan de España Vizcaino: Gomez Calafar, citizen of Palos: Ramiro Perez, citizen of Lepe: Mateo de Morales, citizen of S. Juan del Puerto: Gonzalo Vizcaino, ship’s boy: Francisco Ginoves, citizen of Cordova: Rodrigo Molinero, citizen of Moguer: Rodrigo Calafar, citizen of Cartaya: Alonso Niño, citizen of Moguer: Juan Vizcaino.

“Item: Bartholomew Perez, citizen of Rota, Pilot of the caravel *San Juan*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of nor saw an

island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther: and that he saw now that the continental land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-east and east,¹ and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island, and that before many leagues, in sailing along the said coast, a land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence, who trade and who know the world, etc.

"Item: Alonso Perez Roldan, citizen of Málaga, Master of the said caravel *S. Juan*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of nor saw an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther: and that he saw now that the continental land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-east and east, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island, and that before many leagues in sailing along the said coast, a land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence who trade and who know the world, etc.

"Item: Alonso Rodriguez, citizen of Cartaya, Boatswain of the said caravel *S. Juan*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of nor saw an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther: and that he saw now that the continental land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-east and east, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island, and that before many leagues in sailing along the said coast, a land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence, who trade and who know the world, etc.

"Item; all the Mariners and ship's boys and other persons who were in the said caravel *S. Juan*, who understood something in regard to the sea, all said with one voice publicly, and each one for himself, by the oath which they had taken, that that was continental land, because they never had seen an island of 335 leagues on one coast, and which extended still farther than that: and that certainly they had no doubt of its being continental land, rather they affirmed it to be so: which said Mariners and ship's boys are the following, and named in the following manner: Johan Rodriguez, citizen of Ciudad-Rodrigo, Mariner: Sebastian de Ayamonte, citizen of Ciudad-Rodrigo, Mariner: Diego del Monte, citizen of Moguer, Mariner: Francisco Calvo, citizen of Moguer, Mariner: Juan Dominguez, citizen of Palos, Mariner: Juan Albarracin, citizen of Puerto de Santa Maria, Mariner: Nicolas Estefano, Mallorquin, Cooper: Cristóbal Vivas, citizen of Moguer, ship's boy: Rodrigo de Santander, citizen of Moguer, ship's boy: Johan Garces, citizen of Beas, ship's boy: Pedro de Salas, Portuguese, citizen of Lisbon, ship's boy: Hernand Lopez, citizen of Huelva, ship's boy.

¹ So in original, but, of course, an error of Navarrete's.

“Item: Cristóbal Perez Niño, citizen of Palos, Master of the caravel *Cardera*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of nor saw an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther: and that he saw now that the continental land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-east and east, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island, and that before many leagues in sailing along the said coast a land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence, who trade and who know the world, etc.

“Item: Fenerin Ginoves, Boatswain of the said caravel *Cardera*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of nor saw an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther, and that he saw now that the continental land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-east and east, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island: and that before many leagues, in sailing along the said coast, a land would be found where there are civilised people of intelligence who trade and who know the world, etc.

“Item: Gonzalo Alonso Galeote, citizen of Huelva, Mariner of the said caravel *Cardera*, said that by the oath he had taken, that he never heard of nor saw an island which could have 335 leagues on one coast from west to east, and which extended still farther: and that he saw now that the continental land turned to the south-south-west and to the south-east and east, and that certainly he had no doubt whatever that it was continental land: rather he affirmed it and would maintain that it is continental land and not an island, and that before many leagues in sailing along the said coast, a land would be found where there are civilized people of intelligence, who trade and who know the world, etc.

“Item: All the Mariners and ship’s boys, and other persons who were in the said caravel *Cardera*, who understand something in regard to the sea, all said with one voice publicly, and each one for himself, that by the oath they had taken that that was the mainland, because they had never seen an island of 335 leagues on one coast, and which extended still farther than that: and that certainly they had no doubt of its being the continental land, rather they affirmed it to be so: which said Mariners and ship’s boys are the following, and named in the following manner: Juan de Jerez, citizen of Moguer, Mariner: Francisco Carral, citizen of Palos, Mariner: Gorjon, citizen of Palos, Mariner: Johan Griego, citizen of Genoa, Mariner: Alonso Perez, citizen of Huelva, Mariner: Juan Vizcaino, citizen of Cartaya, Mariner: Cristóbal Lorenzo, citizen of Palos, ship’s boy: Francisco de Medina, citizen of Moguer, ship’s boy: Diego Leal, citizen of Moguer, ship’s boy: Francisco Niño, citizen of Palos, ship’s boy: Tristan, citizen of Valduerna, ship’s boy.

“The witnesses who were present to see all of the aforesaid sworn, and

each one by himself, according to, and in the manner contained above, Pedro de Terreros, Boatswain of the said Lord Admiral: and Inigo Lopez de Zuniga, Carver, Servants of the said Lord Admiral: and Diego Tristan, citizen of Seville: and Francisco de Morales, citizen of Seville, etc.

"In the city of Isabella, Wednesday, January 14, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1495, the said Lord Admiral ordered me, Diego de Peñalosa, Clerk of the Court of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, and their Notary Public in their Court and in all their realms and seigniories to investigate the registers and protocols of Fernand Perez de Luna, one of the public notaries of the said city, defunct,—whom God have in His keeping—which had remained in my possession by virtue of an order given by the said Lord Admiral to me, the said Diego de Peñalosa, signed with his name, in order that I could copy from the said registers and protocols whatever writing might be demanded of me authoritatively: by which said order, I was required on the part of the said Lord Admiral to search the said registers and protocols of the said Fernand Perez de Luna, in which I would find the said requisition which is declared in this said writing, and should give it to him signed and sealed with my seal in public form, in a manner which shows it to be valid, inasmuch as he intends to make use of it at some suitable time. And I, Diego de Peñalosa, the aforesaid Notary, in virtue of the said order which I hold from the said Lord Admiral to copy clearly and authoritatively, any writings which may have passed before the aforesaid Fernand Perez da Luna, defunct notary—whom may God have in His keeping—which are in my possession, caused them to be written and clearly and conformably copied and my signature to be affixed to same. In witness of the truth.

DIEGO DE PEÑALOSA."

CHAPTER LXXXIV

ILLNESS OF THE ADMIRAL

THE Indian who had been retained by order of the Admiral also told him that all the coast on that side of the island where they were was very low and filled with many islands and shoals. This information the Admiral accepted, since his own observation confirmed it to be true, and accordingly, as the navigation was dangerous and as his provisions were failing, he decided to return to Española and continue the building of the city Isabella, the condition of the colony being a source of anxiety to him by day and by night. To replenish his store and to fill his casks he sailed to an island some thirty leagues in circumference, to which he gave the name of l'Evangelista and which Las Casas says was afterwards called Isla de Pinos.¹ Friday, June 13, 1494, the Admiral turned to the south to seek an escape from a group of islands which seemed to encompass him. After many days of intricate windings he returned to the island of Evangelista. On Wednesday, June 25, 1494, he made another attempt to depart, sailing in a north-westerly direction, passing through seas strangely coloured, the first green and white, the second white, and the third blackish like ink, the last condition marking his way until he drew near to Cuba. These mysterious seas frightened the sailors and men and they feared lest they should be lost, regarding as evil portents the dark and angry waters. We find the Admiral on Monday, June 30, 1494, coasting the south side of Cuba to the eastward, and while he was engaged in the very act of transferring to his *Journal* the

¹ This is the Isle of Pines of to-day, fifty miles south of Cuba, to which it belongs. It contains some six hundred square miles, its length being sixty miles and its greatest breadth fifty-six miles. It is exceedingly picturesque, with lofty mountains and extensive plains, and its numerous bays afford safe refuge for ships.

account of his day's experience, his ship grounded on the sand, from which it was drawn off with difficulty. A few days afterward he found himself again in the region of *Jardin de la Reina*, opposite which he landed on the soil of Cuba, on Monday, July 7, 1494, and had mass said. There came to the Spaniards at this time and as a witness to their pious act an aged cacique who sat himself down by Columbus and began to address him. He told the latter that the coming of the Europeans had greatly frightened his own people and he then proceeded, according to Las Casas, to make an exposition of his views concerning the future state, describing a heaven good enough for the best of men, saying that in the other life there were two places where the souls go when they leave the bodies,—the one evil and full of shadows, guarded by those who disturb and do harm to the sons of men: the other place is full of joy and goodness, to which go those who while on the earth love peace and practise virtue, and that therefore, believing after death recompenses are made according to the deeds done in the body, one should do no evil or injury to those who have committed no injury against him. The cacique added that, observing the postures and actions of the Spaniards participating in the service of the mass, the worship seemed to him good. His eyes had never seen the tables of stone nor had his ears heard the beatitudes, but unto his simple nature there had come a light separating him from the heathen and he had uttered as sound a faith as any formulated by the schools. This cacique told the Admiral that he had been on both the island of Española and Jamaica and also on the island of Cuba and that the Lord of that region wore the garments of a priest. Las Casas tells us that in turn the Admiral, pleased with the oration of the old cacique, revealed to him his own conception of the soul and its voyaging: that souls live for ever and that after this life the evil souls go to a bad place which was called *Inferno*, and the pious to a good place which the Christians call *Paradise*: that he was greatly pleased to learn that he—the cacique—and the people of that land had so clear a knowledge of the things of the other world, and that he wished him to know that he was sent by some great Sovereigns, rich and powerful, his Lords, who were Lords of the realm of Castile, in order to investigate and to study these new lands for the single purpose of ascertaining if there were any

there who did evil to others, since he had heard it said that there were some in those seas who were called Caribs or Cannibals, who did evil to their neighbours, and that he had come in order to restrain such from their evil ways and to defend and do honour to those who were good and to endeavour to have all live at peace without doing injury to others. The aged chief having admired all this speech and having been made the recipient of some costly pieces of broken glass and rare hawk's bells, kneeled down and expressed his belief that such good men must surely have come from heaven.

On Wednesday, July 16, 1494,¹ in the midst of a severe storm, the Admiral started to go to the Cabo de Sancta Cruz, on the south coast of Cuba, during which journey his ships suffered much from the violent handling of the winds and waves. By this time the provisions had been reduced to a pint of wine and a pound of rotten biscuit, and the expedition was dependant on the fish they might take for food. While the sailors and crew all suffered, the Admiral suffered most of all. In a letter to the Sovereigns² Columbus says that he was subject to the same conditions as governed the others and that he hoped it was all for the glory of God and the Sovereigns, but that so far as regarded his own interests, never again would he give himself to such peril and suffering since there was not a day in which they all were not in danger of losing their lives. The Indians here welcomed the Spaniards and gave them liberally of their cassava-bread and other foods. The expedition remained two or three days at the Cabo de Sancta Cruz, refreshing the sailors. The winds were still contrary, so that he could not go to Española, and therefore, taking advantage of the wind's course on Tuesday, July 22, 1494, the Admiral went over to the island of Jamaica, following the coast to the westward. The beauty of the island greatly impressed the Admiral and he was pleased to find from league to league settlements of kindly disposed Indians who eagerly and generously supplied the wants of the visitors with food and drink, as if, says Las Casas, the Indians were fathers and the Spaniards were sons. The food was the best the Spaniards had yet found. As evening fell, about the

¹ Las Casas fixes June 18, 1494, as the date of his arriving again at the Cabo de Sancta Cruz.

² Ferdinand says that this was what the Admiral wrote in his *Itinerary* or *Journal*.

hour of vespers a shower generally came up and the Admiral scientifically attributed it to the dense groves fringing the side of the island, the same conditions having once been true of the islands of the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, until they had become denuded of the trees and shrubs. The harbours were particularly pleasing to the sailors, and one very beautiful little bay with seven small islands¹ pleased the Admiral beyond measure. The Admiral judged the island to be about eight hundred miles in circumference; but, on a later occasion,—his fourth voyage,—he estimated it to be fifty leagues long and twenty wide. Because of the want of provisions and the leaky condition of his boats, the Admiral could not longer explore the island and its coasts, so good weather coming on Tuesday, August 19, 1494, he departed toward the east for Española, naming on his way the most easterly point on Jamaica *Cabo del Farol*, or Cape of the Lantern.² The following day, Wednesday, August 20, 1494, he sighted the westerly end of the island of Española, distant from *Cabo del Farol* some twenty-five or thirty leagues, and gave it the name of *Cabo de Sant Miguel*, and which Las Casas says was in his time called *Cabo del Tiburon*, a name it still bears on the maps. It would seem that the Admiral had not identified this point as a part of Española until a cacique came, calling to him "Admiral, Admiral," and using other words, by which Columbus knew it was that island. On the last days of the month of August the Admiral went to anchor at a small island which, from its resemblance to the sail of a ship, he called *Alto Velo*. This island, says Las Casas, is distant twelve leagues from the island of Beata. The Admiral directed that certain sailors should ascend to the highest point on the island to discover if possible the other two ships which had been lost to view. On their way back to the ships these sailors killed eight sea-wolves and many birds, the sight of men not meaning danger to these innocent animals. It was six days before the two ships rejoined the *Niña*, or the Admiral's ship. The three ships then sailed to the island of Beata, which, says Ferdinand, is distant twelve leagues to the east of *Alto*

¹ Ferdinand says this bay had nine small islands, and that the Admiral called it *Delle Vacche*, the islands probably looking like a herd of cows. By some it is identified with the great bay east of Portland Point, in which is found the port known as *Old Harbour*.

² This has been identified as Point Morant.

Velo.¹ From here they coasted to a beautiful shore where a fertile plain reminded them of the Royal Vega on the other side of the island, the plain being covered by settlements almost contiguous the one to the other.² Las Casas says that this land was afterward called *Cathalina*, after a Cacica, a woman whom the Christians afterward knew as the Princess of that country. The Indians came out in their canoes and reported that they had come from the other side of the island and that all there were well,—news which filled the heart of the Admiral with consolation and joy. Having passed nearly to the present site of San Domingo, he landed and ordered nine men to go across the island to Isabella, which was directly north, and to give news of himself and his company. Pursuing his way eastward, he came to a large settlement, to which he sent the boats for water. The Indians came out to meet them with the appearance of hostility, having arrows tipped with poisonous matter and corks, making gestures as if they intended binding the Spaniards. Their hostility, however, was only feigned, for when the men landed they put aside their weapons and brought food and drink. Las Casas calls this land the province of Higüey. The Indians asked if it was the Admiral who commanded the ships and appeared to repose in him great confidence. According to Las Casas the Indians believed the intruders at first to be strangers, but recognised them on their approaching the shore and he considers that this accounted for their manifestation of peace and friendship. They then continued on their way to the east, when they met with a fish of so remarkable an appearance that it astonished all who saw it. It was nearly as large as a whale, having on the neck a shell similar to that of a tortoise, carrying its head out of its shell, like the protruding head of a turtle; its tail was like that of a tunny-fish but vastly swelled, and at its sides were two great wings as if for flight through the air. The Admiral read in the appearance of this fish the coming of a storm and accordingly with prudence sought a safe harbour. He found this in a channel between the shore and a small island called by the Indians *Adamaney*, later called, says Las Casas, *Saona*, which name it received either

¹ *Isla Beata* is south-west of the *Cape Beata* and the island *Alto Velo* is south-west of the *Isla Beata*. In the wretched French translation of Ferdinand, Beata is said to be twelve leagues west of *Alto Velo*.

² We believe this to be the plain through which flows the river Nisoo, and not the Neybo or Neyva, as some have it.

from the Admiral or from the Adelantado, his brother. The Bishop says many years before the time at which he was writing he had been in this channel or strait and it appeared to him to be nearly two leagues in width. The Admiral entered with the *Niña* at once, but it was some time after when the other ships succeeded in finding refuge there. The night of his arrival the Admiral observed the eclipse of the moon and found that between where he was—the island of Saona—and the city of Cadiz there was a difference in longitude of five hours and thirty-three minutes.¹ On September 24, 1494, the three ships reached the extreme easterly point of Española, to which point the Admiral on the first voyage gave the name of *Cabo de Sant Rafael*. This point is to-day called *El Cabo del Engaño*, while the name of Cabo de Sant Rafael has been given to a point on the north-east coast of the island. From there they went to an island which is ten leagues from the island of Española and eight from the island of San Juan (Puerto Rico) to which the name of *La Mona* was given by the Indians, although Las Casas says it may have been so called from an island of that same name in England.²

Las Casas says that in a letter which he wrote to the Sovereigns the Admiral declared it had been his intention to go to the island of the cannibals to punish them for their wickedness (a statement which is borne out by what the Admiral told the aged cacique) but that the continual labours and vigils by night and by day during the entire period of his absence, at one time when in the region of the dangerous shoals of the Jardin de la Reina going thirty-two days without sleeping, suddenly resulted in his being attacked with a severe sickness. This took the form of what Ferdinand says was something between a pestilential fever and a drowsiness or supreme stupor which totally deprived him of all his forces and senses, so that he was believed to be dying and none believed he would last out the day. On this account the ship hastened to Isabella, where they arrived on September 29, 1494.

¹ The longitude of Saona from Cadiz is $62^{\circ} 20'$ west, while the Admiral made it $80^{\circ} 45'$, an error of $18^{\circ} 25'$, which arose from his table of eclipses.

² This little island lies in the Mona passage (eighty miles wide) between Española and Puerto Rico. It is only seven miles long and two broad. Mona is the ancient name for Anglesea, and what suggested to Las Casas the possibility that the Spaniards were naming islands after English lands is difficult to understand. The name must have been a coincidence.

In chapter lix. of the *Historie*, the title reads:

Come l'Ammiraglio scoprì la partie meridionale della Spagnuola, fin che tornò per l'oriente alla popolatio del natale.

"How the Admiral discovered the southern part of Española, until he returned by way of the east to the settlement of La Navidad."

This is the work of the Italian editor, for certainly Ferdinand knew the difference between the abandoned fort of La Navidad and the settlement of Isabella. Errors like this have made some writers doubtful as to the reliability of the *Historie*, but with the holograph manuscript of Las Casas to act as a verifier and with the light coming sometimes from the Curate of Los Palacios and sometimes from the original documents published by Navarrete, the reader is enabled to reject what appears to be the work of the Italian translator and to repose confidence in what is evidently the composition of Ferdinand himself.

CHAPTER LXXXV

BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS

WHEN his eyes opened and his senses returned to him on arriving at Isabella, Columbus saw bending over him the face of his brother Bartholomew, a most commanding figure in the early history of America, only less conspicuous than that of the Admiral himself and the figure of that other great man, the Apostle of the Indians, Bartolomé de las Casas. Antonio Gallo, in his chapter, *De Navigatione Columbi*, says:

“Bartholomew Columbus, the younger brother of Christopher, having established himself in Portugal, and later in the city of Lisbon, applied himself to drawing maps for the use of mariners, upon which charts he represented all the seas, harbours, coasts, gulfs, and islands. While in Lisbon he witnessed yearly the return of ships which for forty years had been navigating to the western lands of Africa by way of the ocean, discovering new lands and many peoples unknown to previous ages. Bartholomew, enlightened and moved by the tales told him by those who thus returned as one might say from another world, and himself more versed in maritime affairs communicated to his elder brother his reasons and arguments, proving to him that in sailing away from the southern part of Africa and directing his course straight away upon the Ocean-sea, he would surely arrive at continental land.”

This impression of the superior talents of Bartholomew and his earlier conception of a western voyage, influenced both the other Genoese historians, Senarega and Giustiniani, and they incorporated that impression in their works. However, we may accept the statement that Bartholomew had gone from Italy to Portugal and in the city of Lisbon was earning a livelihood by designing maritime charts. Las Casas,¹ who knew both brothers, says:

¹ *Historia*, lib i., Cap xxix.

"Este era hombre muy prudente y muy esforzado, y más recatado y astuto, á lo que parecia, y de ménos simplicidad que Cristóbal Colon; latino y muy entendido en todas las cosas de hombres, señaladamente sabio y experimentado en las cosas de la mar, y creo que no mucho ménos docto en cosmografía y lo á ella tocante, y en hacer ó pintar cartas de navegar, y esferas y otros instrumentos de aquella arte, que su hermano, y presumo que en algunas cosas destas le excedia, puesto que por ventura las hobiese dél aprendido. Era más alto que mediano de cuerpo, tenia autorizada y honrada persona, aunque no tanto como el Almirante."

"He [Bartholomew Columbus] was a very discreet and courageous man and more prudent and astute, as it appears, and of less simplicity than Christopher Columbus: a Latin scholar and well informed in regard to all things, especially in matters of seamanship, and I believe not much less learned in cosmography and in things relating to it and in making or drawing charts for navigation and spheres and other instruments of that art, than his brother: and I presume in some of these things he excelled him, although, perchance he might have learned them of him. He was tall rather than of medium height and was a person of honourable and commanding appearance, although not as much so as the Admiral."

There is still preserved in the *Bibliotheca Columbina* the Latin work of Pierre d'Ailly or Petrus Aliacus, consisting of ten¹ tracts for the most part taken from the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon, and printed as a small folio somewhere about the year 1490 under the title of *Imago Mundi*.² On the margin of one

¹ M. de la Serna, Santander, in his *Dictionnaire Bibliographique* (vol. ii., p. 43) makes no less than sixteen of these tracts, but he gives separate titles to some which evidently are to be regarded as a single imprint.

² This exceedingly rare little book was probably printed by Johannes de Westfalia de Pandebonne, at Louvain, in the Low Countries, where, about 1474, he established the first press in that city. The date of its issue is not determined, Campbell, in his *Annales de la Typographie Néerlandaise*, La Haye, 1874, placing it as early as 1483. It is in folio, Gothic characters, and consists of one hundred and seventy-two folios (the last blank), with signatures /a, kk7/, forty-one lines to a page, with engraved figures on wood. It begins on the verso of folio 1, *Ymago Mundi Incipit*. This tract ends on the recto of folio 40: "explicit ymago mundi a dño Petro de Ayl-liaco Epō Cameracēn de scriptura ⁊ ex pluribus Actorib⁹ recollecta. Anno dñi M.CCCC decio Augusti duodecimo."

Our interest in this Pierre d'Ailly comes from the popular belief that it was reading the *Imago Mundi* which first drew the attention of Columbus to the possibility of reaching the Indies by travelling a western parallel; and the further belief that the work itself was composed at St. Die in the Vosgian Mountains, where, seven and ninety years after, the little work *Cosmographiæ Introductio* was published, and which first suggested a name for the New World. The imaginative reader sees the mysterious cords passing into this little mountain village and connecting these two important events in American history as by divine sequence. We do not believe in either of these sentimental mysteries.

Pierre d'Ailly was born at Compiègne in Picardy in 1350, as appears from the Public Registry of the church at Cambray. His family was obscure, and it is said of him that he acted as under porter of the College of Navarre, but Peter Bayle denies

of the leaves there is found a manuscript note which Las Casas thought to be in the hand of Bartholomew Columbus. Las Casas writes ¹:

"Yo hallé, en un libro viejo de Cristóbal Colon, de las obras de Pedro de Aliaco, doctísimo en todas las ciencias y astronomía y cosmografía, escritas estas palabras en la margen del tratado *De Imagine Mundi*, cap. 8, de la misma letra y mano de Bartolomé Colon, la cual muy bien conocí y agora tengo hartas cartas y letras tuyas, tratando deste viaje:

"Nota quæ hoc anno de ochenta y ocho in mense decembri apulit Ulisboa Bartholomeus Didacus Capitaneus trium carabelarum quem miserat serenissimus rex Portugalie in Guinea, ad tentandum terram, et renunciavit ipse serenissimo Regi prout navigaverat ultra quam navigatum leuche seiscientas, videlicet, quadrocientas y cincuenta ad austrum et ciento y cincuenta ad aquilonem, usque unum promontorium per ipsum nominatum *Cabo de Buena Esperanza*: quem in angelimba estimamus quique in eo loco invenit se distare per astrolabium ultra lineam equinocialem gradus quarenta y cinco, qui ultimus locus distat á Lisboa tres mil y cient leguas. Quem viaggium punctavit et scripsit de leuca in leucam in una carta navigationis ut oculi visui ostenderet ipse serenissimo Regi. In quibus onnibus interfui, etc.²

"Estas son palabras escritas de la mano de Bartolomé Colon, no sé si las escribió de si ó de su letra por su hermano Cristóbal Colon, la letra yo la

this. In 1384 he became Master of this college in Paris. While in this position Johannes Gerson was his pupil. In 1389 he was made Confessor to Charles VI. and Chancellor of the University. In 1394 he was appointed Treasurer of the Holy Chapel at Paris. He was instrumental in having the King of France acknowledge Peter de Luna, Benedict XIII., as lawful Pope, instead of Angelus Corarius, Gregory XII. In 1395 he was made Bishop of Le Puy in Velay, and in 1396 he was promoted to the See of Cambray. He attended the Great Council of the Church held at Pisa, March 25, 1409, and where, by the way, the University of Paris, by the voice of the learned Peter Plaon, seems to have sided against the pretensions of Benedict XIII. He was doubtless present at that interesting occasion, when, on July 1, 1409, Peter of Candia was inaugurated as Pope Alexander V. Peter of Candia was at this time far advanced in years, but in his youth he had been instructed both at Oxford and the University of Paris. The last session of this Council was held on August 7, 1409, when the Bishops were dismissed to their several sees. The purple was conferred upon d'Ailly in 1411. There is no authentic record of his presence at St. Die during the year 1410, when he is said to have written his *Imago Mundi*. As to the date of its imprint, we regard it as certainly subsequent to 1487, since the type used has the fifth style of letter employed by Johannes de Westfalia, and this is not found in any book, so far as we know, previous to 1492. Now, as we know, Columbus was in Spain in 1486, advocating his projects which he had adopted and urged already many years before in Portugal. There is nothing to show that Columbus had this volume with him on his first voyage.

Petrus Aliacus, or Pierre d'Ailly, died on October 9, 1425, while he was Legate of the Holy See in Lower Germany, and on July 9, 1426, his body was deposited in the Cathedral of Cambray, where it was buried behind the high altar.

¹ *Historia*, lib. i., cap. xxvii., p. 213.

² This note occurs on folio 13, found in chapter viii of the *Imago Mundi*. The reader will find the authorship of this note discussed at length in our Chapter cxxiii on "The Handwriting of Columbus."

conozco ser de Bartolomé colon, porque tuve muchas suyas. Algun mal latin parece que hay é todo lo es malo, pero pongoló á la letra como lo hallé de la dicha mano escrito, dice así:

“Que el año de 488, por Diciembre, llegó á Lisboa Bartolomé Diaz, Capitan de tres carabelas, que el Rey de Portugal envió á descubrir la Guinea, y trujo relacion que habian descubierto 600 leguas, 450 al austro y 150 al Norte, hasta un cabo que se puso de Buena Esperanza, y que por el astrolabio se hallaron dese Cabo de la equinoccial 45°, el cual cabo dista de Lisboa 3.100 leguas, las cuales diz que contó el dicho Capitan de legua en legua, puesto en una carta de navegacion, que presentó al Rey de Portugal: en todas las cuales, dice, yo me hallé.’ Por manera que, ó él ó su hermano, el Almirante D. Cristóbal Colon, que fué despues, ó ambos á dos se hallaron en el descubrimiento del cabo de Buena Esperanza.”

“I found in an old book belonging to Christopher Columbus, of the works of Pierre d’Ailly, who was very learned in all the sciences and astronomy and cosmography, these words written on the margin of the treatise *De Imagine Mundi*, chapter 8, in the letter and hand of Bartholomew Columbus which I knew very well and I now have many of his charts and letters, relating to this voyage:

“These words are written by the hand of Bartholomew Columbus: I do not know whether he wrote them of himself or in his handwriting for his brother Christopher Columbus: the writing I recognise to be that of Bartholomew Columbus, because I possessed a great deal of it. It appears that there is some poor Latin and all of it is bad, but I give it literally as I found it written in the said handwriting: it says as follows:

“That in December of the year 488, Bartholomew Diaz, the Captain of three Caravels, whom the King of Portugal sent to discover Guinea, arrived at Lisbon, and brought a report that they had discovered 600 leagues, 450 to the south and 150 to the north, as far as a cape which was named Good Hope, and that by the astrolabe they found themselves at this cape 45 degrees from the equator, which Cape is 3100 leagues distant from Lisbon, which the said Captain says he counted from league to league, placed on a chart of navigation, which he presented to the King of Portugal: I was present in all the circumstances which he relates.’

“So that, either he or his brother, who was afterwards the Admiral, Don Christopher Columbus, or both, were present at the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope.”

Bartolomé Diaz embarked on his memorable voyage to the Cape of Good Hope at the end of August, 1486, and he returned to Lisbon in December, 1487. Christopher Columbus was about this time in Spain, sometimes at Seville and sometimes at Cordova. In the middle of November he was probably with Beatriz Enriques at Cordova. Therefore, if this passage is to be interpreted that either one of the brothers went upon this

expedition it was Bartholomew and not Christopher Columbus. But Bartholomew was in London in February, 1488, and must have been there then some time. He could not well have been at Lisbon late in December. However, the passage, as HARRISSE has pointed out, is susceptible of another interpretation as regards the words *in quibus omnibus interfui* and may be read "in all of which ceremonies"—attending the rejoicings upon the return of Diaz and the reception of his news—"I had a part." Las Casas was familiar with the handwriting of Bartholomew, and he speaks with assurance of this passage on the margin of the *Imago Mundi* as his hologram. In any event, whether the writer was a member of the famous expedition or whether he was simply a spectator of its successful return, we think it was Christopher and not Bartholomew who was present at Lisbon in December, 1487.

In February, 1488, then, we find Bartholomew at London urging upon Henry VII. the patronage of his brother and the equipment of an expedition to attempt the western voyage. We then lose sight of him until we find, after his brother's great success when the latter sent for him to join him and share his fortunes, that he had been for some time, perhaps years, at the Court of France, where he was serving the Regent Anne of Beaujeu (wife of Pierre de Bourbon, Sire de Beaujeu), who was acting for her brother, Charles VIII.¹ He served her rather than the Government and seems to have been engaged in his professional occupation of designing maps.

Bartholomew, as we learn from his nephew Ferdinand, returned to Spain after hearing of his brother's discoveries and early in the year 1494 presented Diego and Ferdinand to the Sovereigns that they might serve as pages to Don Juan, the Prince. On April 14, 1494, Ferdinand and Isabella placed him in command of a fleet of three caravels² with which he departed for Española, reaching there June 24,³ 1494. The Admiral had not seen his brother for many years, but his coming was like the sudden appearance of a third hand and one that was strong

¹ Anne's authority theoretically ceased after 1490, when the young King—born 1470—took the reins into his own hands and suffered himself to be guided by the Count Dunois.

² *Coleccion de documentos ineditos para la Historia de España*, Madrid, 1850, vol. xvi., p. 166.

³ St. John's Day. See deposition of Juan de Molina in above *Coleccion*.

and well armed. We can therefore imagine the relief to his worn spirit and tired nerves when he named him Governor of Española. Ferdinand, in his *Historie*, reports finding a writing in the hand of Bartholomew which gives the dates of his services, both as Captain and as Adelantado:

“ . . . come appare per una memoria, la qual fra le fue scritture io trouai, oue ei dice queste parole. Io ferui di Capitano da' XIII di Aprile del XCIII fino a' XII di Marzo del XCVI, che partì lo Ammiraglio per Castiglia; & all' hora io cominciai a feruir di Gouernatore fino á XXVIII di Agosto dell' anno del XCVIII, che lo Ammiraglio uenne dalla scoperta di Paria: nel qual tempo io tornai a feruir di Capitano fino a gli XI di Decembre dell' anno MD, che io tornai in Castiglia.”

“ . . . as appears by a memorandum, which I found among his writings, where he says these words: ‘I served as Captain from April 14, '94, to March 12, '96, when the Admiral left for Castile; and then I commenced to serve as Governor until August 28, of the year '98, when the Admiral came from the discovery of Paria: at which time I began to serve again as Captain until the 11th of December of the year 1500, when I returned to Castile.’ ”

From the time of their meeting in Isabella until the Admiral's death, this brave, honest, faithful man shared the fortunes, dangers, defeats, and disgraces of the Admiral, and it is now fitting that history should suffer him to share in the honours and glories which to-day illumine the memory of the Admiral.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

SUBJUGATION OF ESPAÑOLA

FOR five months after his return to Isabella the Admiral lay ill of his infirmity. Las Casas declares that the feeling of joy which Columbus experienced at the sight of his brother was mitigated by the pain he felt at the condition of the island, gross abuses having sprung up during his absence in Cuba and Jamaica. Mosen Pedro Margarite, who was a member of the Council and who had been charged by Columbus with the duty of exploring and subjugating the island, after the departure of the Admiral conducted himself improperly and gave so loose a rein to the Spaniards that they indulged in every form of violence and vice. Ferdinand gives us to understand that because of differences between Pedro Margarite and the other members of the Council, the former resolved upon returning to Spain, and the arrival of the three caravels commanded by Bartholomew Columbus afforded him this opportunity. Joining his fortunes to Margarite, Father Buil resolved to return with him, and he in turn was joined by a number of the religiosos of the island. These were all hostile to Columbus, and on their arrival at the Court did their best to inflame public opinion against the Admiral, belittling his work and declaring that there was no truth in the stories of the riches, at least the mineral wealth, of the New World. Their commander thus departed from their midst, the soldiers spread themselves throughout the island, robbing and despoiling the Indians and as individuals and small groups continuing the devastation and wrongs which were the work of the entire force when it was in a compact form under Margarite. The Indians, finding that there was no redress for their wrongs, each cacique acting in his own province, commenced to seek vengeance as

best he might. The Cacique of Maddalena, Guatigana, killed ten Spaniards and secretly set fire to a house in which lay forty sick soldiers. According to Ferdinand, this crime and its perpetrators were punished later by the Admiral, who, although he could not capture Guatigana himself, took some of his subjects and sent them prisoners or slaves to Castile in the ship returning there under command of Antonio de Torres on February 24, 1495. In the same manner other Indians who had been treacherous were shipped off to Spain, and Ferdinand assures us that only the timely arrival of the Admiral and the restraint upon the Indians instituted by him saved many others of the Spaniards from meeting with the vengeance of the Indians. Las Casas says that throughout the island there raged a terrible hatred of the Spaniards growing out of their evil and cruel ways and that four of the kings of the lands were especially resolved on destroying their unwelcome visitors, or on casting them out of the island. These four kings were, Guarionex, Caonabo, Behechio, and Higuanama, and under each of these were seventy or eighty lesser lords all bound to support their King in war. Guacanagari, King of Marien, that province where was situated La Navidad, never had shown the slightest ill-feeling toward the Spaniards, although he had at this very time no less than five hundred Europeans whom he was supporting and sustaining as if, remarks Las Casas, he was their father and they were his sons. Shortly after the Admiral's return from Cuba the King visited him and condoled with him over his illness, assuring him that he had no hand in the hostility which the other kings were manifesting toward the Spaniards. He said that because of this friendly feeling of his toward the Europeans, the other kings were his enemies; one of them, according to Ferdinand, Behechio,¹ had killed one of his wives and the King Caonabo had taken another from him. The King again referred to the misfortune which had occurred at La Navidad and deplored the unhappy fate of the Christians. The Admiral believed his statements and regarded both his honour and fidelity as genuine. Columbus resolved to make an example of those Indians who had acted treacherously and determined on sending an armed force against them. When Guacanagari heard this he offered

¹ Las Casas gives the Spanish form, *Vehechio*, but, for sake of uniformity, we write it as it appears in previous histories.

to accompany him on this errand with a force from his own province. His motives in a measure were personal, since he wanted vengeance and the Admiral promised him the restitution of his wife and redress for his wrongs. The Admiral set out with two hundred foot soldiers, all well conditioned and thoroughly armed, and twenty horsemen, their weapons being muskets, cross-bows, spears, and swords, and the most terrible weapons of all, says Las Casas, twenty ferocious blood-hounds, dreaded by the Indians with only a shade less of terror than that inspired by the swiftly moving and heavy-hoofed horses. On March 24, 1495, with this double force of armed Spaniards and their Indian allies, the Admiral and his brother Bartholomew departed out of Isabella.

Travelling in easy marches, at the end of the second day the expedition reached the Vega, where they found the natives gathered in such a multitude that Las Casas says they estimated there were more than one hundred thousand men. The Admiral now divided his force into two parts, he captaining one portion while his brother commanded the other. They at once attacked the Indians, firing their muskets, discharging their cross-bows, loosening the savage dogs, charging upon them impetuously with their fiery horses, the foot soldiers with their swords breaking the native crowds as if they were so many flocks of birds, ravaging them, says Las Casas, as if they were so many sheep in a pen. The men on horseback destroyed a multitude, the dogs tore the limbs from countless bodies, the guns mercifully killed great quantities, and vast numbers were taken away as slaves. For nine or ten months the Admiral made his way through the island, visiting war on all nations which refused him obedience.

“In this time,” says Las Casas, “the greatest of outrages and slaughters of people were perpetrated, whole villages being depopulated. This was true especially of the Kingdom of Caonabo because of his brother’s warlike attitude and because all the Indians thereabouts were endeavouring to cast out from their country a people so cruel and wicked as the Spaniards. The Indians saw that without any offence on their part they were despoiled of their kingdoms, their lands and liberties and of their lives, their wives and homes. As they saw themselves each day perishing by the cruel and inhuman treatment of the Spaniards, crushed to the earth by the horses, cut in pieces by swords, eaten and torn by dogs, many burned alive and suffering all kinds of exquisite tortures, some of the Provinces, par-

ticularly those in Vega Real, where Guarionex and the Maguana and Caonabo reigned, decided to abandon themselves to their unhappy fate with no further struggles, placing themselves in the hands of their enemies that they might do with them as they liked. There were still those peoples who fled to the mountains and others in remote parts whom the Spaniards had not time to reach and subjugate."

Las Casas remarks that all this he took from letters written the Sovereigns by Columbus, who told them that the Indians had finally been pacified by *force* or by *artifice*, obedience being finally rendered him as Viceroy of their Majesties, and tributes being levied and collected until the year 1496.

Apropos of overcoming the Indians through artifice there is an anecdote told by all historians from the earliest days until the present and which recites the peculiar bravery and fertility of resources possessed by that gallant soldier, Alonzo de Hojeda. It occurred after the Admiral returned to Isabella from his explorations of Cuba and before February 24, 1495, when Antonio de Torres departed with four ship-loads of slaves. Columbus was a party to this trick played upon a brave Indian chief, if we can believe Las Casas, and so far as history may exact a penalty for mean and unworthy methods, the memory of the greatest of men must needs suffer. The Admiral, then, sent Alonzo de Hojeda with nine other well-mounted horsemen to capture by stratagem the powerful and war-like Cacique Caonabo. It is only fair to say, as indeed Las Casas does say, that it was the opinion of Columbus and of all the Spaniards that this Cacique, from his peculiar personality, from his courage and bravery, from his influence over his own and other nations, from his ability and cunning, was a constant danger to the settlements and to the peace of the island. In other words, this Indian Chief would not tamely submit to the cruel treatment of the Spaniards,—therefore he must be conquered by fair means or foul, and, as the sequel will show, he fell a victim to as foul a snare as ever was spread about a brave enemy, and yet over the capture hangs such a bright light of bold and brilliant courage that we find ourselves unconsciously applauding while we utter words of condemnation.

The cavalcade set out from Isabella for the realm of Caonabo. The Indians had long admired the pieces of brass brought by the Spaniards, which they called *turey*, from the native word for

heaven, *turcy*, whence they thought this shining metal must have come, although it seems to us from the accounts we have of their constantly smelling the brass and from the fact that they themselves possessed a much more brilliant metal, that they found their delight in its peculiar odour rather than in its shining quality. Hojeda had taken with him some manacles and hand fetters, very light and highly burnished. Arrived before the King Caonabo, the party was well and hospitably received. The wily Spaniard fell on his knees before the Indian King, kissing his hands and calling upon his companions to do as they saw him. Hojeda then presented the Cacique with these fetters, which he said were the chief and most formal regal ornaments worn by the Sovereigns of Spain on state occasions and which had been made of the famous *turcy* of Biscay. This improvised historical story and the gleaming manacles successfully imposed on the Indian King, and Hojeda proceeded further to spread his net in the very sight of the King. These fetters were a present from the Admiral, as Hojeda said, and the chief recognised the metal as similar to another object which he had long coveted. There hung in the church at Isabella a sweet-sounding bell which the Spaniards had brought with them and which summoned them to daily worship. Often had this King climbed to some hill near the city, where, hidden by the bushes and protected by the falling night, he had heard it call his enemies to vespers. To the Indian it seemed to talk and he longed to have its fascinating tongue tell its story to him and his people. Therefore this object made of the same strange and sounding metal, with its odour so attractive to his sense of smell, was most acceptable. Hojeda then detailed to the King the Spanish method of procedure on state occasions and persuaded him that he should go down to the river and bathe, after which he was to mount upon Hojeda's own horse, wearing the beautiful hand ornaments, in which royal state he should appear before his subjects as would the Sovereign of Castile if this important function were to take place in far-away Spain. His ablutions performed, the victim was ready for the sacrifice. Hojeda placed the fetters on the Chief's hands and lifted him upon his horse in front of him. Then as a bird preparing its flight moves in widening circles, so Hojeda made his horse curvet and prance about the sward in front of the brothers and warriors of Caonabo, and then, at a

preconcerted signal to his men, he put spurs to the swift beast and fled away with his royal prisoner and followed by his troop. The Chief was taken to Isabella and received by the Admiral as a most welcome hostage. Hojeda captured more than the person of the Indian King. He took captive his admiration and knightly respect, and it is said ever after that while the Chief, when before Columbus, refused to imitate the others by rising to his feet and doing him honour, he never failed to acknowledge the prowess and bravery of Hojeda when in his presence by the most obsequious observances.¹

About this time, according to Peter Martyr, the Admiral caused the fortress of La Concepcion de la Vega to be built. This was erected on a hill situated between Isabella and St. Thomas within the province of Cibao. The hill was named Santo Cerro, or Holy Hill. The ruins of La Concepcion still exist, but they are ruins of the town as it was in the middle of the sixteenth century and when it was the chief seat of that region, rather than of the early settlement established by the Admiral. On April 20, 1564, during the celebration of the morning mass the town was totally destroyed by an earthquake. The principal ruins are those of the fort and the old church. The natives believe that great treasures are buried beneath these ruins, but as the stones have been used for building purposes during some three hundred years, it is likely the search for this hidden wealth has been instituted more than once.

The line of fortresses erected by the Admiral and by the Adelantado may be described as follows, depending for our information on Las Casas and Oviedo:

In going from Isabella the first fort in order of distance, though not in the priority of erection, established by the Spaniards was that called *Esperanza*, situated some thirty-six Italian miles from Isabella. It is on the bank of the river Yaquí, guard-

¹ One of the brothers of Caonabo led an army of seven thousand men against the fortress of St. Thomas some time after the capture of the Chief. Hojeda was then in command of the fortress, and when he was reinforced by Bartholomew Columbus, he sallied forth with a few men on horseback and put the great army to flight. They captured one of the brothers of Caonabo, who was afterwards baptised under the name of Diego Columbus. It is of him that the Curate of Los Palacios relates the anecdote that when Columbus was in Spain with this Indian, whenever they passed through a city, he made him wear his magnificent chain of gold, weighing six hundred castellanos. As a castellano weighed 1/50 of a German or Cologne mark, and as one of these marks weighed eight ounces, the six hundred castellanos would equal twelve marks, or ninety-six ounces.

ing the mountain pass called El Puerto de los Hidalgos. Las Casas says it was on the Cibao side of the mountains. The next fort was called Sancta Catherina, situated twenty-four miles to the south-east. Twenty miles distant from Catherina and on the river Yaquí was built a fort called *San Jacopo de los Caballeros*. It was near what was afterward called the city of Santiago. Next to this on the south was built a fort called *Magdalena*, three or four leagues from Santiago. Next, south of this was *La Concepcion de la Vega*, a name also given to the city, which, as we have said, grew up and flourished for seventy years around the site of the fortress. Eight or ten leagues farther south toward the city of San Domingo the Adelantado built a fortress called *Bonao*, on the river Yuna, some sixteen leagues from San Domingo, and which was to guard the mines of St. Christopher.¹

The Admiral had been informed that there were mines of gold in the southern part of the island. This news came to him from the Cacique Guarionex and some of the other natives, who were greatly burdened by the exaction of tributes and who thought to be relieved of this duty if they could direct the attention of the Spaniards to a source whence they might the more easily gratify their lust for gold.² The Admiral decided to send Francisco de Garay and Miguel Diaz with a number of persons and certain Indian guides furnished by Guarionex to search for the mines. Leaving Isabella, they went to *Magdalena* and from thence to *La Concepcion de la Vega Real*. Continuing on their way southward, they reached a pass in the mountains leading them into another vega or plain which was called by the Indians *Bonao*. Wherever they went they were kindly received by the Indians, although, says Las Casas, they considered them to be wicked men,—“*Aunquc los tenian por ombres Infernales.*” From Bonao the guides led them another twelve leagues, three or four of which passed through a swampy district with many rivers and streams, which country was afterward designated *Las Lomas del Bonao*, the Slopes of Bonao. They soon reached a river called Hayna, in which was much gold. The streams which ran into this river were also rich in

¹ Charlevoix calls this also *Bourgade*.

² There is a different story told by Oviedo (*Hist. Ind.*, decad. i., liber ii., cap. xviii.), which attributes the information about the mines to that Miguel Diaz whose romantic tale we relate in chapter cxxi.

the shining metal and it required but little industry to gather a large quantity. To these mines the Admiral gave the name of *Las Minas de Sant Cristobal*, which name was also applied to a fortress which the Adelantado constructed after the Admiral had departed for Castile. In later times these mines were called the *Old Mines* to distinguish them from those later discovered on the east side of the river Hayna. Las Casas says these mines were forty-five leagues from Isabella on the one side, and eight leagues from the southern coast at the mouth of the river Ozama, where the city of San Domingo was built.

The tribute which seems to have been exacted at this time by the Indians of the provinces of Cibao, Vega Real, and those near the mines, was a Flander's hawk's bell full of gold every three months from each native over fourteen years of age. Manicaotex, one of the caciques, gave each month a one half calabaza ¹ of gold. Those natives in regions remote from the mines were obliged to contribute an arroba ² of cotton for each individual. The Admiral afterwards ordered that there should be cast a brass token with a mark which was changed from month to month or from quarter to quarter and which should be hung around the neck of an Indian to signify his compliance with the tribute exactions. Las Casas says that a failure to wear this token was moderately punished. He records that this attesting badge did not long serve its purpose and we may assume it was soon abandoned.

Notwithstanding the assertions of the Admiral that peace was reigning and a revival of friendliness had come, the Indians were so far from content that many of them abandoned their homes and went to the mountains, in the hope that their neglected fields would starve the Spaniards away from Española. Las Casas here makes the astonishing and we must think exaggerated statement that because of all the wars, murders, sufferings, and sorrows inflicted on the natives, there remained at the end of the year 1495 not more than the third part of the Indian population existing when the Spaniards planted their settlements. The real cruelties had not yet commenced. The destructive agencies were not yet at work.

¹ This measure was equal to three marks of eight ounces each, or in value, according to Las Casas, one hundred and fifty castellanos.

² A Spanish weight of twenty-five pounds.

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CHAPTER LXXXVII

END OF SECOND VOYAGE

Two forces were working in Spain, the one against the Admiral, the other for him. Pedro Margarite and Father Buil had created a strong public sentiment against the Discoverer, declaring that the lands were barren rather than rich, and that the stories of the abundance of gold were false and deceptive. If gold was so plenty as to be had for the gathering, why, with so many hands at his command, had the Admiral sent home such a small quantity? Then, here, before their very eyes, speaking into their very ears, were the men who had themselves been a part of the expedition, and they announced the poverty of the land and the practical failure of the colony. But fortunately just then there arrived news of the supposed continental discovery on the coast of Cuba, together with samples of gold, of fauna, and of flora. An account was received from Columbus speaking of Cuba as the extremity of Asia, and there came a suggestion of his presence near the rich kingdoms of the East and of an early communication with the Great Khan.¹ While public opinion was thus balancing, the Sovereigns appointed a resident of Seville, a person in their employ, Juan Aguado, to go to Española under their commission. This brief document read as follows:

“El Rey é la Reina.—Caballeros y escuderos y otras personas que por nuestro mandado estais en las Indias, allá vos enviamos á Juan Aguado,

¹ We are inclined to believe that now, as on other occasions, the Admiral's allusions to the Great Khan and his pretended nearness to India were to encourage the Sovereigns in their hope for great riches. Surely there was no single sign—so far discovered by Columbus—to indicate the neighbourhood of Cathay, with countless fleets trading on its shores and magnificent cities at the mouth of every river. The interest of Spain and of the Spanish Sovereigns must be kept fixed on the New World, until he, the Discoverer, should find gold and precious stones in plenty. It was de-

nuestro repostero, el cual, de nuestra parte, vos hablará. Nos vos mandamos que le dedes fé y creencia. De Madrid á nueve de Abril de mil quatro cientos noventa y cinco años. Yo el Rey. Yo la Reina.—Por mandado del Rey é de la Reina, nuestros Señores, Hernand Alvarez."

"The King and the Queen.—Knights and gentlemen and other persons who are in the Indies by our command, we send to you there, Juan Aguado, our *Repostero*,¹ who will speak to you on our part. We command you to give him faith and credence. From Madrid, April 9, 1495. I the King. I the Queen.—By command of the King and of the Queen, our Lords, Hernand Alvarez."

Aguado arrived at Española in October, 1495. The Admiral was away from Isabella making war on the people of Caonabo and Bartholomew Columbus was acting as the Governor. The commission given Aguado did not seem to Bartholomew sufficient to warrant the assumption of the government. Aguado started on horseback, with some foot and horse soldiers for guards, to find the Admiral, but had not gone far before he met the Admiral, who, hearing of his presence on the island, was hastening back toward Isabella. Aguado requested the Admiral to gather the people of Isabella that there might be read to them the Royal Cedula which came from the Sovereigns. From this time on the relations of the two were strained. Aguado, under pretence of his warrant, meddled with all the affairs of the island, a great affront to the Admiral, against whom the newcomer spoke to the disparagement of his authority, offices, and privileges. The Admiral submitted to this treatment with unwonted patience and always treated Aguado as if he had been a person of consequence. Las Casas says he himself had proof of this from many witnesses. It was one of the charges made by Aguado against the Admiral that the latter did not interest himself enough in the orders of their Majesties to take a copy of the Royal Cedula until five months had gone by, when he sent for some notaries to come to his house and copy the document with a formal attestation.

The conflict of authority and the impression spread by Aguado that his own star was rising and that of the Admiral ception, but Columbus reasoned that all was for the good of the world and of mankind, as these riches were to be used for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre and for hastening the coming of the Millennium.

¹ In ancient times in the Royal House of Castile, this official was the head of the department of Reposteria, which was the department for the compounding of sweets and drinks. He was chosen from among the first families in the kingdom.

falling greatly lessened the influence of Columbus. Under these circumstances and harassed as he was by his enemies at home and in Española, the Admiral determined to go back to Spain, especially as Aguado was then returning. The four ships which had brought the Groom of the Chambers were still in port and were made ready for the return voyage. A guard of Spaniards arrived with six hundred Indians to be sent to Spain, but were not yet embarked. King Caonabo, however, loaded with irons, was in one of the vessels. There arose a sudden storm, which Las Casas says the natives called *huracan*,¹ in which these four vessels were completely wrecked. In this frightful hurricane the kingly Cacique, a prisoner and helpless in his irons, perished and thus was spared the humiliation of showing himself at a Spanish holiday.² Columbus now made new preparations for returning to Spain. Here we discover a discrepancy. Las Casas says he ordered built two new ships, one of which was called the *India* and which he himself saw when it arrived in Spain. Ferdinand Columbus says the two ships were the *Niña* and the *Santa Cruz*, "the same two ships with which the Admiral explored the side of Cuba"; but the names of the three ships on that expedition were the *Niña*, *S. Juan*, and *Cardera*. The Admiral delegated his authority as ruler over the island to Don Bartholomew Columbus, creating him Governor and Captain General with full powers to act in his stead. He constituted his other brother, Don Diego, as Lieutenant-Governor, to take the office and powers conferred on Bartholomew if anything happened the latter. He begged the people to obey the brothers, and his brothers he begged to treat well the people, governing them with prudence and justice. He left to be Alcaide Mayor of the city and of the island, a former squire of his, Francisco Roldan, a native of La Torre de Don Ximena, which is near Jaen. This man had been Alcaide and had been intrusted with various offices by the Admiral, in all of which he had given satisfactory service. We are to see later how the Admiral's

¹ Peter Martyr (Book IV., *First Decade*): *Has æris procellas uti Græci tiphones furacanes isti appellant.*—"These commotions of the air, which the Greeks called *tiphones*, the natives call *furacanes*."

² It is while speaking of this misfortune that Las Casas makes reference to the religious garb assumed by Columbus. "And he [Columbus] because he was very devoted to Saint Francisco, clothed himself in grey and I saw him in Seville at the time he arrived from yonder, dressed almost like a friar of Saint Francisco."

confidence was to be abused by this same Francisco Roldan, whose famous rebellion forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Santo Domingo. Before the Admiral was permitted to depart he was to be subjected to one more annoyance. Many complaints had reached the Sovereigns on the part of the people of Castile that their friends and relatives in Española were ill and suffering, incapacitated from work and unable to support themselves and yet who were not permitted by the Admiral to leave the island. Petitions were showered upon them and their favour was besought, so that finally they issued an order directing the Admiral to send home as many as were unfit by reason of ill-health to perform their duties as colonists. But only two small caravels were to sail, and all who wanted to leave could not be accommodated. Juan Aguado undertook to declare who should be the fortunate ones, while the Admiral insisted on his prerogatives as Governor. The latter prevailed and under his authority and leave 220¹—and perhaps more—of the colonists and soldiers and thirty Indians embarked on the two ships, in one of which was Juan Aguado and in the other the Admiral himself. It was Thursday, March 10, 1496, when these ships sailed out of the port of Isabella. The Admiral had planned to go to the Puerto de Plata by water while the Adelantado should go there by land. This port was some seven or eight leagues from Isabella and the Admiral had thought of building a settlement there should there prove to be water and other sufficient attractions. Two streams were found of good water; but Las Casas says the Adelantado reported that there was no water in order that the project already entertained of establishing a settlement at San² Domingo might not be impeded by the building of other and less important stations. He therefore returned by land to Isabella, while the Admiral and his ships went on their way. The winds and the currents were contrary and the vessels reached with difficulty the eastern end of the island called *El Cabo del Engaño*. On Tuesday, March 22, 1496, this cape and the surrounding land were lost to sight, but not content to shape his course across the seas without further fresh provisions, he sailed to the island of Maria-Gallante, which

¹ Ferdinand says in the *Historie* that there were two hundred and twenty-five Christians who were returning at the time to Spain.

² The name "San Domingo" is used to designate the city in distinction from the island "Santo Domingo."

he reached on Saturday, April 9, 1496, where he does not appear to have secured the cassava-bread which he required. On Sunday, April 10, 1496, he sailed to the island of Guadaloupe, where as the Spaniards were preparing to disembark, many women armed with bows and arrows appeared and forbade them to land. The sea being heavy, the Spaniards concluded not to attempt to land, but sent two of the Indians from Española, who swam to the shore through the surf. These told the women that the Spaniards only wanted food and had no intention to do any one harm. The women told them to sail around the island to where their husbands were at work and there their wants would be supplied. The ships skirted the shore, the Indians following on land and constantly firing their arrows at the Spaniards, who were, however, well out of range. Finally the smaller boats went to land, discharging their lombard guns, whereupon the Indians fled to the mountains. The Spaniards entered the native houses, destroying much property and levying on such things as their necessities required. They found here red parrots as large as hens and which were called *guacamayos*. Las Casas says they also found honey and wax, according to the Admiral, but that he himself does not believe they did find these articles. They did find, however, the necessary material and apparatus for making cassava-bread, and both the Spaniards and their own Indians hastened to prepare some of the bread. In the meantime the Admiral sent forty men into the interior of the island to explore its resources. They returned the following day bringing ten women and three boys, one of the women being the Princess of the settlement and perhaps of the entire island. The Admiral, says Las Casas, believed that the women of this island preserved and practised the customs of the Amazons, which in detail have been elsewhere described. The Spaniards tarried in this island for nine days, making much cassava-bread and providing themselves with water and wood. As this island lay on the usual route between Spain and Española, the Admiral did not choose to have the inhabitants entertain hostility towards his people, and therefore he released eight of the women, loading them with presents and gifts. The Princess and her daughter remained of their own will, as Las Casas says the Admiral reported, although the good Bishop remarks that God only knew as to this question of their

free will and as to the feelings of the Indians at the carrying away of their Princess. And now, on Wednesday, April 20, 1496, the Admiral set the course of his vessels for Spain. The winds were still contrary and it was nearly three months from the time they left Española until on June 11, 1496, they sailed into the harbour of Cadiz. Here the Admiral found two caravels and a small vessel ready to depart for Española, loaded with provisions, with wheat, wine, bacon and salted meats, peas, beans, and other things which the Sovereigns had ordered to be carried to the people in the colonies. Reading the letters and documents which the vessels were carrying to him, supposing him to be still in Española, he at once wrote to the Adelantado, telling him what to do, and giving his instructions to Pero Alonzo Niño, Master and Captain of the fleet, he departed from Cadiz on June 15, 1496, and made his way to Seville. Thus ended the second voyage of Columbus.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

AUTHORITIES ON THIRD VOYAGE

THE reader has found in the reproduction of the Spanish Folio Letter of Columbus and in the letter of Syllacius the earliest published accounts of the first and second voyages.

In the *Libretto* will be found the earliest published account of the third voyage. This differs in many particulars from that adopted by historians who have followed Las Casas as the latter is reported by Navarrete. The good Bishop of Chiapas, Bartolomé de las Casas, claimed to have had before him the original papers of Columbus. He was born in Seville in 1474, and at Seville in 1544 he was consecrated a Bishop. He may have had many opportunities to open the iron chest containing a large portion of the Admiral's papers deposited in the monastery of Las Cuevas in Seville, although, as Harris notices, the precaution taken to guard this treasure in sealing the lock and opening it only in the presence of witnesses and by order of the rightful heirs suggests anything but common and free access to the coffer. He easily may have examined the letters and documents preserved at Salamanca and in the public archives at Seville. Las Casas came back from the New World in 1547 and never again went thither. He established himself in the monastery of St. Gregory in Valladolid, where he died in 1566 at the extreme age of ninety-two. His *History of the Indies*, on which he had laboured for eight years in the monastery of the Dominicans at Española, occupied him in the other monastery in Valladolid. He made frequent visits to other cities to gather and consult documents relating to the Indies. Sixteen or seventeen of the important documents given in Las Casas are not found elsewhere. The reader must remember

that while scholars have long had access to the manuscript of the Bishop of Chiapas, his work was published only in 1875. The Spanish Archives at Madrid preserve a copy of Las Casas, not his holograph manuscript, but with corrections in his handwriting and therefore authentic. This is the source of the knowledge we have of the *Journal* of Columbus. At the time of the Columbian Exposition at Madrid in 1892 there was exhibited by its owner, Signor Modesto Martinez Pacheco, of the Academy of Medicine, the original holograph manuscript of Las Casas. This has been collated by Cesare de Lollis, through a trusted agent, with the copy in the Madrid Archives, and the discrepancies compared and corrected. While many of these discrepancies are differences of grammatical construction, a few are important. For instance, in the autographic example of Las Casas, in his account of the third voyage, the point of land which is said to be five leagues from Cape Boto is called *La Punta de Lapa*, while in the copy it is called *La Punta ó Cabo de la Punta de Paria*. The word "Paria" has been fastened to the continental lands opposite and to the westward of the Mouth of the Dragon. This reading makes Columbus say that it was five leagues from the north-west extremity of the island of Trinidad across to the north-east extremity of the continent. But in the copy this north-east extremity of Paria is called in one place *Punta de la Playa*, a name which in the autographic example is given to the spot on the south shore of Trinidad where the men first landed and where the ships were first supplied with fresh water. Thus there is confusion in the mind of the reader as he threads his way through the different accounts. Again, in the autographic example the word *tantas* is found as describing the lands which the Admiral has been permitted to gain for the Sovereigns, and which he says are "another world." The word *tantas* is omitted in the copy, as it is also omitted in the edition of Las Casas first printed in 1875. Certainly, Columbus would not describe the lands of Trinidad or of the islands in its neighbourhood as *tantas*, but, looking toward the south as he crossed the gulf from the point of Arenal, and learning from his men whom he had sent to explore, that immense streams were forcing this sweet water into a basin as great as the Gulf of Paria so that the salted seas could not corrupt their purity, he might well have spoken of lands so vast that they indeed made

another world, and if another, then a new world. Thus, for the first time, the great Discoverer pronounced over the lands vouchsafed him and his Sovereigns the words used ever after,—*Mundus Novus*.

The account of this third voyage is found first in the *Libretto*, the work of Peter Martyr, who had some intimacy with Columbus and with whom he had correspondence. In Navarrete is the letter written to the Sovereigns by the Admiral describing the third voyage; but in neither the *Libretto* nor the letter to the Sovereigns will the reader find the full and interesting relation given by Las Casas. And when to this relation are added the corrections made by the rediscovered original holograph manuscript of the Bishop of Chiapas, the reader may know he has before him the most authentic account of that eventful voyage when the Admiral discovered the southern continental land. There can be no doubt that Las Casas had before him the original holograph *Journal* of Columbus. That it was difficult to decipher is likewise certain. He himself says:

“Y en esto y en otras cosas que hay en sus *Ytinerarios* parece ser natural de otra lengua, porque no penetra del todo la significacion de los vocablos de la lengua Castellana, ni del modo de hablar d'ella.”

“And in this place and in other places in his *Journal* he [Columbus] shows himself a foreigner, accustomed to another language, since he does not entirely understand the signification of the words of the Castilian tongue nor the manner of speaking it.”

The difficulty of deciphering the manuscript led Las Casas to mark many lacunæ and to charge Columbus not so much with illegibility as with ignorance of Spanish. It was not his mother tongue, but it was the language in which he habitually wrote. The Bishop doubtless spoke pure Castilian, and the number of strange words used by a sailor to describe a sailor's life may have made the Admiral's writings difficult to comprehend. Twice Las Casas refers to other authorities than the *Journal* of Columbus in relating the events of the third voyage, as when he alludes to the narration composed by Bernaldez de Ibarra,¹ and again when giving the tradition concerning the naming of the Dragon's Mouth in the Gulf of Paria, he quotes

¹ Bernaldez de Ibarra of the city of Santiago was the secretary to the Admiral on this voyage. When Washington Irving caused a copy of the Fiscal investigation to be made for his use in 1826 the man's name appears as Bernaldo de Haro.

from some writer who says the Admiral remarked that if they escaped from the plight they were in they would escape from the Mouth of the Dragon. The language used here may mean simply *on dit*,—the gossip of the day,—the reference to some epistolary correspondence, or possibly something in the unprinted testimony of some witness at the Fiscal inquiry. We know that portions of his work were written by Las Casas while on Santo Domingo, for when referring to the island of Española he frequently speaks of it as *this island*. For instance, when the three ships separated from the fleet of Columbus off the island of Hierro, he says they started for "*this island*," meaning Española.

Ferdinand Columbus had the holograph *Journal* of his father before him when he wrote, and this will account for the verbal correspondence between the story as told by him and that told by Las Casas.¹ However, the former has not given the detail found in Las Casas. At times he gives matter not found in Las Casas, as when the Admiral sent a small caravel down the Gulf of Paria to see if there was a passage to the north. Ferdinand says the name of the vessel was *Il Corriero*,—*The Courier*,—an interesting but not essential detail.

This third voyage was, after that of the discovery, the most important made by the Admiral. It was undertaken with a high purpose, second only to that impelling to the first discovery. There had been much discussion in Spain and Portugal as to continental lands said to lie to the south of the lands discovered by Columbus, and which the King of Portugal seemed to think lay within his own domain. From the Indians, in the first two voyages, came a common story of great lands to the south where there was gold, and it was to determine this question of the mainlands that the southerly course was taken, following a parallel a little below that of the Cape Verde Islands. The mission confided to Columbus by the Sovereigns would not be completed until these continental lands had been discovered and brought under the banner of Spain, with himself the Vice-

¹ Again we warn the reader to consult the Italian rather than the French edition of the *Historie*. In the latter, Ferdinand reports the voyage frequently in the first person plural, and the use of the personal pronouns is also common, so that it would seem as if some other authority than the *Journal* was before the writer. Until the original Spanish is found, the Italian version must be accepted as the authority for the *Historie*.

roy wielding power and influence, gathering untold wealth and directing its expenditure. As the light falls on this grand character we can understand how, to some writers, it seems to reflect almost celestial light.¹ The face of Columbus is set toward the West, but his heart, his mind, his soul look toward the East; and these voyages of discovery, this perpetual searching for gold and precious gems, the acquirement of islands and continental lands, the conversion of the natives, the incidental labours, trials, and fatigues, all are for what he believed to be the glory of God and the final triumph of His Kingdom. There was to be another attempt to wrest from the Moslem the Holy Sepulchre. His own poor eyes might never see the gathering of the hosts, his ears might never hear the shaking tread of the moving armies; but there was ever present with the Admiral a vision of a new crusade carried on with the purse which he himself was to fill for the Sovereigns from the gold mines of the New World.

¹ The religious enthusiast finds in the purposes of Columbus, and particularly in his revelations of himself through his writings, evidence of his divinely appointed mission, and beholding just that side of his statue, there have been some who have desired his canonisation by the Roman Church. The Count Roselly de Lorgues has led this movement for the recognition of the virtues of the great Discoverer. Indeed, this writer declares than none but one possessed of a pious and reverent spirit is qualified either to judge or to comprehend the character of Christopher Columbus.

CHAPTER LXXXIX

LETTER OF JAIME FERRER

THERE were others of his day and generation entertaining something of the views held by Columbus himself, and as it is particularly pertinent to the story of this voyage, contributing as it did one of the secondary causes of his taking the southern route, we give in full the letter which, at the suggestion of Queen Isabella, a learned and travelled man, Jaime Ferrer,¹—essentially a kindred spirit of the Discoverer himself,—wrote to the Admiral:

“Al muy magnifico y spetable Señor el Señor Almirante de las Indias. En el gran isla de Cibau.

“MUY MAGNIFICO SENYOR: Saturno Rey de Crete, visto que Italia era en el su tiempo mas noble de situ y provincia que de humanas costumbres, por redrezar los pueblos de aquella en virtud, dejó su fertil y potente Reino, y con muchos trabajos de su persona la rustica, inútil y ociosa vida de los italianos, transferió á industriosa plática de vivir. Y qué podemos decir del magnanimo é invicto Caballero Hercules. el cual dejando la deleitosa y politica Grecia con grande ejército, las partes Occidentales con innumerables peligros navegó, y de la protervidad tiránica de Gerion Antheo y otros malos Seniores delibró: y en testigo de su gran virtud se muestran muchas y prósperas Ciudades en nuestra Spanya por él edificadas. Del gran Alejandre mi decir será callar, segun el que sus coronicas recuentan: este Monarche las partes Orientales con incomprensibles penas fambre set y calores sojugo, mas por dar doctrina de humano vivir á sus súbditos, que por avara ambicion de Señoríos. Y cierto, no es de olvidar el Príncipe de caballería, honor y gloria de los latinos, Julio Cesar, el cual extendiendo sus imperiales banderas por el universo mundo, la loable y moral doctrina de Romanosfizoconocer: y despues de esto, recordables caballeros, porque la mayor

¹ Jaime Ferrer was born at Vidreras and lived at Blanes, a seaport town of Spain on the Mediterranean. He was a distinguished geographer, and by occupation a jeweller or trader in precious stones. He is not to be confounded with another Jaime Ferrer, who lived in 1346, or with the Jaime Ferrer born in Mallorca, who lived in 1418 and was said to be employed by Prince Henry of Portugal.

parte del mundo era sin fe, sin la cual el nuestro bien obrar no abasta, plugo al nuestro Redentor mandar por diversas partes del mundo sus obedientes Apóstoles predicando la verdad de nuestra Sancta Ley, y aquella tanto resonó que pugnando por fundar la Fe de los Evangelios hicieron escudo y lanza, y quien bien contempla sus vidas, fambre, set, frio y calor, cierto bien conocerá que en ellos se cumplió lo que dijo la bondad Suprema á sus amigos, diciendo: *Qui vult venire post me, tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*: y por tanto, Senior, si en la vuestra mas divina que humana peregrinacion, gustais qué sabor tiene de sal el pan que en servicio del nuestro Creador se come en esta mortal vida, luego tomad ejemplo de las ejemplares vidas suso dichas, que por cierto en este baijo mundo fama temporal ni gloria eterna no se alcanza asentando en ploma, ni durmiendo ocioso. Yo, Senior, contemplo este gran misterio: la Divina é infallible Providencia mandó al gran Tomas de Occidente en Oriente por manifestar en India nuestra Sancta y Católica Ley; y á vos, Senior, mandó por esta opposita parte de Oriente a Poniente, tanto que por Divina voluntad sois legado en Oriente, y en las extremas partes de India superior para que oyan los siguientes lo que sus antipasados negligeron de la predicacion de Tomas: adonde se cumplió *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*: y muy presto sereis por la Divina gracia en el *sinus magnus*, acerca del cual el glorioso Tomas dejó su sancto cuerpo: y cumplir se ha lo que dijo la summa verdad que todo el mundo estaria debajo de un pastor y una ley: el que por cierto seria imposible si en esas partes los pueblos nudos de ropa y mas nudos de doctrina, no fueren informados de nuestra Sancta Fe: y cierto en esto que diré no pienso errar que el oficio que vos, Senior, teneis vos pone en cuenta de Apostolo y Ambajador de Dios, mandado por su divinal juicio á faser conocer su Sancto Nombre en partes de incógnita verdad: ni seria apartado de razon ni del precepto Divino que un Apostolo ó Cardenal de Roma en esas partes tomase parte de vuestros gloriosos trabajos: pero la gravedad y peso de sus grandes mantos, y la dulzura de su delicado vivir les quita gana de seguir tal camino: y cosa es muy cierta que por esta misma causa y oficio vino en Roma el Príncipe de la Milicia Apostólica con el vaso de eleccion magres y descalzos con sus túnicas rasgadas, comiendo muchas veces solo pan de mal sabor: y si deste oficio vuestro glorioso el anima vuestra algunas veces se alza en contemplacion, asentase á los pies del gran Profeta, y con alta voz cantando al son de su arpa, diga: *Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da Gloriam*.

“Senior, muy cierto es que las cosas temporales *in suo genere* no son malas ni repugnantes á las espirituales cuando empero dellas usamos bien, y á tal fin las creó Dios: esto, Senior, digo porque las grandes cosas que soy cierto aquí se fallarán, tengo esperanza que serán á gran servicio de Dios y bien de toda christiandat, specialmente desta nuestra Spania; y porque, Senior, la Reina nuestra Senora me mandó que yo escribiese á vuestra Senioría de mi intencion: y por esto escribo mi parecer en esta, y digo que la vuelta del equinoccio son las cosas grandes y de precio, como son piedras finas y oro y especias y drogaria: y esto es lo que puedo yo decir acerca

desto por la mucha plática que tengo en Levante, en Alcaire y Domas, y porque soy lapidario, y siempre me plugo investigar en aquellas partes desos que de allá vienen, de qué clima ó provincia traen las dichas cosas: y lo mas que pude sentir de muchos Indos y Arabes y Etiopes, es que la mayor parte de las cosas buenas vienen de region muy caliente, donde los moradores de allá son negros ó loros, y por ende, segun mi juicio, fasta que vuestra Senioría falle la gente tal no fallará abundancia de las dichas cosas; bien que de todo esto vos Senior sabeis mas durmiendo que yo veilando: y en todo, mediante el Divino auxilio, dará vuestra Senioría tan buen recaudo que dello será Dios servido y los Reyes nuestros Señores contentos. De Búrgos á cinco de Agosto de noventa y cinco años. De V. Señoría muy afetado servidor.

JAIME FERRER DE BLANES."

"To the most magnificent and notable Lord, the Lord Admiral of the Indies. In the great island of Cibau.¹

"MOST MAGNIFICENT SIR:—

"Saturn, King of Crete, having seen that Italy in his time was more illustrious by reason of situation and province than by human customs, in order to bring back the people of that country to virtue, left his fertile and powerful kingdom and with many personal hardships changed the rustic, useless and idle life of the Italians to an industrious manner of living. And what must we say of the magnanimous and unconquerable Knight Hercules, who leaving the delightful and polite Greece with a great army, navigated the Western regions with innumerable dangers and encountered the tyrannical arrogance of Geryon, Antaeus and other evil Knights: and in testimony of his great virtue many prosperous cities in our Spain, built by him, are shown. Of the great Alexander my tongue shall be silent: according to what his chronicles recount, this monarch subjugated the regions of the east with incomparable hardships, hunger, thirst and heat, more to expound the doctrine of human life to his subjects, than from a greedy ambition for Kingdoms. And surely, the Prince of Knighthood, the honour and glory of the Latins, Julius Cæsar, must not be forgotten, who, extending his imperial banners over the universal world, made known the laudable and moral doctrine of the Romans. And after these Knights worthy of remembrance, because the greater part of the world was without faith, without which our good works are not sufficient, it pleased our Redeemer to send His obedient disciples to different parts of the world, preaching the truth of our Holy Law; and that resounded so greatly, that fighting

¹ In the Letter to Luis de Santangel the Admiral says, in speaking of the island of Cuba:

"I have already told how I had gone 107 leagues in a straight line from west to east along the seacoast of the island of Juana, according to which itinerary I can declare that the said island is larger than England and Scotland combined, as over and above those 107 leagues there remains for me on the western side two provinces to which I did not go,—one of which they call *Avan* where the people are born with tails."

Navarrete took his copy of this Letter from the public archives of Simancas, and this province is there called *Cibau*. Evidently this was believed to be the important territory whither Columbus had gone, and it is therefore here that Jaime Ferrer addressed his letter.

to found the faith of the Evangels they took shield and lance, and whoever well contemplates their lives, their sufferings from hunger, thirst, cold and heat, will surely recognise that in them was fulfilled that which the Supreme Goodness [Saviour] said to His disciples,—saying: *Qui vult venire post me, tollat crucem suam et sequatur me*. And, therefore, Lord, if in your more divine than human peregrination, you taste what a savour of salt the bread has which is eaten in this mortal life in the service of our Creator, then take example from the exemplary lives aforesaid, because certainly in this lower world, temporal fame and eternal glory are not acquired, sitting like lead or sleeping idly. I, Sir, contemplate this great mystery: the divine and infallible Providence sent the great Thomas from the west to the east to manifest in India our holy and Catholic law; and you, Lord, were sent in the opposite direction from the east into the west, so that by Divine Will you arrived in the east and in the extreme parts of upper India, in order that the descendants may hear what their ancestors disregarded of the preaching of Thomas: where it was provided *in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum*: and very soon by divine grace you will be in the *sinus magnus*, near which the glorious Thomas left his holy body: and the great truth which he told must be fulfilled, which is that all the world should be under one shepherd and one law: which surely would be impossible if in those regions of the world naked of clothing and more devoid of doctrine, they were not informed of our Holy Faith. And certainly in this that I shall say, I do not think to be in error, because the office which you hold, Sir, makes you an Apostle and Ambassador of God, sent by His Divine judgment to make known His Holy Name in unknown regions. Nor would it be foreign to reason and to divine precept that an Apostle or Cardinal of Rome should share your glorious labours in those parts of the world: but the gravity and weight of their great mantles and the pleasure of their delicate manner of living take from them the desire to follow such a course. And it is very certain that for this same cause and office, the Prince of the Apostolic Militia came to Rome, the chosen vessel meagre and barefooted, with his tunic rent, and many times eating only unsavoury bread: and if by this, your glorious office, your soul is sometimes lifted up in contemplation, seat yourself at the feet of the Great Prophet, and with a loud voice, singing to the sound of your harp say: *Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomini tua da gloriam*.

“Sir, it is most certain that the temporal things *in suo genere*, are not evil or repugnant to the spiritual things when however we make good use of them, and for such purpose God created them: I say this, Sir, because I hope the great things which I am certain will be found here, will be for the service of God and of all Christianity, especially of this, our Spain. And because, Sir, the Queen, our Lady, commanded me to write your Lordship of my knowledge: and for this reason, I write my opinion in this matter, and I say that within the equinoctial regions there are great and precious things, such as fine stones and gold and spices and drugs: and I can say these things in regard to this matter, because of the many con-

versations I have had in the Levant, in Alcaire and Domas, and because I am a lapidary and because in those places it always pleased me to seek to learn from those who come from yonder, from what clime or province they bring the said things: and the most I could learn from many Hindoos and Arabs and Ethiopians, is that the greater part of valuable things comes from a very hot region where the inhabitants are black or tawny, and therefore, according to my judgment, when your Lordship finds such a people, an abundance of the said things will not be lacking: although of all this matter, your Lordship knows more when sleeping than I do waking. And of everything, by means of the Divine aid, your Lordship will give such a good accounting that by it, God will be served and the Sovereigns, our Lords, will be satisfied.

“From your respectful servant,

“JAIME FERRER DE BLANES.

“BURGOS, August 5, '95.”

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CHAPTER LXXXX

THE CONTINENT

IT was on this third voyage that the continent of South America was first seen by Europeans. The account of this voyage, found in the holograph example of Las Casas and here closely followed, is most circumstantial. For a moment we will anticipate the order of events to speak of this continental discovery. On the morning of Tuesday, July 31, 1498, the Admiral, who had of late been sailing to the westward, altered his course to the north quarter north-east, thinking to strike Dominica or some of the cannibal islands, and he followed this course until midday. It was then that he again altered his course *to the west*, according to the reference in which Las Casas calls the "digression," being attracted by the coolness of the air emitted by the land, and shortly after, Alonzo Perez of Huelva, the Admiral's servant, from the look-out's cage, saw land to the west, which the Admiral says was "15 leagues distant and that part which appeared were three rocks or mountains." The Trinity had been selected by Columbus on this voyage as his particular protecting Power, and to the Trinity he had early resolved to dedicate the first land discovered. To such a nature as that governing and controlling the Admiral, the sudden appearance of three mountains united at the base—*three in one*—must indeed have seemed miraculous. In the geographical nomenclature of Trinidad these three mountains are to-day called the Trinity Hills or the Three Sisters. He sailed on, steering now south-west, making for a high point of land, which he called Cabo de la Galera,¹ from its resemblance to a ship

¹ This is now called *Punta Galeota*. In some way the name *Punta Galera* got down on the early maps as the north-east end of Trinidad, a point of land never seen by the Admiral, since, when he went out of the Gulf of Paria, he sailed to the westward.

sailing. He reached this at nine o'clock in the evening. This point was seven leagues to the south-westward of the locality in which he found himself when the three rocks first came into view. On Wednesday, August 1, 1498,¹ he ran down the coast westwardly for five leagues, where he anchored and took water. This place Las Casas says he believes Columbus called "Punta de la Playa." From here he saw toward the south another island distant more than twenty leagues, to which he gave the name of "Ysla Sancta."² In the letter to the Sovereigns no mention is made of his having seen land to the south. Ferdinand Columbus, in the *Historie*, repeats the version given by Las Casas, which was natural, since both derived their facts from the same source, — the holograph *Journal* of Columbus. If Columbus really saw this land to the south, he then and there discovered the continental land of South America, and this discovery occurred on August 1, 1498. The mainland near the Serpent's Mouth is extremely low, and it is doubtful if Columbus could have seen it from the shore of Trinidad, but he might have been cruising around to the south near enough to distinguish land, and, indeed, we must accept his statement, since he actually baptised the land *Ysla Sancta*. Moreover, the ever-careful Humboldt asserts that the mainland can be seen, and says that he himself studied facts and situations during a sojourn in the missions of Caripe. However, it was not until he had passed the troublesome Mouth of the Serpent, sailed up the bay to the Mouth of the Dragon, and then, turning and following for five leagues the western coast, that the expedition landed on the continent and took possession thereof, on Sunday, August 5, 1498, with the usual ceremonies. The Admiral himself did not land.³ Both Americus Vesputius and John Cabot preceded him in this honour of continental discovery, and even now when

¹ HARRISSE (*Christophe Colomb*, vol. ii., p. 80) seems to think this landing, exploration, and sight of land to the south all occurred on July 31, 1498, but the land to the South is stated to have been seen on Wednesday, August 1. The French translation of the letter to the Sovereigns does make Columbus say that he made this exploration on July 31. But this letter says nothing about the land to the south.

² Here, again, HARRISSE asserts Columbus could not have seen land to the south, as he declares it to be only low land made of the alluvial deposits brought down by the mouths of the Orinoco.

³ At the time of the Fiscal inquiry one of the important questions was, Did the Admiral himself land? One witness alone testified to the effect that he did. Hernan Perez, citizen of Santo Domingo, deposed that after "this witness landed and brought him news of the land, the said Admiral with as many as 50 men, landed on

fortune or the Trinity had brought him directly to the continental land, he failed, first, to grasp the fact itself in its fulness, calling it the island of Gracia, and, later, to overcome a physical indisposition which interfered with his landing.

Nevertheless, there was then taken possession of in the name of the Sovereigns, not merely an island in the Gulf of Paria, not merely the Gulf of Paria¹ itself, but all that continental land which was to the west of it, including the rich Coast of Pearls which if the Admiral did not actually occupy, was seen by him and his expedition, and was described to him by the natives while yet he was in the Gulf, as lying back toward the west, and along which he coasted in the Ocean-sea until he came in sight of an island he called Margarita, a name suggested by the pearls themselves. It is true it was reserved for Pero Alonzo Niño

the said land of Paria, and took a sword in his hand and a banner, saying that in the name of their Highnesses he took possession of the said province."

Andreas de Corral, another witness, deposed that Pedro de Ferreros, the Captain of the Admiral's ship and *acting for the Admiral*, who could not land on account of his eyes, took possession of the said lands of Paria in the name of the King and Queen. Juan Quintero, citizen of Palos, deposed that he was "among the first men who landed to take possession *for the said Admiral* and place crosses in the name of the King." The Admiral no more landed than did the Sovereigns.

¹ The Gulf of Paria, between the island of Trinidad and the shores of Venezuela, is formed by a depression in turn caused by a subsidence, the long axis of which for one hundred miles runs E.N.E. and W.N.W. The depth of the depression is not great, for the most part not exceeding from ten to fifteen fathoms. Near the channels this depth is increased to twenty fathoms. The area covered is three thousand square miles. The Gulf is connected with the Atlantic Ocean, or that portion of it called the Caribbean Sea, by two sets of channels or Bocas; the one to the southward, between the island of Trinidad and the delta of the Orinoco, was named by Columbus *Boca del Sierpe*, or Serpent's Mouth, and the one on the west and to the northward the Admiral called *Boca del Drago*, or the Dragon's Mouth. These names are retained to this day. The last mentioned mouth really consists of four channels, counting from the east to the west, that is, from Trinidad to the coast of Venezuela,—the *Boca de Monos*, half a mile wide; the *Boca Huevos*, somewhat wider; and the *Boca Navios*, which is not used as a navigable channel; while the *Grande Boca*, the channel nearest the Venezuela coast, is six miles in width. The rise and fall of the tide is only two and a half to four feet, and it is the tidal action on the outside waters affecting the waters of the Gulf which at times makes the passage more like a mill-race than a quiet union of waters. The ebb-tide is joined by the waters of the three thousand miles of shallow inland sea, and they run out of the channel at the rate of ten miles an hour. The force varies according to the season of the year and the floods contributed by the Venezuelan waters. The discoloration of the water due to this disturbance, a pale brownish tinge, is perceptible as far as Granada and Tobago, or more than eighty miles out at sea. There is always a stronger outward flow, even in the dry season, when the strength of the incoming seas would naturally be expected to overcome the strength of the sweet waters of the Orinoco. Those interested in these tidal phenomena would do well to consult the paper prepared by R. J. Lechmere Guppy, Esq., of Trinidad.

and Cristobal Guerra of Seville, in the summer of 1499, to visit the coast west of the Gulf of Paria and gather in plenty the pearls, samples of which Columbus had seen the year before. The expedition of these two adventurers was not a voyage of discovery, but was the result of the tidings which had reached the Old World of this third voyage of Columbus.¹ They sailed directly for the locality described by the Admiral and his followers. It is true that Niño and Guerra took possession of the Pearl Coast in the name of the Sovereigns, and from this it might be argued that it was a primary discovery. Indeed, some of the witnesses at the first investigation deposed that Columbus did *not* discover that coast. The question before the Court was whether the discoveries by Vicente Yañez Pinzón and by Niño in 1499 were original discoveries, or simply explorations of territory seen, discovered, and possessed by the Admiral on his third voyage. By the aid of the description in the following account taken from the Admiral's *Journal* by Bartolomé de las Casas, the reader can follow this important voyage with more than ordinary confidence.

¹ Niño had but one small ship of fifty tons, and the entire company consisted of but thirty-three men.

On this voyage he took "three score and XVI poundes weight (after VIII vneces to the pounce) of perles, which they bought for exchange of our thynges, amountinge to the value of fyve shyllinges," as says Richard Eden in his translation of Peter Martyr.

CHAPTER LXXXXI

NARRATIVE OF THIRD VOYAGE ¹.

MAY 30-AUGUST 31, 1498

"HE started then (our First Admiral), 'in the name of the Most Holy Trinity' (as he says and as he was always accustomed to say) from the port of San Lucar de Barrameda, Wednesday, May 30, 1498, with the intention of discovering new land not yet discovered, with his six ships ² . . . and because war had then broken out with France, he had news of a French armada which was waiting for the Admiral beyond the Cape of St. Vincent, to capture him. On this account he decided to avoid the fleet as they say and make a detour, directing his course straight to the island of Madeira.

"He arrived at the island of Puerto Sancto, Thursday, June 7, where he stopped to take wood, water and supplies and to hear mass, and he found all the island disturbed and all the farms, goods and flocks guarded, fearing that the new-comers might be French ³: and then that night he left for the island of Madeira ⁴ and arrived there the following Sunday, June 10. He was very well received in the town ⁵ and with much rejoicing, because he was well known there, having been a citizen thereof during some time.

¹ The following relation of the third voyage is to be distinguished from the account contained in the letter to the Sovereigns, published by Navarrete, see vol. i., page 242.

The reader will observe the manner in which Las Casas mixes his personal pronouns. This is evidence of itself that he had before him the full *Journal* of Columbus.

² Here is a suppressed passage which in the printed copy of Las Casas appears as follows, even to the change of the personal pronouns: "greatly fatigued, he says, with my voyage, since as I was hoping for some quietude when I left the Indies, I experienced double hardships; they being the result of the labours, new obstacles and difficulties with which he obtained the funds for his starting upon the expedition and the annoyances in connection therewith received from the Royal officials and the hindrance and the evil reports the people around about the Sovereigns gave concerning the affairs in the Indies, wherefore it appeared to him that what he already had done was not sufficient but that he must renew his labours to gain new credit."

³ This reference to the disturbed condition of Puerto Sancto does not appear in the *Historie* nor in the letter to the Sovereigns.

⁴ In the *Historia*, as printed in 1875, in the passage here suppressed, it says that it is twelve or fifteen leagues from the island of Puerto Sancto.

⁵ In the *Historie*, Ferdinand says this town was called *Fonciale*, now the capital of Madeira. This would seem to us to place the residence of Columbus and his wife, Philippa Moñiz.

He remained there six days, providing himself fully with water and wood and the other necessities for his journey.

“Saturday, June 16, he left the island of Madeira with his six ships and arrived at the island of Gomera the following Tuesday. At this island he found a French corsair ¹ with a French vessel and two large ships which the corsair had taken from the Castilians, and when the Frenchman saw the six vessels of the Admiral he left his anchors and one vessel and fled with the other vessel. The Admiral sent a ship after him and when the six Spaniards who were being carried away on the captured ship saw this ship coming to their aid, they attacked six Frenchmen who were guarding them and by force they placed them below decks and thus brought them back. Here in the island of Gomera the Admiral determined to send three ships directly to the island of Española, so that, if he should be detained here, they might give news of him and cheer and console the Christians with the supplies: and principally that they might give joy to his brothers, the Adelantado and Don Diego, who were very desirous of hearing from him.² He named Pedro de Arana, a native of Cordova, as Captain of one ship,—a very honourable and prudent man³ . . . brother of the mother of Don Ferdinand Columbus, the second son of the Admiral, and cousin of that Arana who remained in the fortress with the 38 men whom the Admiral on his return found dead.⁴ The other Captain of the second ship was called Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal,⁵ Governor of the city of Baeça, an honourable gentleman. The third Captain for the remaining ship was Juan Antonio Columbo, a Genoese, a relation of the Admiral, a very capable and prudent man and one of authority⁶ . . . he gave them suitable instructions, in which instructions he ordered that, one week one Captain, and another week another, each by turns should be Captain General of all the ships, as regarded the navigation and the placing of the night lantern, which is a lighted lantern placed in the stern of the ship in order that the other ships may know and follow where the Captain guides. He ordered them to go to the west, quarter south-west, for 850 leagues and told them that then they would arrive at the island of Dominica. From Dominica they should go west-north-west and they would then reach the island of Sant Juan, and it would be the southern part of it, because that was the direct way to go to the New Isabella. . . . Having passed the island of Sant Juan,⁷ they should leave the island of Mona to the north and from

¹ Herrera, dec. i., lib. iii., cap. ix., says that it was a Portuguese fleet.

² Ferdinand, in the *Historie*, omits this reference to the brothers of the Admiral.

³ The passage here suppressed and found in the *Historia* makes Las Casas say, “whom I knew very well.”

⁴ Ferdinand simply mentions that Pedro de Arana was a cousin of that Arana who died in Española. As the reader knows, we make the number of men left on Española at La Navidad, including the three officers, forty-three.

⁵ In the copy of Las Casas and the printed edition this man is called “Carabajal.”

⁶ In the printed edition Las Casas is made to say in this suppressed passage, “with whom I had frequent conversation.”

⁷ The island of Sant Juan is our Puerto Rico, discovered by Columbus on his second voyage. He named it S. Juan Bautista, and the natives called it *Burenquen*.

there they should make for the point of this Española, which he called Sant Raphael ¹ . . . from there to Saona, which he says makes a good harbour between it and this Española. Seven leagues farther there is another island . . . and from there to the New Isabella . . . the distance is 25 leagues.² And he told the Captains that wherever they should arrive and land they should purchase all that they needed by barter and that for the little they might give the Indians although they might be cannibals (who are said to eat human flesh) they would obtain what they wished and the Indians would give them all that they had: and if they should undertake to procure things by force, the Indians would conceal themselves and remain hostile. He says further in the instructions that he was going by the Cape Verde Islands (which he says were called in ancient times 'Gorgodes' or according to others 'Hesperides') and that he was going in the name of the Holy Trinity³ with the intention of navigating to the south of these islands so as to arrive below the equinoctial line and to follow the course to the west until this island of Española should lie to the north-west, to see if there are islands or lands. 'Our Lord,' he says, 'guides me and gives me things which may serve Him and the King and Queen, our Lords, and which may be for the honour of the Christians, for I believe that no one has ever gone this way and that this sea is entirely unknown.' And here the Admiral finished his instructions.⁴

"Having then taken water and wood and other provisions, especially cheese,⁵ of which there are many and good ones there, the Admiral made sail with his six ships on Thursday, June 21,⁶ towards the island of Hierro, which is distant from Gomera about 15 leagues, and of the seven Canaries is the one farthest to the west. Passing it, the Admiral took his course with one ship and two caravels for the islands of Cape Verde, and dismissed the other three ships in the name of the Holy Trinity: and he says that he entrusted the Holy Trinity to care for him and for all of them: and at the

¹ The sailing directions here given are clear when we understand that the three vessels were going to the new settlement, and not the first American city of Isabella. The New Isabella was on the south side of the island of Española, and is to-day the city of San Domingo. The point of land on Española, called by Columbus Sant Raphael, is now called Cabo del Engaño, and as they made for the south-west corner of this, a sightly point, keeping the island of Mona to the north, they would come first to the island of Saona, where there was a good harbour. From Saona they were to sail to the island seven leagues to the west, called Sancta Catherina, also identified as the island Beata to-day. This name is introduced in Las Casas, but it is not in the holograph example.

² The autograph example seems to differ from the copy, and the printed edition in that the copy says "ysla nueva," and the printed edition says "isla Nueva."

³ In the copy and the printed edition there is prefixed "Santisima,"—Most Holy.

⁴ This account is much fuller with regard to the instructions given the captains than that found in the *Historie*.

⁵ Ferdinand does not mention these details in the *Historie*.

⁶ Here Ferdinand, or rather, the printer, makes this date July 21. That it is a typographical error is evident from the fact that later on he speaks of the following *Wednesday* being June 27, which was correct.

setting of the sun they separated and the three ships ¹ took their course for this island.² Here the Admiral makes mention to the Sovereigns of the agreement they had made with the King of Portugal that the Portuguese should not go to the westward of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands,³ and also mentions how the Sovereigns sent for him that he should be present at the meetings in regard to the partition, and that he could not go on account of the grave illness which he had incurred in the discovery of the tierra firma of the Indies, that is to say of Cuba ⁴ . . . he adds further that then occurred the death of Don Juan, before he could carry out the matter.⁵ . . .

"Then the Admiral continuing on his way arrived at the Cape Verde islands, which according to what he says, have a false name, because he never saw anything green but all things dry and sterile.⁶ The first thing he saw was the island of 'La Sal,' Wednesday, June 27: and it is a small island.⁷ From there he went to another which is called 'Buenavista' ⁸ and is very sterile, where he anchored in a bay, and near it is a very small island.⁹ To

¹ Ferdinand in the *Historie* tells us that one of the caravels was called *La Vachina*, and the other was named *El Correo*.

² *This island of Espanola.* It is from this and from similar passages in which Las Casas makes use of the demonstrative pronoun in connection with Española, that we are led to believe that portions of the *Historia* at least were written on Santo Domingo.

³ In the *Historie* Ferdinand Columbus omits all reference to the agreement the Sovereigns made with the King of Portugal. Nor is this reference to Portuguese matters found in the letter to the Sovereigns.

The reader will observe that here the Azores, and not a line one hundred leagues westward, form the western boundary.

At this point in the narrative given in the *Historia*, is matter which Las Casas mentions under the date of July 14, but which is given much more in detail in the *Historie*. The latter account mentions the attack of gout which the Admiral here suffered in one leg, and four days afterward he was under the spell of a terrible fever, but his force of mind was not affected. He noted diligently the changes of weather and temperature and all the distances travelled by the ships.

⁴ Here the suppressed passage reads in the printed edition, "which he always regarded as the mainland even until the present time as he could not circumnavigate it."

⁵ Don Juan, King of Portugal, being troubled with the dropsy, went to the baths of Algarve, but the remedy of its waters was of no avail and he died in Alvon, September 14, 1495. He was succeeded by Emanuel as provided in his will, but in case of his dying without heirs, the next in succession was to be Don Juan's illegitimate son George, whom he had appointed while yet a mere lad Master of the Order of Christ and Duke of Coimbra.

⁶ The Cape Verde Islands received their name, not because of their own condition or appearance, but from Cape Verde on the coast of Africa, opposite which they lie.

⁷ This island is in north latitude 16° 45' and longitude 23° west. It is twenty miles long by nine wide, with a population of 750. It is north-north-west of Buenavista.

⁸ Buenavista is the most easterly of the group, and is only two hundred miles from the coast of Africa. It is about twenty miles long. It is flat, with two basaltic peaks in the centre.

⁹ Las Casas calls Buenavista an *ysla* and the little island near it *yslita*. In the next sentence he says the lepers came to this *ysla*, and we may assume that if he had

this island come all the lepers of Portugal to be cured and there are not more than six or seven houses on it. The Admiral ordered the boats to go to land to provide themselves with salt and flesh, because there are a great number of goats on the island. There came to the ships a Steward to whom that island belonged, named Roderigo Alonso, Notary Public of the Exchequer of the King of Portugal, who offered to the Admiral what there was on the island of which he might be in need. The Admiral thanked him and ordered that he should be given some supplies from Castile, which he enjoyed very much.¹ Here he relates how the lepers came there to be cured because of the great abundance of turtles on that island, which commonly are as large as shields. By eating the flesh and constantly bathing in the blood of these turtles, the lepers become cured.² The turtles in infinite number come there three months in the year, June, July, and August, from the mainland,³ which is Ethiopia, to lay eggs in the sand and with the claws and legs they scratch places in the sand and spawn more than five hundred eggs, as large as those of a hen except that they have not a hard shell but a tender membrane which covers the yolk, like the membrane which covers the yolk of the hen's egg after taking off the hard shell. They cover the eggs in the sand as a person would do, and there the sun hatches them and the little live turtles come out and then run in search of the sea as if they had come out of it alive. They take the turtles there in this manner:— At night with lights which are torches of dry wood, they go searching for the track of the turtle which is easily traced, and find the turtle tired and sleeping. They come up quickly and turn it over with the belly up and leave it, sure that it cannot turn itself back, and go in search of another. . . . The healthy persons on that island of Buenavista who lead a laborious life were six or seven residents who have no water except brackish water from wells and whose employment is to kill the big goats⁴ and salt the skins and send them to Portugal in the caravels which come there for them, of which in one year they kill so many and send so many skins that they are worth 2000 ducats to the Notary Public, to whom the island belonged. Such a great multitude of goats, male and female, have been grown there, from only eight original

intended us to understand the smaller island as the home of these unfortunates he would have used the word *yslita* instead of *ysla*. The reference below to Buenavista shows that it was the lepers' island.

¹ Ferdinand says in the *Historie* that this Alonso, the Escribano, told Columbus that the climate and temperature of this island were the cause of its healthfulness.

² The *Historie* further reports Alonso as affirming that those born infected with leprosy are much longer in being cured. He also said that it was the sand on the shore which was so prolific in producing turtles. The *Historie* omits a portion of the description of the lepers, but adds the interesting detail that at night in the hunt for turtles all are turned over on the back, and in the morning the hunter returns, selecting such as he wants and returning the small ones to the sea.

³ The turtles which lay their eggs on the sandy beaches of Jamaica are said to come from distances of four and five hundred miles.

⁴ The *Historie* speaks of the Escribano and his companion as "that man and the other four, his companions," making five residents of the little island.

head.¹ Those who live there neither eat bread nor drink wine during four or five months, nor anything else except goat flesh or fish or turtles. All this they told to the Admiral.

"He left there Saturday, June 30, at night for the island of Santiago, where he arrived on Sunday at the hour of vespers, because it is distant 28 leagues²: and this is the principal one of the Cape Verdes. He wished to take from this island a herd of black cattle in order to carry them to Española as the Sovereigns had ordered, and he was there eight days and could not get them: and because the island is very unhealthy as men are burned with heat there and his people commenced to fall ill, he decided to leave it. The Admiral says again that he wishes to go to the south, because he intends with the aid of the 'Sancta Trinidad' to find islands and lands, that God may be served and their Highnesses and Christianity may have pleasure, and that he wishes to prove or test the opinion of King Don John of Portugal, who said that there was continental land to the south: and because of this, he says that he had a contention with the Sovereigns of Castile, and finally the Admiral says that it was concluded that the King of Portugal should have 370 leagues to the west from the islands of the Azores and Cape Verde, from north to south, from pole to pole. And the Admiral says further that the said King Don Juan was certain that within those limits famous lands and things must be found. Certain principal inhabitants of the island of Santiago came to see them and they say that to the south-west of the island of Huego, which is one of the Cape Verdes distant 12 leagues from this, may be seen an island, and that the King Don Juan was greatly inclined to send to make discoveries to the south-west, and that canoes had been found which start from the coast of Guinea and navigate to the west with merchandise. Here the Admiral says again as if he was speaking with the Sovereigns,—'That which is Three and One (Trinity) guides me by its pity and mercy that I may serve it and give great pleasure to your Highnesses and to all Christianity, as was done formerly in the discovery of the Indies which resounded throughout all the world.'³

"Wednesday, July 4,⁴ he ordered sail made from that island in which he says that since he arrived there he never saw the sun or the stars, but that

¹ The *Historie* says that the Escribano himself imported this herd of goats.

² Ferdinand in the *Historie* omits the mention of any distance from this island to that of Santiago.

³ The *Historie* likewise omits all this passage relating to the Treaty of Tordesillas, made June 7, 1494, in which it was provided that a line of demarcation should be fixed at 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, or of the views held by King Juan of Portugal as to these being great lands within the line and to the south-west.

It will be remembered that this line of demarcation was the result of an agreement between the Sovereigns and the King of Portugal, and not a conveyance from the chair of St. Peter. The Holy Father, in his last Bull, May 4, 1493, gave all lands in the Ocean-sea not already possessed by other Christian princes to the Spanish Sovereigns, and, as we venture to interpret the Bull No. III., annulled the prohibition against entering territory or regions in the direction of the Portuguese discoveries.

⁴ In the *Historie* Ferdinand says they departed from Santiago on Thursday, July 5. Las Casas says they remained eight days—*ocho dias*—at this island trying

the heavens were covered with such a thick mist that it seemed they could cut it with a knife and the heat was so very intense that they were tormented, and he ordered the course laid to the way of the south-west, which is the route leading from these islands to the south, in the name, he says, of the Holy and Individual Trinity, because then he would be on a parallel with the lands of the sierra of Loa¹ and cape of Sancta Ana in Guinea, which is below the equinoctial line, where he says that below that line of the world are found more gold and things of value: and that after, he would navigate, the Lord pleasing, to the west, and from there would go to this Española, in which route he would prove the theory of the King John aforesaid: and that he thought to investigate the report of the Indians of this Española who said that there had come to Española from the south and south-east, a black people² who have the tops of their spears made of a metal which they call 'guanin,' of which he had sent samples to the Sovereigns to have them assayed, when it was found that of 32 parts, 18 were of gold, 6 of silver and 8 of copper.³

to get cattle, which length of time is inconsistent with the date July 4, when they left. Perhaps the Bishop mistook a *three* for an *eight* in the figure placed in the *Journal* by the Admiral. As both Ferdinand and Las Casas are agreed that the expedition arrived on Sunday, July 1, at 6 P.M., a three days' stay at the island would bring the date of departure to July 4.

Ferdinand, in his *Historie*, gives the following account of the island of Fuego, or Fire Island, west of Santiago, and which, if his account is true, was the last land of the Old World seen by the expedition. It is an island nearly forty miles in circumference, and is virtually a sloping volcanic mountain rising to the height of 9157 feet. Neither the holograph example nor the copy of Las Casas speaks of this island. The *Historie* says:

"Il Giovedì a'V di Luglio l'Ammiraglio partì dall' Ifola di Santiago alla volta del Sudueste con difegno di nauigar, fin che si mettesse sotto lo Equinoziale, & d'indi seguir la via dell' Occidente, fin che trouasse terra, o si mettesse in luogo, d'onde trauerasse alla Spagnuola. Ma, percioche fra quelle Ifole fono molto grandi le correnti verso la Tramontana, & Norueste, non potè caminar, come voluea: di modo che anco il Sabbato a'VII di Luglio dice ch'egli era a vista dell' Ifola del Fuoco, che è vna delle medefime di Capo Verde: la qual dice che è terra molto alta verso Mezodi: & che da lontano par che sia vna gran Chiefa, che ha alla banda del Lefte il campanile d'vno altissimo piccone, o dirupo, di onde, quando vogliono foffiare i Leuanti, fuole vfcir gran fuoco, fi come auuene in Teneriffe, & in Volcano, & in Mongibello. Et, effendo quefta l'ultima terra de' Christiani, ch'ei vide, feguì il fuo camino per Sudueste. . . ."

"Thursday, July 5, the Admiral left the island of Santiago, going to the south-west, with the intention of sailing until he arrived below the Equator and from there proceeding to the west until he found land, or of reaching a place from whence to cross to Española. But, as there are many strong currents toward the north and north-west among those islands, he was not able to make headway as he desired: so that yet on Saturday, July 7, he says that he was in sight of the island of Fuoco, which is one of the same Cape Verde Islands: which island he says is a very high land toward the south: and which from a distance appears like a large Church, with the belfry on the eastern side and formed by a very high peak or precipice, from whence when the East winds blow, a great fire usually proceeds, the same as occurs in Tenerife and in Volcano and in Mongibello. And this being the last land of Christianity which he saw, he pursued his course to the south-west. . . ."

¹ The printed edition of Las Casas says *Sierra Leona*, which is very near the form prevailing with us, *Sierra Leone*.

² This reference to the *black people* the Admiral expected to find in the south is doubtless suggested by the letters of Jaime Ferrer.

³ This is the earliest description of the use by the natives of the New World of alloyed metals.

Among the relics of early humanity discovered in the Old World are iron weapons

“ Following this course to the south-west he commenced to find grasses ¹ like those encountered in the direct way to these Indies: and the Admiral says here that after having gone 480 miles which make 120 leagues, that at nightfall he took the latitude and found that the North Star was in five degrees ² . . . and he says that there, Friday, July 13, the wind deserted him and he entered into heat so great and so ardent that he feared the ships would take fire and the people perish. The ceasing of the wind and coming of the excessive and consuming heat was so unexpected and sudden that there was no person who dared to descend below to care for the butts of wine and water, which swelled, breaking the hoops of the casks: the wheat burned like fire: the pork and salted meat roasted and putrefied. This ardent heat lasted eight days. The first day was clear with a sun which burned them. God sent them less suffering because the seven following days it rained and was clouded: however with all this, they could not find any hope of saving themselves from perishing and from being burned, and if the other seven days had been like the first, clear and with the sun, the Admiral says here that it would have been impossible for a

in which nickel is carried to a considerable percentage, and as this metal does not occur in any known iron ores, the inference is that the said weapons were made from meteoric iron, in which nickel does invariably occur.

¹ This is a reference to that most interesting phenomenon, the Sargasso Sea. Humboldt distinguishes two distinct accumulations of the *Fucus Natans*, and which he calls the Great and Little Field of seaweed. He places the first between 19° and 34° of north latitude, and its middle belt (some 100 to 140 miles wide) in a meridian 7° west of the island of Corvo in the Azores, and therefore in longitude 38° 7' west of Greenwich. The second, or Little Field, he finds between the Bermudas and Bahamas, or 25° to 31° north latitude, with its principal axis or belt lying north 60° east. Between 25° and 30° of north latitude, running from the east to the west, is a strip of seaweed connecting the two fields. This seaweed sometimes reaches as far north as latitude 34° 30', and approaches the eastern side of the Gulf Stream. The water area covered by this seaweed, which Humboldt properly calls *Plantae Sociales*, is equal to the area of Continental Europe. These *fucaceæ* are olive-green in colour, and whatever may have been their former connection with the earth, they are here independent of any attachment or anchorage through their roots, but propagate and grow while floating on the sea, nature modifying their form to their mode of existence. Again Humboldt alludes to these strange plants under the billow-roaring name of *Thalassophytes de l'Atlantique*.

The theory that these seaweeds are borne along by the Gulf Stream or by an arm of that mysterious river is contradicted in that at one point, where the extreme northern band finds itself near the meridian of the island of Fayal, it crosses the Gulf Stream nearly at right angles to this current of warm water. These grasses at this distant point are found surprisingly fresh, a condition in which we could scarcely expect to find them if they had been torn up in the Gulf of Mexico or thereabouts and floated along on their long and helpless journey. It certainly seems true, strangely true, that the Sargasso Sea is composed of plants actually native to the sea, and that they vegetate, propagate, and live without the sustaining connections of ordinary roots.

² Las Casas in a note says that he believes the Admiral must have sailed more than two hundred leagues, and that he has made an error in his *Journal*. This note is additional proof that the Bishop had the original *Journal* of Columbus before him as he wrote. He says it is more than two hundred leagues from Santiago, whence he started, to a point five degrees above the Equator for a ship following his sailings.

man of them to have escaped alive. And thus they were divinely succoured by the coming of some showers and by the days being cloudy. He determined from this, if God should give him wind in order to escape from this suffering, to run to the west some days, and then if he found himself in any moderation of temperature to return to the south,¹ which was the way he desired to follow. 'May our Lord,' says he, 'guide me and give me grace that I may serve Him, and bring pleasing news to your Highnesses.'² He says he remembered (being in this burning latitude) that when he came to the Indies in the past voyages, always when he reached 100 leagues toward the west from the Azores Islands he found a change in the temperature from north to south, and for this he wished to go to the west to reach the said place. . . .

"The Saturday, which they counted July 14, the Guardians being on the left hand, he says the *North*³ was in seven degrees: he saw black and white jays, which are birds that do not go far from land, and from this he considered it a sign of land. He was sick at this point of the journey, from gout and from not sleeping: but because of this, he did not cease to watch and work with great care and diligence.

"Sunday and Monday, they saw the same birds and more swallows, and some fish appeared which they called 'botos,' which are little smaller than great calves, and which have the head very blunt. The Admiral says here incidentally that the Azores islands which in ancient times were called 'Casetérides,' were situated at the end of the fifth clime.

"Thursday, July 19, there was such intense and ardent heat that they thought the men and ships would burn, but as our Lord at sight of the afflictions which He gives is accustomed by interfering to the contrary to alleviate them, He succoured him by His mercy at the end of seven or eight days, giving him very good weather to get away from that fire: with which good weather he navigated towards the west 17 days, always intending to return to the south, and place himself, as above said, in such a region, that this Española should be to the north or 'septentrion,' where he thought he must find land before or beyond the said place: and thus he intended to repair the ships which were already opening from the past heat, and the supplies, of which he had a large quantity, because of the necessity of taking them to this island and the great difficulty in getting them from Castile, and which were becoming worthless and damaged.

"Sunday, July 22, in the afternoon, as they were going with good weather, they saw innumerable birds pass from the west-south-west to the north-east: he says that they were a great sign of land. They saw the same the Monday following and the days after, on one of which days a pelican came

¹ In the *Historie* the Admiral is said to have been at this point seven degrees removed from the Equinoctial line.

² These words, quoted by Las Casas, are not found in the *Historie*.

³ Here the *Historie*, apparently quoting from the *Journal*, gives an astronomical dissertation, covering four and forty lines, on the position of the North Star at this point in the journey. This long description is *not* found in the French translation of the *Historie* printed at Paris in 1681.

to the ship of the Admiral, and many others appeared another day, and there were other birds which are called 'frigate pelicans.' ¹

"On the seventeenth day of the good weather which they were experiencing, the Admiral was hoping to see land, because of the said signs of the birds, and as he did not see it Monday, or the next day, Tuesday, July 31,² as they lacked water, he decided to change his route, and this was to the west, and to go to the right, and make for the island of Dominica, or some of the Cannibal Islands ³ . . . and thus he ordered the course to the north, quarter north-east, and went that way until midday. 'But as his Exalted Majesty,' he says, 'has always used mercy with me, a sailor from Guelva, my servant, who was called Alonso Pérez ⁴ by chance and conjecture ascended to the "gabia," and saw land to the west, and he was 15 leagues from it, and that part which appeared were three rocks or mountains.' These are his words. He named this land 'The isle of Trinidad,' because he had determined that the first land he discovered should be named thus: 'And it pleased our Lord,' he says, 'by his Exalted Majesty, that the first lands seen were three rocks all united at the base, I say three mountains, all at one time and in one glance.' 'His High Power by His pity guides me,' he says 'in such a manner, that He may have much service, and your Highnesses much pleasure: as it is certain that the discovery of this land in this place was as great a miracle as the discovery of the first voyage.' These are his words. He gave infinite thanks to God as was his custom, and all praised the divine goodness, and with great rejoicings and merriment the *Salve Regina* was sung with other devout songs which contain praises of God and our Lady, according to the custom of sailors, at least our sailors of Spain, who in tribulations and rejoicings are accustomed to say them.

"Here ⁵ he makes a digression and recapitulation of the services he has rendered the Sovereigns, and of the desire he always felt to serve them, 'not as false tongues,' says he, 'and as false witnesses said, from envy.' ⁶ . . . He repeats a mention of the heat he suffered, and how they were nevertheless now going by the same parallel, except they had drawn near to the land when he ordered the course directed to the west, because the

¹ The *Historie* omits all between this point in the narrative and the first sight of birds, which occurred on Saturday, July 14, 1498.

Under date of July 16, we imagine Columbus is trying to identify the Azores rather than the Cape Verde Islands with the Hesperides. The Cassiterides are the Scilly Islands.

² In the *Historie* the date is "Tuesday the last of July," while in the French translation of 1681 it is called "le mardy trente de Juillet."

³ The copy and the printed edition here read, "which to-day are called the *Caribes*."

⁴ The *Historie* gives this man's name as Alfonso Perez Nizzardo.

⁵ The *Historie* makes no mention of there being such a digression or recapitulation in the *Journal*.

⁶ Las Casas in the copy and in the printed edition inserts at this point his own views as to the trials and tribulations of the Admiral, and particularly the malign and hostile representation to the Sovereigns working out good to the Admiral's soul.

land emits coolness from its fountains and rivers, and by its waters causes moderation and softness: and because of this he says the Portuguese who go to Guinea which is below the Equinoctial line are able to navigate because they go along the coast. He says further, that now he was in the same parallel from which the King of Portugal brought gold, from which he believed that whoever would search those seas would find things of value. He confesses here that there is no man in the world for whom God has shown so much grace, and entreats Him that He will furnish something from which their Highnesses and Christianity may receive great pleasure: and he says that, although he should not find any other thing of benefit except these beautiful lands, which are so green and full of groves and palms, that they ought to be much esteemed. . . . He says that it is a miraculous thing that the Sovereigns of Castile should have lands so near the Equinoctial as 6 degrees, Ysabela being distant from the said line 24 degrees.

"Having seen the land then to the great consolation of all, he left the course which he desired to follow in search of some of the islands of the Cannibals in order to provide himself with water, of which he was greatly in need, and made a short excursion towards the land which he had seen, towards a cape which appeared to be to the west, which he called 'Cabo de la Galera,'¹ from a great rock which it had, which from a distance appeared like a galley sailing. They arrived there at the hour of 'completas.'² They saw a good harbour but it was not deep, and the Admiral regretted that they could not enter it. He pursued his course to the point he had seen, which was seven leagues toward the south. He did not find a harbour. On all the coast he found that the groves reached to the sea, the most beautiful coast that eyes ever saw. He says that this island must be large: a canoe appeared at a distance filled with people who must have been fishing,—and made towards the land to some houses which appeared there. The land was very cultivated and high and beautiful.³

¹ This *Cabo de la Galera* is now called *Galeota*, its latitude being 10° 9' north, and its longitude is 54° 42' west of the Observatory of Cadiz. Navarrete calls it *Cabo de la Galea*. It is also *Galea* in the *Historie*.

² The day was canonically divided into two parts of twelve hours each, beginning at six o'clock respectively. Prime was at six o'clock in the morning, Tierce at nine, Sexts at noon, Nones at three in the afternoon, Vespers at six, and Compline or Completas at nine in the evening, or bedtime.

There was a Latin verse anciently recited:

"Hæc sunt septenis propter quæ psallimus horis,
Matutina ligat Christum, Qui crimina purgat:
Prima replet sputis; causam dat Tertia mortis:
Sexta Cruci necitit: latus ejus Nona bipertit;
Vespera deponit: tumulto Completa reponit."

"At Matins bound: at Prime reviled: to death condemned at Tierce.
At Twelve they nail Him to the Cross, at Threc His side they pierce.
At Vesper-tide they take Him down: entombed at ended day:
And we *His Church* these hours must keep and keep for Him alway."

³ The *Historie* makes the Admiral travel five leagues along the south side of the island to the *Spiaggia*, or the place called in Spanish *Punta de la Playa*, on the same

"Wednesday, August 1, he ran down the coast toward the west, 5 leagues, and arrived at a point,¹ where he anchored with all three ships, and took water from fountains and streams. They found signs of people, instruments for fishing, signs of goats² . . . he says that they found aloes and great groves of palms, and very beautiful lands: 'for which infinite thanks may be given to the Holy Trinity.' These are his words. He saw much tilled land along the coast and many settlements. He saw from there towards the south, another island, which is distant more than 20 leagues . . . to this he gave the name of 'ysla Sancta.'³ He says here that he would not take any Indians in order not to disturb the land. From the Cape of Galera to the point where he took the water, which I believe⁴ he named 'Punta de la Playa,' he says that having been a great way, and running east-west . . . there was no port in all that way, but the land was well populated and tilled, and with many trees and thick groves, the most beautiful thing in the world, the trees reaching to the sea⁵ . . . the currents, 'sugente' which is that which comes down, and the 'montante' which is that which ascends from below, he says appear to be great. The island which lies to the south he says is very large.⁶

"He says⁷ that he came to search for a harbour along the island of Trinidad,⁸ Thursday, August 2, and arrived at the cape of the island of

day he discovered the island, that is, on Tuesday, July 31, 1498. Now, it is perfectly clear in Las Casas. After he discovered the three hills he sailed toward the south-eastern end of the island, which he called *Cabo de la Galera*, and reached that point at nine o'clock at night. The next day, Wednesday, August 1, 1498, he sailed five leagues to the "Punta de la Playa," where he anchored with all three ships and took water; and it was from here that he saw toward the south another island which he called *Ysla Sancta*. On the following day, August 2, 1498, he continued to the westward and landed on the south-western end of the island, which he called Punta del Arenal, and indulged in recreation.

¹ Navarrete says this is in the neighbourhood of the *Punta de Alcatraz*. It is situated in north latitude 10° 6' and in longitude 54° 55' west of Cadiz.

² Las Casas here says, "but they were only of deer of which there are many in those lands."

³ Las Casas here introduces a remark of his own: "And he [the Admiral] might well say five hundred since this is the continental land which, as he saw a part of it, seemed to him to be an island."

⁴ The *Historie* plainly calls this *Della Spiaggia*, the Italian equivalent of Punta de la Playa.

⁵ Las Casas here remarks that where trees are found growing down to the sea it is a sure sign that there are no storms on that coast.

⁶ The *Historie* omits this passage. Las Casas remarks that the Admiral was already discovering the continental land, although he did not esteem it as anything more than an island.

⁷ The *Historie* inserts before this passage an explanation as follows: "Since they saw that at the point of the Spiaggia [Punta de la Playa] they could not hold converse with the people of the land, and since there was no convenience for obtaining all the water needed except with great fatigue, and that here they could not repair the ships or renew the victuals."

⁸ The beautiful island of Trinidad, upon which a most Holy name was bestowed, was destined not many years after, in 1510, to be the witness of one of the most atrocious scenes in the whole history of the Spanish Conquest. Las Casas tells the har-

Trinidad, which is a point, to which he gave the name 'Punta del Arenal,'¹ which is to the west: so that he had in a sense already entered in the gulf which he called 'de la Ballena,'² where he underwent great danger of losing his ships³ . . . he says here that the island of Trinidad is large, because from the Cape of Galera to the Point of Arenal, where he was at the present time, he says it is 35 leagues.⁴ . . . He ordered that his people should land on this Point of Arenal, the end of the island toward the west, rowing tale himself, and says that he heard it from the mouth of the chief perpetrator. A man named Juan Bono was directed by the home government of Santo Domingo to go and fetch some Indian slaves. Just why so long a journey was made we do not know, unless a remote land would give despair to captivity and preclude hope of escape, but the expedition went to the island of Trinidad, where dwelt the most peaceable, gentle race known to the New World. They held in abhorrence the cruel Caribs, and were their enemies because they ate human flesh. When the Indians asked the Spaniards who they were and what they wanted, they replied that they were a friendly crew wishing to be brothers to them and that they proposed to live with them in amity and love. Accordingly, the innocent natives agreed to build homes for them, and under the direction of Juan Bono, one large building was erected, capacious enough for one hundred persons to occupy in comfort. Its form was that of a bell and so is the common form of a trap for rats. Each day the kindly people of the island loaded their friends with fish and bread and fruit. Every want was supplied. While some hewed wood and some drew cooling waters, others were bearers of stone, and still others helped in the construction of their own cinerary. When the edifice was completed the Spanish captain invited all the Indians—men, women, and children—to enter as to a festival. Then he surrounded the building with his men, all completely armed, and he himself with drawn sword entered and told the Indians, already crazed with fear, that if they did not keep quiet he would kill them. Of course the poor, wild things, not half understanding what he wanted,—which was their quiet capture and their giving of themselves to him as slaves,—struggled and fought to escape. Such as made their way out were immediately massacred, and then the Spanish captain set fire to the building and mercilessly burned the entire multitude. Of the Indians remaining on the island 180 were taken away as slaves. To Las Casas, this fiendish creature, Juan Bono, acknowledged that he and his men had never had such tender care from father or from mother as was showered on them by the generous natives of that island. "Then why, O! man of perdition," cried Las Casas, "then why didst thou requite such care with such unheard-of villany." We must remember that if the Admiral named the island *La Trinidad*, he also named the entrance to the Gulf the Mouth of the Serpent, and the passageway out the Mouth of the Dragon,—the island after God and the entrances after man.

¹ The Punta del Arenal is called *Icacos*, the south-western point of Trinidad, in latitude 10° 03' 30", and longitude 55° 41' west of Cadiz.

² *De la Ballena*, or "Gulf of the Whale." Las Casas has carried the Admiral not quite into the gulf or past the dangerous Serpent's Mouth, but near it, and the detailed description of this passage is to be found farther along in the narrative.

³ Las Casas here remarks that the Admiral "did not know he was becoming encircled by land as will be seen. This gulf is a wonderful thing and is dangerous because of the very great river which flows into it which is called Yuyaparí. This river comes from more than 300 and I believe from 400 leagues, and it has been navigated 300 leagues, some with small ships, some with brigs, and some with large canoes." Then follows an explanation of the conflict of the waters of the Orinoco and the sea, due to the tremendous volume of the former.

⁴ The distance from the Cape Galera to the Point Arenal, or the longest distance from east to west on the south side of the island of Trinidad, we compute to be about sixty-four and a half miles. It is impossible to determine the leagues of Columbus,



Map of the Island of Trinidad and the Gulf of Paria

to enjoy themselves and obtain recreation, because they had become wearied and fatigued: who found the land very much trampled by deer, although they believed they were goats. This Thursday, Aug. 2, a large canoe¹ came from towards the east, in which came 25 men, and having arrived at the distance of a lombard shot, they ceased to row, and cried out many words: the Admiral believed . . . that they were asking what people they were, as the others of the Indies were accustomed to do, to which they did not respond in words, but by showing them certain small boxes of brass and other shining things, in order that they should come to the ship, coaxing them with motions of the body and signs. They approached somewhat, and afterwards became terrified by the ship: and as they would not approach, the Admiral ordered a tambourine player to ascend into the fore-castle of the ship and that the young boys of the ship should dance, thinking to please them: But they did not understand it thus, but rather, as they saw dancing and playing, taking it for a signal of war, they distrusted them: They left all their oars and laid hold of their bows and arrows; and each one embracing his wooden shield, they commenced to fire a great cloud of arrows. Having seen this, the Admiral ordered the playing and dancing to cease, and that some cross-bows should be uncovered and two of them fired upon them, nothing more than to frighten them: the Indians then, having fired the arrows, went to one of the two caravels, and suddenly, without fear, placed themselves below the poop, and the pilot of the caravel,² also without any fear, glided down from the poop and entered with them in the canoe with some things which he gave them: and when he was with them he gave a sack-coat and a bonnet to one of them who appeared to be the principal man. They took them and as if in gratitude for what had been given them, by signs said to him that he should go to land with them, and there they would give him what they had. He accepted and they went away to land. The pilot entered the boat and went to beg permission of the Admiral on the ship, and when they saw that he did not go directly with him, they did not expect him longer, and so they went away and neither the Admiral nor any other ever saw them more³ . . . the especially when he is measuring distances on meridians. Thus here his league is not two miles in length.

Ferdinand omits this measurement from Galera to Arenal, but he gives the distance between Galera and the Point of Spiaggia as thirty leagues. If his figures are anywhere near correct, it is evident that this last Point cannot be identified with the Punta de la Playa of Las Casas, which was only five leagues west of Galera.

Las Casas thinks this distance from Galera to Arenal was greater, even as much as forty-five leagues.

¹ Ferdinand describes this encounter with the large canoe as occurring before the Admiral arrived at the *Punta del Arenal*.

While the *Historie* and Las Casas say there were twenty-five men in the canoe, the letter to the Sovereigns says there were twenty-four men.

² The *Historie* says this caravel was called *La Vacchina*.

³ Here occurs a hiatus which Las Casas fills with an interesting remark. It describes the first reception accorded Columbus by the inhabitants of the continent:

"From the sudden change in their bearing because of the playing on the tambourine and the dancing, it appears that this must be considered among them a sign

Admiral says here that these were all youths and very well disposed and adorned . . . but they came armed with bows and arrows and wooden shields. They were not as short as others he had seen in the Indies and they were whiter, and of very good movements and handsome bodies, the hair long and smooth and cut in the manner of Castile. They had the head tied with a large handkerchief of cotton, symmetrically woven in colours, which the Admiral believed to be the 'almaïçar' ¹: he says that others had this cloth around them, and they covered themselves with it in place of trousers. He says that they are not black although they are near the equinoctial, but of an Indian colour like all the others he has found.² They are of very fine stature, go naked, are war-like, wear the hair very long like the women in Castile, carry bows and arrows with plumes, and at the end of the arrows a sharp bone with a point like a fish-hook, and they carry wooden shields, which he had not seen before: and according to the signs and gestures which they made, he says he could understand from them that they believed the Admiral came from the south, from which he judged that there must be great lands toward the south . . . the temperature of this land, he says, is very high and according to him this causes the colour of the people, and the hair which is all flowing and the very thick groves which abound everywhere. He says it must be believed that the territory passed was 100 leagues to the west of the Azores, because many times he has said that the sky and the sea and the temperature change 'and this,' he says, 'is manifest' because here where he was, so near to the Equinoctial line each morning that he declares that it was cool³ and the sun was in Leo . . . the waters run more toward the west and are greater than the river of Seville, the water of the sea rose and fell 65 paces and more than in Barrameda ⁴ near to the place 'monte Carracas': he says that the current flows very strongly going between these two islands, Trinidad and that one which he called 'Sancta,' and the land which afterwards and farther on he called 'Isla de Gracia' ⁵ . . . they found of hostility. A servant of the Admiral, called Bernaldo de Ibarro, who was on this voyage with him, told me and gave it to me in writing and I have this writing in my possession to-day, that a cacique came to the ship of the Admiral and was wearing upon his head a diadem of gold: and he went to the Admiral who was wearing a scarlet cap and greeted him and kissed his own diadem and with the other hand he removed the cap of the Admiral and placed upon him the diadem and he himself put upon his own head the scarlet cap, appearing very content and pleased."

¹ Almaïçar, a gauze veil worn by the ancient Moors.

² Another reference to his expectation derived from correspondence with Jaime Ferrer, of finding the natives near the Equinoctial line to be black.

³ Las Casas here remarks: "What he says is very true, since I who write this have been there and required a robe nights and mornings, especially at Navidad."

The good Bishop here does not mean the Navidad on Santo Domingo, the first settlement (soon abandoned) on the island, nor yet the Bay of the Nativity, sometimes placed in the Gulf of Uraba, but rather a locality near the Gulf of Paria named by Vicente Yañez Pinzón. And it will be observed that Las Casas affirms that he himself had been there.

⁴ This reference to the force of the waters is placed in the *Historie* under the date of August 1.

⁵ Las Casas here remarks: "From the island of Trinidad to the continental land called Sancta it is two leagues as appears by the map."

fruits like those of Española and the trees and the lands and the temperature of the heavens¹ . . . they found 'hostias' or oysters, very large, infinite fish, parrots as large as hens, he says² . . .

"Being at this Point of Arenal, which is the end of the island of Trinidad, they saw toward the north, quarter north-east, a distance of 15 leagues, a cape or point of the same tierra firma³ . . . the Admiral believing that it was another distinct island named it 'Isla de Gracia': which island he says goes to the west, which is the west [*poniente*], and that it is a very high land.⁴ . . .

"Saturday, August 4, he determined to go to the said island of Gracia and raised the anchors and made sail from the said Point of the Arenal, where he was anchored: and because that pass by which he entered into the Gulf of Ballena was not more than two leagues, as on one part is Trinidad and on the other the tierra firma, the fresh water came out very swiftly. There came from towards the Arenal, from the island of Trinidad, such a great current toward the south, like an opposing flood⁵ . . . with such great thundering and noise, that all were frightened and from which they did not think to escape, and the water of the sea which resisted, coming in opposition, the sea was raised making a great and very high crest which raised the ship and placed it on the crest of the slope, a thing which was never heard of nor seen, and raised the anchors of the other ship which must have been already cast and forced it toward the sea, and the Admiral

¹ Las Casas here says: "The temperature of that land is greater than that of this island of Hispaniola except in the mines of Cibao and some other provinces."

² In the autograph example the matter here suppressed shows that not Columbus, but Las Casas himself, is describing the parrots. In the printed edition one would think the description was quoted directly from the Admiral's *Journal*. This is what Las Casas says:

"In this land and in all the mainland the parrots are larger than in any of those islands and are green, the colour being very light, but those of the islands are of a green somewhat darker: those of the mainland have the yellow with spots and the upper part of the wings with reddish spots, and some are of yellow plumage; those of the islands have no yellow, the neck being red with spots. The parrots of Española have a little white over the back: those of Cuba have that part red and they are very pretty. Those of the island of San Juan I believe are similar to those of this island [Española] and I have not observed this feature in those of Jamaica. Finally it appears that those of each island are somewhat different. In this continental land where the Admiral is now, there is a species of parrots which I believe are found nowhere else, very large, not much smaller than hens, reddish with blue and black feathers in the wings. These never speak nor are attractive except in appearance. They are called by the Indians *guacamayas*. It is marvellous how all the other kinds can speak except the smallest, which are called *xaxaues*."

³ Ferdinand says here that there was a high rock in the middle of the Serpent's Mouth which the Admiral called *Gallo*. This is not related by Las Casas.

The Boca de la Sierpe is called the Channel *El Soldado*.

In Las Casas we read here, "and this is that which is called Paria." These words are not those of Columbus, but of Las Casas.

⁴ Las Casas here remarks: "And he says truly, for through all that land run great chains of very high mountains."

⁵ Las Casas says: "And it was because of the great force of the river Yuyapari which is toward the south and which he had not yet seen."

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made sail to get out of the said crest. 'It pleased God not to injure us,' says the Admiral here, and when he wrote this thing to the Sovereigns he said, 'even to-day I feel the fear in my body which I felt lest it should upset the ship when it came under her.' For this great danger, he named the mouth 'Boca de la Sierpe.'

"Having reached that land which he saw in that direction and believed was an island, he saw near that cape two small islands in the middle of another channel which is made by that cape which he called 'Cabo de Lapa' and another cape of the Trinidad which he called 'Cabo Boto,'¹ because of being thick and blunt,—the one island he named 'el Caracol,' the other 'el Delfin.'² . . . He went along the coast of the terra firma of Paria, which he believed to be an island, and named it 'Isla de Gracia,'—towards the west in search of a harbour.³ From the point of the Arenal, which is one cape of Trinidad as has been said, and is towards the south, as far as the other cape Boto, which is of the same island and is towards the sea, the Admiral says it is 26 large leagues, and this part appears to be the width of the island, and these two said capes are north and south. There were great currents, the one against the other: there came many showers as it was the rainy season, as aforesaid. The Isla de Gracia . . . the Admiral says that it is a very high land and all full of trees which reach to the sea: this is because the gulf being surrounded by land, there is no surf and no waves which break on the land as where the shores are uncovered. He says that, being at the point or end of it, he saw an island of very high land to the north-east, which might be 26 leagues from there. He named it 'Belaforma,'⁴ because it looked very well from a distance. . . .

¹ Ferdinand does not mention Cape Boto until under the date of August 11, when he speaks of four small islands lying in the Dragon's Mouth.

Navarrete says that *Cape Boto* is called *Punta de Peña Blanca*, while the cape on the opposite side, or the extreme eastern end of the mainland, is called *Punta de la Peña*.

² Las Casas says here: "It is only five leagues in this strait between the Point of Paria and Cape Boto of Trinidad, and the said islands are in the middle of the strait. The impetus of the great river Yuyapari and the tempestuous waves of the sea make the entrance and exit by this strait greatly dangerous, and because the Admiral experienced this difficulty and also danger, he called that difficult entrance *Boca del Drago* and thus it is called to this day."

³ Ferdinand Columbus in the *Historie* says he went along the southern coast of the Gulf of Paria navigating toward the west, to find a way out, thinking that what he had called *Isla de Gracia* was an island.

⁴ One certainly would think from the text that the island *Belaforma*, which he saw at the end of the mainland in a north-east direction, was the island of Tobago, in north latitude 11° 25' (its northern point) and longitude 60° 32'. It is 24 miles north-east of Trinidad, and is 32 miles long by 12 miles broad. It is a mass of rocks. The town of Scarborough is the principal town. The island belongs to Great Britain.

Las Casas, at this point in the text, interjects his own opinion, and, losing sight of the fact that the Admiral says he saw this island when at the extreme end of the continental land, therefore at the eastern end, he says, "Owing to the difficult positions assumed by the ships when in the Gulf, some openings of the land frequently appeared to make distinctions between lands which distinctions really did not exist

"He navigated Sunday, August 5, five leagues from the point of the Cape of Lapa, which is the eastern end of the island of Gracia: He saw very good harbours adjacent to each other, and almost all this sea he says is a harbour, because it is surrounded by islands and there are no waves.¹ . . . he sent the boats to land ² and found fish and fire, and traces of people, and a great house visible to the view. From there he went eight leagues ³ where he found good harbours. This part of this island of Gracia he says is very high land, and there are many valleys, and 'all must be populated,' says he, because he saw it all cultivated. There are many rivers because each valley has its own from league to league: they found many fruits, and grapes like [our] grapes and of good taste, and *myrobalans* very good, and others like apples, and others he says, like oranges, and the inside is like figs. They found infinite '*gatos paulos*': the waters, he says, are the best that they saw. 'This island,' he says, 'is all full of harbours, this sea is fresh, although not wholly so, but brackish like that of Carthagera': farther down he says that it is fresh like the river of Seville, and this was caused when it encountered some current of water from the sea, which made that of the river salty.

"He sailed to a small port, Monday, August 6,⁴ five leagues, from whence he went out and saw people, and then a canoe with four men came to the caravel which was nearest the land, and the pilot called the Indians as if he wished to go to land with them, and in drawing near and entering he submerged the canoe, and they commencing swimming: he caught them and brought them to the Admiral. He says that they are of the colour of all the others of the Indies: they wear the hair (some of them) very long, others as with us: none of them have the hair cut as in Española and in the other lands. They are of very fine stature and all well grown: they have and the Admiral called these 'islands,' because he judged them to be so." It seems to us that either when first he was near the Mouth of the Dragon or after he went out, the Admiral really did see this island.

¹ Las Casas here says: "He [the Admiral] called the parts of the continental land which disclosed themselves to him 'islands,' but there are only the island of Trinidad, and the continental lands which inclose the Gulf which he now calls the Sea."

² This event, occurring on Sunday, August 5, 1498, is the first landing of Europeans on the continent of South America. The landfall was on the south coast of Venezuela, within the Gulf of Paria, five leagues from the *Cabo de Lapa*, which is the western side of the Mouth of the Dragon and the extreme north-eastern point of the Venezuelan land. It is believed to be the *Punta Morocoi* of to-day. Ferdinand Columbus does not say how far along the coast the Admiral went from the Mouth of the Dragon, but he does say that the landfall occurred on Sunday, August 5, 1498.

³ Ferdinand says, directly after describing the landfall: "Not wishing to lose more time he followed the coast down another fifteen leagues without entering into any harbour or port, for fear that he would not have weather favourable for him to get out."

⁴ Ferdinand seems to place this occurrence on the date of Sunday, August 5, as it immediately follows the mention of the distance travelled that day, that is, fifteen leagues.

Ferdinand says the name of the caravel was *Il Correo*. Thus of the three vessels of this expedition we know the names of two, *La Vacchina* and *Il Correo*, at least their Italian names.

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the genital member tied and covered, and the women all go naked as their mothers gave them birth¹ . . . 'to these Indians,' says the Admiral, 'as soon as they were here I gave hawk's bells and beads and sugar, and sent them to land, where there was a great battle among them, and after they knew the good treatment, all wished to come to the ships. Those who had canoes came and they were many, and to all we gave a good welcome and held friendly conversation with them, giving them the things which pleased them.' The Admiral asked them questions and they replied, but they did not understand each other. They brought them bread and water and some beverage like new wine: they are very much adorned with bows and arrows and wooden shields, and they carry arrows almost all poisoned.

"Tuesday, August 7, there came an infinite number of Indians by land and by sea and all brought with them bread and maize and things to eat and pitchers of beverages, some white like milk tasting like wine, some green and some of different colours²: he believes that all are made from fruits³ . . . they all brought their bows and poisoned arrows very pointed: they gave nothing for beads, but would give as much as they had for hawk's bells, and asked nothing else. They gave a great deal for brass⁴ . . . Here the Admiral says whatever they gave them from Castile they smelled it as soon as it was given them. They brought parrots of two or three kinds, especially the very large ones like those in the island of Guadeloupe, he says, with the large tail: they brought handkerchiefs⁵ of cotton very symmetrically woven and worked in colours like those brought from Guinea, from the rivers of the Sierra Leona and of no difference, and he

¹ Las Casas in the passage here omitted says the women wore breech-cloths, and he says that he himself saw this as he was "near there, within thirty leagues of that place." The importance of this passage lies in the fact that Las Casas does not claim to have been actually within the Gulf of Paria, but near it, and thirty leagues might well be taken to indicate a locality not very far distant. Hence the Bay of Nativity is not in the Gulf of Paria itself, but near it, say about thirty leagues from it and along the west coast. Thus, when he speaks of this country, he certainly should be admitted as a credible witness, for the character of the people within such a short distance would not be materially different.

² Ferdinand says that, besides the beverage, which was white like milk, there was another inclined to be black, tasting like *green wine* from grapes badly ripened. As he had the *Journal* before him, it may well be that his interpretation of the wine being *green* in condition rather than green in colour, is more correct.

³ Las Casas says in this suppressed passage that "most or all of it is made from maize but as the maize itself is white or violet and reddish, it causes the wine to be of different colours. I do not know of what the green wine is made." Thus Las Casas evidently thought the wine was *green* in colour.

⁴ In this omitted passage Las Casas says: "It is certain that they hold this [brass] in high estimation and they gave in this Española for a little brass as much gold as any one would ask and I believe that in the beginning it was always thus in all these Indies. They called it *turey* as if it came from heaven because they called heaven *hureyos*. They find in it I do not know what odour but which is agreeable to them."

⁵ Ferdinand, in describing these people, says that the only useful thing among them was a small mirror of gold worn about the neck.

says that they cannot communicate with the latter, because from where he now is to Guinea the distance is more than 800 leagues: below he says that these handkerchiefs resemble 'almayzars.' He desired, he says, to take a half dozen Indians, in order to carry them with him, and says that he could not take them because they all went away from the ships before nightfall.

" But Wednesday, August 8, a canoe came with 12 men to the caravel and they took them all, and brought them to the ship of the Admiral, and from them he chose six and sent the others to land¹ . . . he made sail then towards a point which he calls 'de l'Aguja,'² he does not say when he gave it this name, and from there he says that he discovered the most beautiful lands that have been seen and the most populated, and arriving at one place which for its beauty he called 'Jardines' where there were an infinite number of houses and people, and those whom he had taken told him there were people who were clothed, for which reason he decided to anchor, and infinite canoes came to the ships. These are his words. Each one, he says, wore his cloth so woven in colours, that it appeared an 'almayzar,' with one tied on the head and the other covering the rest, as has been already explained. Of these people who now came to the ships, some he says wore eyes of gold on the breast, and one of the Indians he had taken told him there was much gold there, and that they made large mirrors of it, and they showed how they gathered it . . . he says that, as he was going hastily along there, because he was losing the supplies which it had cost him so much labour to obtain, and this island Española is more than 300 leagues from there, he did not tarry, which he would have wished very much in order to discover much more land, and says that it is all full of

¹ This omitted passage reveals to us the character of the Bishop of Chiapas and his inherent hatred of slavery. He says:

" From this it appears that the Admiral did it [took the natives away] without scruple as he did many other times in the first navigation, it not appearing to him that it was an injustice and an offence against God and his neighbor to take free men against their will, separating fathers from their sons and wives from their husbands and who, according to natural law were married, and these could not be taken without sin and perhaps a mortal sin and the Admiral was the responsible cause—and there was the further circumstance that these people came to the ships under tacit security and promised confidence which should have been observed toward them; and this is a scandal not only to the Christians there, but to those in all the earth and to whomever should hear of this."

Thus spake this anti-slavery Boanerges. Of course, he is looking backward, as he writes this, over years full of abuse and cruelty to the Indians, and this colours his picture and roughens his voice as he criticises the Admiral, to whom he traces the beginning of this dreadful enslaving of a free and independent people. The good Bishop does not make allowance for the necessity of teaching these people the language and the customs of the Spaniards to the end that they might assist in a colonisation which had been determined upon, and in the introduction to the New World of a change which was inevitable. Columbus could not tarry in that country of Paria, he could not leave there a colony with teachers and missionaries; therefore to carry out his future plans he had to take away certain of the natives. If slavery had been his object he would have taken all, and not have been contented with six.

² Navarrete says that this point is to-day called *Alcatrazes*; its latitude is 10° 27' and its longitude is 56° 13'.

Ferdinand is silent about these places along the coast in the Gulf of Paria.

very beautiful islands, much populated, and very high lands and valleys and plains, and all are very large: the people are much more politic than those of Española and war-like, and there are handsome houses¹ . . . arriving at the point of Aguja he says that he saw another island to the south 15 leagues which extended to the south-west north-west, very large, and very high land, and he called it 'Sabeta,' and in the afternoon he saw another to the west, very high land² . . . he anchored at the place he had named the 'Jardines,' and then there came an infinite number of canoes, large and small, full of people, according to what he says. Afterwards in the afternoon there came more from all the territory, many of whom wore at the neck pieces of gold of the size of horseshoes. It appeared that they had a great deal of it: but they gave it all for hawk's bells and he did not take it³ . . . yet he had some specimens from them and it was of very poor quality and appeared gilded anew. They said, as well as he could understand by signs, that there were some islands there where there was much of that gold, but that the people were cannibals, and the Admiral says here that this word 'Cannibal,' every one there held as a cause for enmity, or perhaps they said so because they did not wish the Christians to go yonder, but that they should remain there all their life. The Christians saw one Indian with a grain of gold as large as an apple. Another time there came an infinite number of canoes loaded with people, and all wore gold and necklaces, and beads of infinite kinds, and had handkerchiefs tied on their heads as they had hair well cut, and they appeared very well. It rained a great deal, and for this reason the people ceased to go and come. Some women came who wore on the arms strings of beads, and mingled with them were pearls or 'aljofars' [mis-shapen pearls], very fine, not like the coloured ones which were found on the islands of Babueca: they traded for some of them, and he says that he would send them to their Highnesses⁴ . . . the Admiral asked the Indians where they found them or fished them, and they showed him some mother-of-pearl where they are formed; and they replied to him by very clear signs, that they

¹ Las Casas here says that if the Admiral had at that time seen the kingdom of Xaragua and the Court of its King, Behechio, like the Adelantado, his brother, he would have made these exceptions.

² Las Casas here particularly repeats his idea that what Columbus called islands were simply different portions of the mainland.

³ Here Las Casas remarks: "And this is strange that a man as provident as the Admiral and desiring to make discoveries should not have seized this opportunity for trading, as he did on his first voyage."

⁴ Las Casas here remarks that he himself never learned of these pearls which were said to be found in the islands of Babueca, which are near the *Puerto de Plata* in this Española; these islands are lower in the water than any others and are a menace to navigation and are called *Abre el Ojo*.

Las Casas here confounds Babueca, discovered by Columbus, November 12, 1492, on the coast of Cuba, with the land on the north side of Española, known as *Puerto de Plato*. The first mention of pearls in the New World is in the *Journal* of Columbus, when he sailed for the island of Cuba on the report of the Indians as to gold and pearls. If Babueca, or Babeque, is the "place of pearls," Columbus never found it on either the shores of Cuba or those of Española.

grow and are gathered towards the west, behind that island, which was the Cape of Lapa,¹ the Point of Paria and the terra firma, which he believed to be an island² . . . he sent the boats to land to know if there was any new thing which he had not seen, and they found the people so tractable, says the Admiral, that, 'although the sailors did not go intending to land, there came two principal persons with all the village, who induced them to descend and who took them to a large house, built near two streams and not round like a camp-tent, in the manner of the houses of the islands, where they received them very well and made them a feast and gave them a collation, bread and fruit of many kinds: and the drink was a white beverage which had a great value, which every one brought there, at this time, and some of it is tinted and better than the other, as the wine with us. The men were all together at one end of the house and the women at the other. Having taken the collation at the house of the older man, the younger conducted them to the other house, where they went through the same function. It appeared that one must be the cacique and lord, and the other must be his son. Afterwards the sailors returned to the boats and with them went back to the ships, very pleased with this people. These are all the words of the Admiral. He says further: 'They are of very handsome stature, and all large, "á la mano,"' and whiter than any other he had seen in these Indies, and that yesterday he saw many as white as we are, and with better hair and well cut, and of very good speech. 'No lands in the world can be more green and beautiful or more populated: moreover the temperature since I have been in this island,' says he, 'is, I say, cool enough each morning for a loose furred gown, although it is so near the Equinoctial line: the sea is yet fresh. They called the island Paria,'³ . . . All are the words of the Admiral.

"Friday, August 10, he ordered sail to be made and went to the west of that which he thought to be an island, and travelled five leagues and anchored. For fear of not finding bottom, he went to search for an opening [mouth] by which to get out of that gulf, within which he was going, encircled by terra firma and islands, although he did not believe it to be terra firma, and he says it is certain that that was an island, because the Indians said thus, and thus it appears he did not understand them. From there he saw another island facing the south, which he called 'Ysabeta,'⁴ which extends from the south-west to north-west, afterwards another which he

¹ In the copy of Las Casas and in the printed edition this is called *Cabo de la Playa*, while the holograph example properly calls it *Cabo de Lapa*. The reader will recall that the Admiral gave the name *Punta de la Playa* to the place on the south side of Trinidad, five leagues from Galera, at which they landed and procured water.

² Las Casas again says, "but it was the mainland."

Las Casas further says, relative to finding pearls here: "And they told the truth, because 25 or 30 leagues from there toward the west is the island of *Cubagua*, which will be spoken of presently, where they gathered them."

This is the island between Margarita and the mainland.

³ Las Casas again says here, "but this was the mainland."

⁴ The holograph example has this name spelled as given above, but the copy has *Ysabela*, and the printed edition *Isabela*.

called 'la Tramontana,' a high land and very beautiful, and it seemed that it ran from north to south. It appeared very large¹ . . . The Indians whom he had taken said,—according to what he understood,—that the people there were cannibals and that yonder was where the gold was found and that the pearls which they had given the Admiral they had sought and found on the northern part of Paria toward the west. The water of that sea he says was very sweet [fresh] like that of the river of Seville and in the same manner muddy. He would have wished to go to those islands except for turning backward because of the haste he felt in order not to lose the supplies that he was taking for the Christians of Española, which with so much labour, difficulty and fatigue he had gathered for them: and as being a thing for the sake of which he had suffered much, he repeats this about the provisions or supplies many times. He says he believes that in those islands he had seen, there must be things of value because they are all large and high lands with valleys and plains and with many waters and very well cultivated and populated and the people of very good speech, as their gestures showed. These are the words of the Admiral. He says also that if the pearls are born as Pliny says from the dew which falls in the oysters while they are open, there is good reason for having them there because much dew falls in that place and there are an infinite number of oysters and very large ones and because there are no tempests there, but the sea is always calm, a sign of which is that the trees enter into the sea, which shows there is never a storm there, and each branch of the trees which enters² . . . was full of an infinite number of oysters so that breaking a branch, it comes out full of oysters attached to it: they are white within, and their flesh also, and very savoury, not salt but fresh and they require some salt, and he says that they do not know or spring from mother-of-pearl. Wherever the pearls are generated, he says, they are extremely fine and they pierce them as in Venice³ . . .

¹ Las Casas again interjects here his oft-repeated assurance, "this is the mainland."

² Las Casas says in this suppressed passage: "And there are also roots of certain trees in the sea, which according to the language of this Española are called Mangels."

This is the mangrove, *Rhizophora Mangle*, found in quantities along these coasts and to which the oysters cling. It affects tidal estuaries and salt marshes. The roots descend bow-like, striking into new lodgment at a considerable distance from the parent stem. These roots and stems shelter bivalves and other marine animals.

³ In this passage, here suppressed, Las Casas gives a long dissertation on the engendering of pearls, declaring in the first place that the oysters referred to by the Admiral were not the pearl-breeding oyster, but were of another kind, since those from which the pearls come, from a natural instinct hide themselves below the water. He then proceeds to speak of the formation of pearls, holding with Pliny and Solinus that they owe their engendering to the lust of the oyster, and its reception and impregnation of the drop of dew or rain. He says they go in droves like the bees, having a leader or king, and when he is captured the rest are easily taken. When there is a storm with thunder and lightning the oyster casts out the pearl from fear.

Las Casas closes his dissertation by remarking that:

"The pearls which the Admiral received here were formed in the Sea of a little island called Cubagua which has no fresh water but is barren and dry; and in the whole of the island there is not more than two leagues of habitable land, although the

and at this place the Admiral mentions many points of land and islands and the names he had given them, but it does not appear when ¹ . . . he gave names to the 'punta Seca,' the 'ysla Ysabetá,' the 'ysla Tramontana,' the 'punta Llana,' 'punta Sara,' assuming them to be known, although he has said nothing of them or of any of them. He says that all that sea is fresh, and he does not know from whence it proceeds, because it did not appear to have the flow from great rivers, and that, if it had them, he says it would not cease to be a marvel.² . . .

pearls have invited more than 50 inhabitants, Spaniards, who while they were there were obliged to fetch their water from the mainland, seven leagues away. This little island is distant from where the Admiral was now travelling fifty leagues below to the west. It might be that there in that Gulf of the Ballena where he was, or in the sea near Trinidad, or on the mainland which he called the Island of Gracia, there were perhaps some pearls but it appears not, since the Indians indicated that they gathered them to the west; I was in the *said little island* and saw the pearls which the oysters had underneath the flesh. They were not *Uniones* but *Margaritas*. . . . The oysters are the same size as those of Castile and the flesh is the same, very savoury. I ate a great quantity of them."

The Island of Pearls is Cubagua, between Margarita and the mainland, and we now learn that Las Casas himself had been there. The *Uniones* he speaks of were oysters with but one pearl, while those with more, as many as four or five together, were known as *Margaritas*.

Both Pliny and *Dioscorides* mention the belief that drops of dew or of rain falling into the open mouth of the oyster harden into pearls.

Pearls are lustrous concretions in the shell of certain mollusks, caused by a secretion process, and this in turn is induced as the result of an irritation of the mantle of the mollusk on the intrusion into the shell of some foreign body. This tendency of the process to act when the irritation occurs is in many countries artificially invited, and a grain of hard substance and sometimes a larger object is inserted in the shell, when it becomes the centre of this action and is encysted by a capsule which thickens until the pearl of commerce is formed. Even the devotees of some religion have employed this process by introducing a religious symbol or image which, when it is coated as with mother-of-pearl and united to the shell as if by nature, is presented to the unbeliever as an evidence of the existence, power, and dreadfulness of their favourite god. If the shell be bored, the secretion begins at once to plaster up the hole, a feature which by some has been interpreted as indicating intelligence, but which is probably due only to the irritation producing a deposit of nacreous lymph. Linnaeus suggested to the Swedish Government the plan of boring holes in the shell of the river mussel, inserting a grain of sand, and leaving the natural secretion to form the pearl.

The colour and lustre of pearls depend on the interior of the shell in which they are formed. In the West Indies sometimes the most exquisite, rose-coloured pearls are found, the shell being more or less pink.

The reader will notice that the Admiral found no pearls in the Gulf of Paria. Those who brought the pearls said they came from the coast on the continental land to the west of the Gulf, and thither in another year came Niño and gathered them freely. The honour of the continental discovery, as well as of the pearls of Paria, belongs to the expedition led to the Gulf and along the coast by the Admiral on this eventful voyage.

¹ Las Casas says in this suppressed passage: "In this and elsewhere the Admiral shows himself to be a native of another country and of another tongue, because he does not apprehend all the signification of the Castilian words nor the manner of using them."

The reader has already suspected that the *Journal*, with its mixture of Castilian and the dialect of the seaport towns, is itself responsible for many of the doubtful and mysterious passages.

² Here Las Casas says: "But he was mistaken in thinking there were no rivers,

"Desiring to get out of this Gulf of Ballena, where he was encircled by terra firma and La Trinidad, as already said, in going to the west by that coast of the terra firma, which he called 'de Gracia' towards the point Seca, although he does not say where it was, he found two fathoms of water, no more. He sent the small caravel to see if there was an outlet to the north, because, in front of the terra firma and of the other which he called 'Ysabeta,' to the west, there appeared a very high and beautiful island. The caravel returned, and said that they found a great gulf, and in it four great openings which appeared small gulfs, and at the end of each one a river. This gulf he named 'Golpo de las Perlas'¹ . . . it appears that this was the inside corner of all this great gulf, where the Admiral was going encircled by the terra firma and the island of Trinidad: those four bays or openings, the Admiral believed were four islands, and that there did not appear to be a sign of a river, which would make all that gulf, of 40 leagues of sea, all fresh: but the sailors affirmed that those openings were mouths of rivers.² . . . The Admiral would have liked very much to find out the truth of this secret, which was the cause of this great gulf being 40 leagues in length by 26 in width, containing fresh water, which was a thing, he says, for wonder³ . . . and also to penetrate the secrets of those lands, where he did not believe it to be possible that there were not things of value, or that they were not in the Indies, especially from having found there traces of gold and pearls and the news of them, and discovered such lands, so many and such people in them: from which the things there and their riches might easily be known: but because the supplies he was carrying for the people who were in this Española, and which he carried that they who were in the mines gathering gold might have food, were being lost, which food and supplies he had gathered with great difficulty and fatigue, he did not allow himself to be detained, and he says that, if he had the hope of having more as quickly, he would postpone delivering them, in order to discover more lands and see the secrets of them: and finally he resolves to follow that which is most sure, and come to this island, and send from it moneys to Castile to bring supplies and people under hire, and at the earliest opportunity to send also his brother, the Adelantado, to prosecute his discovery and find great things, as he hoped they would be found, to serve our Lord and the Sovereigns . . . and he says thus: 'Our Lord guides me by His pity and presents me things with which He may be served, and your Highnesses may have great pleasure, and certainly they ought to have pleasure, because here they have such a noble thing and so royal for great Princes. And it is a great since the river *Yuyapari* furnished so great a flow of fresh water, as well as others which come from near there.'

Las Casas must have misapprehended the Admiral, for he certainly knew that the fresh water came from streams and that the streams came from extensive lands.

¹ Las Casas here remarks, "although I believe there are none,"—meaning pearls.

² Here Las Casas says: "And they say true, at least in regard to two of these openings, because by one comes the great river *Yuyapari* and by the other comes another great river which to-day is called the river of *Camari*."

³ Las Casas says here: "and he was certainly right."

error to believe any one who speaks evil to them of this undertaking, but to abhor them, because there is not to be found a Prince who has had so much grace from our Lord, and so much victory from a thing so signal and of so much honour to their high estate and realms, and by which God may receive endlessly more services and the people of Spain more "refreshment" and gains. Because it has been seen that there are infinite things of value, and although now, this that I say may not be known, the time will come when it will be accounted of great excellence, and to the great reproach of those persons who oppose this project to your Highnesses: and although they may have expended something in this matter, it has been in a cause more noble and of greater account than any undertaking of any other Prince until now, nor was it proper to withdraw from it hastily, but to proceed and give me aid and favour: because the Sovereigns of Portugal spent and had courage to spend in Guinea, for four or five years money and people, before they received any benefit, and afterward God gave them advantages and gold. For certainly, if the people of the Kingdom of Portugal be counted, and those of them who died in this undertaking of Guinea be enumerated, it would be found that they are more than half of the kingdom: and certainly, it would be the greatest thing to have in Spain a revenue which would come from this undertaking. Your Highnesses would leave nothing of greater memory: and they may examine, and discover that no Prince of Castile may be found, and I have not found such by history or by tradition,—who has ever gained land outside of Spain: And your Highnesses will gain these lands, so very great, which are ANOTHER WORLD,¹ and where Christianity will

¹ The reader must pause here and consider the significance of these few words. They constitute the second greatest utterance of Christopher Columbus. They are not the words of Bartolomé de las Casas, but the very words of the great Discoverer. Las Casas himself, after repeating them, apparently appreciating their importance, remarks: "*Todas estas son palabras formales del Almirante*": "All these are the identical words of the Admiral."

These are the pregnant words:

"*Y vuestras Altezas ganaron estas tierras, tantas, que son otro mundo*": "And your Highnesses will acquire these lands, so vast, which are another world."

Christopher Columbus had approached the Tropic of Cancer on his first voyage, had visited many islands around about, and was now but a few degrees from the middle line of the earth. He had seen shore after shore with no habitations more permanent than the hut of the savage, and no savage but who was naked of body and rude of life. Could he have thought these lands to be those of rich Cathay, lands known to the Western nations of Europe for ages, lands visited by Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, lands with which European merchants had traded overland for many generations, lands occupied by civilised and rich peoples, lands whose seas were filled with shipping, whose shores were lined with cities and active commercial ports, whose cities boasted marble palaces, whose palaces had their walls covered with gold and silver? Could he have dreamed he was among a people the commonest of whom affected dresses of cloth and coloured stuffs, whose Emperor gave to his twelve thousand Barons no less than 156,000 brilliant changes of raiment each year, and robes each of which was garnished with glowing gems? Where a mighty King has powerful Barons, countless satellites of lesser degree follow the steps of their lords. Was Columbus in such a land? Could he have expected his

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have so great pleasure, and our faith in time so great an increase. All this I say with very honest intention, and because I desire that Your Highnesses may be the greatest Lords in the World, I say Lords of it all: and it may all be with great service and contentment of the Holy Trinity, because at the end of their days they may have the glory of Paradise, and not for that which concerns me myself, whose hope is in His High Majesty, that Your Highnesses will soon see the truth of it, and this is my ardent desire.' All these are the genuine words of the Admiral.¹ . . .

"So that, in order to get out of this gulf, within which he was surrounded by land on all parts, with the intention already told of saving the supplies which he carried, which were being lost, in coming to this island of Española,—Saturday, August 11, at the appearance of the moon, he raised the anchors, spread the sails, and navigated toward the east, which is towards the place where the sun rises,² . . . in order to go out between the Point of Paria and the terra firma, which he called the 'punta' or 'Cabo de Lapa,' and the land he named 'Ysla de Gracia,' and between the cape which he called 'Cabo Boto' of the island of Trinity. . . .

"He arrived at a very good harbour, which he called 'puerto de Gatos,' which is connected with the mouth where are the two little islands of the Caracol and Delfin, between the capes of Lapa and Cape Boto. And this occurred Sunday, August 12.

"He anchored near the said harbour, in order to go out by the said mouth

Sovereigns to occupy such a world without a struggle to which the war with the Moors would have been a passing tournament?

Columbus knew he was in a new world, and that to the world of Europe and to the world of Cathay this which he had discovered, this which he laid at the feet of the Sovereigns of Spain, was indeed an *otro mundo*, a *mundus novus*.

The word *tantas*, as descriptive of the lands discovered, is found in the holograph example of Las Casas, but is omitted in the printed edition. It confirms our view that Columbus knew he was in a vast continental region.

That he believed he was in continental regions is likewise apparent from a passage which Las Casas a little farther down quotes from his *Journal*, the words being those of the Admiral:

"*Yo estoy creído que esta es tierra firme, grandissima, de que hasta hoy no se ha sabido*": "I am of the belief that this is continental land, most vast, and which has not been known up to this time."

¹ Here Las Casas digresses and speaks of the efforts put forth by the Admiral to please the Sovereigns, which efforts the Bishop says did not always please God, and he quotes from a letter of the Admiral, in which he says: "I say again on my oath that I have been more diligent to serve Your Highnesses than to gain Paradise."

The Bishop here refers to the riches of the New World, to describe which he says would take the eloquence of Demosthenes and the hand of Cicero. The Sovereigns should be grateful to God, says he, for distinguishing them as the discoverers and promoters of all these great things. Columbus is criticised for keeping before the Sovereigns the idea that they will get riches in return for their expenditures, instead of directing their attention to devoting their means to the conversion of the Indians. He says it is true what Columbus declared as to the gains reaped by the Portuguese; "but," says the righteous Bishop, "I pray God that I may have no part in such gains."

² Las Casas, in this suppressed passage, remarks: "Because he was in the corner of the Gulf where was the river *Yuyapari* as I have said above."

in the morning. He found another port near there, to examine which he sent a boat. It was very good. They found certain houses of fishermen, and much water and very fresh. He named it 'Puerto de las Cabañas.'¹ They found, he says, myrabolans on the land: near the sea, infinite oysters attached to the branches of the trees which enter into the sea, the mouths open to receive the dew which drops from the leaves and which engenders the pearls, as Pliny says and as is alleged in the vocabulary which is called *Catholicon*.

"Monday, August 13, at the rising of the moon, he weighed anchor from where he was, and came towards the Cape of Lapa.² . . . In order to go to the north by the mouth called 'del Drago,' for the following cause and danger in which he saw himself there: the Mouth of the Dragon, he says, is a strait which is between the Point of Lapa, the end of the island of Gracia³ . . . he says it is about a league and a half between the two capes.⁴ . . . Arriving at the said mouth at the hour of Tierce,⁵ he found a great struggle between the fresh water striving to go out to the sea and the salt water of the sea striving to enter into the Gulf, and it was so strong and fearful, that it raised a great crest, like a very high hill, and with this, both waters made a noise and thundering, from east to west, very great and fearful,⁶ with currents of water, and after one came four great waves one after the other, which made contending currents: here they thought to perish, no less than in the other mouth of the Sierpe by the Cape of Arenal when they entered into the Gulf. This danger was doubly more than the other, because the wind with which they hoped to get out died away, and they wished to anchor, because there was no remedy other than that, although it was not without danger from the fierceness of the waters, but they did not find bottom, because the sea was very deep there. They feared that the wind having calmed, the fresh or salt water might throw them on the rocks with their currents, when there would be no help . . . it pleased the goodness of God that from the same danger safety

¹ Ferdinand, in his *Historie*, does not mention these places.

² Las Casas here remarks, "Which is Paria."

³ Las Casas here explains: "Which is at the east end of the land of Paria and between Cape Boto which is the western end of the island of Trinidad."

⁴ Las Casas says: "This must be after having passed four little islands which he says lie in the centre of the channel [although now we do not really see more than two], by which he could not go out, and there remained of the strait only a league and a half in the passage. From the Punta de la Lapa to the Cabo de Boto it is five leagues."

It is well to remember the names of these four little islands: they are, counting westward from Trinidad, *Monos*, *Huevos*, *Chacachacare* and *el Pato*.

⁵ Tierce—nine o'clock in the morning.

⁶ From the *West India Pilot*, issued by the Admiralty Office of Great Britain:

"The tides are very strong and variable, and a vessel should anchor during the night, which she can do in safety. The stream runs in and out of the Boca Grande at any rate from one to 2½ knots. Near the mainland, in the early part of the morning, the wind is more northerly than at any other part of the day and it draws round gradually with the sun; the land wind comes off soon after sunset."

(This refers to the "Grand Boca.")

and liberty should issue, and the current of the fresh water overcame the current of the salt water and carried the ships safely out, and thus they were placed in security: because when God wills that one or many shall be held in life, the water is an agent of safety to them. Thus they went out, Monday, August 13, from the said dangerous Gulf and Mouth of the Dragon. He says that there are 48 leagues from the first land of la Trinidad to the Gulf which the sailors discovered whom he sent in the caravel, where they saw the rivers and he did not believe them, which Gulf he called 'de las Perlas,' and this is the corner—inside corner—of all the large Gulf, which he called 'de la Ballena,' where he travelled so many days encircled by land.¹ . . . Having gone out of the Gulf and the 'Boca del Drago' and having passed his danger, he decides to go to the west by the lower coast of the terra firma, believing yet that it was the island of Gracia, in order to get abreast on the right of the said Gulf of the Pearls north and south, and to go around it, and see whence comes so great abundance of water, and to see if it proceeded from rivers, as the sailors affirmed and which he says he did not believe because he had not heard that either the Ganges, the Nile or the Euphrates carried so much fresh water. The reason which moved him was because he did not see lands large enough to give birth to such great rivers, 'unless indeed,' he says, 'that this is continental land.' These are his words² . . . so that, going in search of that Gulf of the Pearls, whence the said rivers proceed, thinking to find it surrounded by land, considering it an island and to see if there was an entrance there, or an outlet to the south, and if he did not find it, he says he would affirm then that it was a river, and that both were a great wonder,—he went down the coast that Monday until the setting of the sun. He saw that the coast was filled with good harbours and a very high land: by that lower coast he saw many islands toward the north and many capes on the mainland, to all of which he gave names: to one, 'Cabo de Conchas'; to another, 'Cabo Luengo'; to another, 'Cabo de Sabor'; to another, 'Cabo Rico.' A high and very beautiful land. He says that on that way there are many harbours and very large gulfs which must be populated, and the farther he went to the west he saw the land more level and more beautiful. On going out of the mouth, he saw an island to the north, which might be 26 leagues from the north, and named it 'la isla de la Asuncion': he saw another island and named it 'la Concepcion,' and three other small islands together he called 'los Testigos'³ . . . another near them he called 'el Romero,' and three other little small islands

¹ Las Casas says: "I add that it is a good 50 leagues, as will appear from the chart of the navigation."

² Las Casas here remarks:

"So that he [the Admiral] was already beginning to suspect that the land of Gracia which he believed to be an island is continental land and the sailors had told the truth": (Here Las Casas refers to the report of the sailors when they came back from the explorations to the south part of the Gulf) "from which land there came such a quantity of water from the rivers, *Yuyapari* and the other which flows out near it, which we now call *Camari* and others which must empty there."

³ Las Casas says: "They are called this to-day."

he called 'las Guardias.' Afterwards he arrived near the 'isla Margarita,' and called it 'Margarita,' and another near it he named 'el Martinet' ¹ . . . because he says it was nine leagues from the island of Martinet, which was near, he says, to the Margarita, on the north. . . . There the eyes of the Admiral became very bad from not sleeping. Because always, as he was in so many dangers sailing among islands, it was his custom to himself watch on deck, and whoever takes ships with cargo should for the most part do that very thing, like the pilots, and he says that he found himself more fatigued here than when he discovered the other continental land, which is the island of Cuba ² . . . because his eyes were covered with blood, and thus his labours on the sea were incomparable. For this reason he was in bed this night, and therefore he found himself farther out in the sea than he would have been if he had watched himself, from which he did not trust himself to the sailors, nor should any one who is a diligent and perfect pilot trust to anybody, because dependent on him and on his head are all those who go in the ship, and that which is most necessary and proper to his office is to watch and not sleep all the time while he navigates.

"The Admiral appears to have gone down the coast after he came out of the Mouth of the Dragon, yesterday Monday and to-day Tuesday, 30 or 40 leagues at least, although he does not say so, as he complains that he did not write all that he had to write, as he could not on account of his being so ill here. And as he saw that the land was becoming very extended below to the west, and appeared more level and more beautiful, and the Gulf of the Pearls which was in the back part of the Gulf, or fresh-water sea ³ . . . had no outlet, which he hoped to see, believing that this land was an island, he now became conscious that so great a terra firma was not an island, but continental land, and as in speaking with the Sovereigns, he

¹ Las Casas remarks: "Afterwards he arrived near the island of Margarita, and named it Margarita, and another island near it he named Martinet. This Margarita is an island 15 leagues long, and 5 or 6 wide, and is very green and beautiful on the coast and is very good within, for which reason it is inhabited: it has near it extending lengthwise east and west, three small islands, and two behind them extending north and south. The Admiral did not see more than the three, as he was going along the southern part of Margarita. It is six or seven leagues from the mainland, and this makes a small gulf between it and the mainland, and in the middle of the gulf are two small islands, east and west, beside each other: the one is called Coche, which means deer, and the other Cubagua, which is the one we have described in chapter 136 [*Historia*], and said that there are an infinite quantity of pearls gathered there. So that the Admiral although he did not know that the pearls were formed in this gulf, appears to have divined that fact in naming it Margarita: he was very near it, although he does not express it, because he says he was nine leagues from the island of Martinet, which he says was near Margarita, on the northern part, and he says near it, because as he was going along the southern part of Margarita, it appeared to be near, although it was eight or nine leagues away: and this is the small island to the north, near Margarita which is now called Blanca, and is distant eight or nine leagues from Margarita as said. . . ."

² Las Casas says: "Which he regarded as continental land even until now."

³ Las Casas here says: "Whence the river of *Yuyaparí* flowed, in the search of which he was going."

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says here: 'I believe that this is a very great continental land, which until to-day has not been known. And reason aids me greatly because of this being such a great river and because of this sea which is fresh, and afterwards the saying of Esdras aids me, in the 4th book, chapter 6th, which says that the six parts of the world are of dry land and the one of water. Which book St. Ambrosio approves in his Exameron and St. Augustin in that passage "Moriatur filius meus Christus," as Francisco de Mayrones alleges. And further, I am supported by the sayings of many Cannibal Indians, whom I took at other times, who said that to the south of them was continental land, and then I was on the island of Guadeloupe, and also I heard it from others of the island of Sancta Cruz and of Sant Juan, and they said that in it there was much gold, and, as your Highnesses know, a very short time ago, there was no other land known than that which Ptolemy wrote of, and there was not in my time any one who would believe that one could navigate from Spain to the Indies: about which matter I was seven years in your Court, and there were few who understood it: and finally the very great courage of your Highnesses caused it to be tried, against the opinion of those who contradicted it. And now the truth appears, and it will appear before long, much greater: and if this is the continental land, it is a thing of wonder, and it will be so among all the learned, since so great a river flows out that it makes a fresh-water sea of 48 leagues.' These are his words.¹ . . .

" Travelling as fast as possible, he wished to come to this Española, for some reasons which impelled him greatly: one, because he was travelling with great anxiety and affliction, as he had not had news of the condition of this island for so many days ²: . . . the other in order to despatch

¹ Here is omitted matter making some forty pages of the printed edition of Las Casas, and which, while interesting, is not from the *Journal* of the Admiral. Las Casas proceeds to speak of Americus Vespucius and to deprecate the naming of the New World after him. The reader must remember that Las Casas is now speaking of the claim that Vespucius discovered *Paria*, and that land of which Columbus took possession on August 5, 1498. It seems strange that the good Bishop did not know that it was not *Paria* (as given in the Latin version of the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*), but *Lariab*, on the northern continental land, that Vespucius discovered and that in the previous year. Las Casas says that after the third voyage the Admiral sent to the Sovereigns a map of the land he had discovered, and when Alonzo de Hojeda saw this map and read the relation made to the Sovereigns by the Admiral, he started on an expedition to this region, and with him went Americus Vespucius, thus confirming the genuineness of the latter's Second Voyage. Las Casas regards Vespucius as a merchant sharing in the profits, but admits that he may have been also a pilot. The good Bishop doubtless is trying to be just, but it is plain from what he says that he has before him the Latin edition of the *Introductio Cosmographiæ*, and it is no wonder, if reading there the claim of Vespucius to the discovery of *Paria*, he should be moved by indignation. In reality no such claim was made. (See the author's *Continent of America*.)

Las Casas then speaks of the Admiral and his conception of the Earthly Paradise, and while he again takes an opportunity to declare that he was not perfect in his use of the Castilian tongue, he credits him with great familiarity with the authors, ancient and modern, who have written on the Earthly Paradise.

² Las Casas here seems to indicate that the Admiral had a premonition that all

immediately the Adelantado his brother, with three ships, to continue his discovery of the continental land¹ which he had already begun to explore: . . . the third cause which hastened him in coming to this island, was from seeing that the supplies were spoiling and being lost, of which he had such great need for the relief of those who were here, which made him weep again, considering that he had obtained them with great difficulties and fatigues, and he says that, if they are lost, he has no hope of getting others, from the great opposition he always encountered from those who counselled the Sovereigns, 'who,' he says here, 'are not friends nor desire the honour of the high condition of their Highnesses, the persons who have spoken evil to them of such a noble undertaking. Nor was the cost so great that it should not be expended, although benefits might not be had quickly to recompense it, since the service was very great which was rendered our Lord in spreading His Holy name through unknown lands. And besides this, it would be a much greater memorial than any Prince had left, spiritual and temporal.' And the Admiral says further, 'And for this the revenue of a good Bishopric or Archbishopric would be well secured, and I say,' says he, 'as good as the best in Spain, since there are here so many resources and as yet no priesthood. They may have heard that here there are infinite peoples, which may have determined the sending here of learned and intelligent persons and friends of Christ to try and make them Christians and commence the work: the establishment of which Bishopric I am very sure will be made, please our Lord, and the revenues will soon come from here and be carried there.' These are his words. . . . The fourth cause for coming to this island and not stopping to discover more, which he would have very much wished, as he says, was because the seamen did not come prepared to make discoveries, since he says that he did not dare to say in Castile that he came with intention to make discoveries, because they would have placed some impediments in his way, or would have demanded more money of him than he had, and he says that the people were becoming very tired. The fifth cause, was because the ships he had were large for making discoveries, as the one was of more than 100 tons and the other more than 70, and only smaller ones are needed to make discoveries: and because of the ship which he took on his first voyage being large, he lost it in the harbour of Navidad, kingdom of the King Guacanagari. . . . Also the sixth reason which very much constrained him to leave the discoveries and come to this island, was because of having his eyes almost lost from not sleeping, from the long and continued watches or vigils he had had: and in this place he says thus:

was not right at Española, and that he may have had a vision of the condition of the island under the rebellious conduct of Francisco Roldan.

¹ Las Casas says that if it had not been for the rebellion of this Roldan, either Columbus or his brother would have prosecuted the discoveries already made and have continued the continental exploration even to New Spain, the land between the Gulf of Mexico and the Mar del Sur. Evidently the good Bishop was not thinking of the prosecution of discoveries to the east of the Orinoco and the introduction of problems which have greatly perplexed our own time.

'May it please our Lord to free me from this malady,' he says. 'He well knows that I did not suffer these fatigues in order to find treasures for myself, since surely I recognise that all is vanity which is done in this age, save that which is for the honour and service of God, which is not to amass pomps or riches, nor the many other things we use in this world, in which we are more inclined than to the things which can save us.' These are his words.

"Having determined, then, to come as quickly as he could to this island, Wednesday, August 15, which was the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, after the rising of the sun, he ordered the anchors weighed from where he was anchored, which must have been within the small gulf which the Margarita and the other little islands make with the continental land . . . and sailed on the way to this island: and, pursuing his way, he saw very clearly the Margarita and the little islands which were there, and also, the farther away he went, he discovered more high land of the continent. And he went that day from sunrise to sunset 63 leagues, because of the great currents which supplemented the wind.¹ . . .

"The next day, Thursday, August 16, he navigated to the north-west, quarter of the north, 26 leagues, with the sea calm, 'gracias á Dios' as he always said. He tells here a wonderful thing, that when he left the Canarias for this Española, having gone 300 leagues to the west, then the needles declined to the north-west one quarter, and the North Star did not rise but 5 degrees, and now in this voyage it has not declined to the north-west until last night, when it declined more than a quarter and a half, and some needles declined 'medio viento' which are two quarters: and this happened suddenly last night. And he says each night he was marvelling at such a change in the heavens, and of the temperature there, so near the Equinoctial line which he experienced in all this voyage, after having found land: especially the sun being in Leo, where, as has been told, in the mornings a loose gown was worn, and where the people of that place—Gracia—were actually whiter than the people who have been seen in the Indies. He also found in the place where he now came that the North Star was in 14 degrees when the Guardians had passed from the head after two hours and a half. Here he again exhorted the Sovereigns to esteem this affair highly, since he had shown them that there was in this land gold, and he had seen in it minerals without number, which will have to be extracted with intelligence, industry and labour, since even the iron, as much as there is, cannot be taken out without these sacrifices: and he has taken them a nugget of 20 ounces and many others, and where this is, it must be believed there is plenty, and he took their Highnesses a lump of copper originally of six 'arrobas,' lapis-lazuli, gum-lac, amber, cotton, pepper, cinnamon, a great quantity of Brazil-wood, aromatic gum, white and yellow sandalwood, flax, aloes, ginger, incense, myrabolans of all kinds, very fine pearls and pearls of a reddish colour, which Marco Polo says are worth more than

¹ Las Casas now gives a long and detailed account of the latter part of the rebellion of Francisco Roldan, saying that it is proper at this point to follow the fortunes of the three ships sent by the Admiral from the Canaries at the beginning of his voyage.

the white ones.¹ . . . 'There are infinite kinds of spices which have been seen of which I do not care to speak for fear of prolixity.' All these are his words.² . . .

"Friday, August 17, he went 37 leagues, the sea being smooth, 'to God our Lord,' he says, 'may infinite thanks be given.' He says that not finding islands now, assures him that that land from whence he came is a great continental land, or where the Earthly Paradise is, 'because all say that it is at the end of the east, and this is the Earthly Paradise,' says he.

"Saturday, between day and night, he went 39 leagues.

"Sunday, August 19, he went in the day and the night 33 leagues, and reached land: and this was a very small island which he called 'Madama Beata' ³ . . . there is next to it another smaller one which has a hillock like a small saw, which from a distance looks like a sail, and he named it 'Alto Velo.' He believed that the Beata was a small island which he called 'Sancta Catherina' when he came by this southern coast, from the discovery of the island of Cuba, and distant from this port of Sancto Domingo 25 leagues, and is next to this island. It weighed upon him to have fallen off in his course so much, and he says it should not be counted strange, since during the nights he was from caution beating about to windward, for fear of running against some islands or shoals; there was therefore reason for this error, and thus in not following a straight course, the currents, which are very strong here, and which flow down towards terra firma and the west, must have carried the ships, without realising it, so low.⁴ . . .

"Therefore he anchored now between the Beata and this island, between which there are two leagues of sea, Monday, August 20. He then sent the boats to land to call Indians, as there were villages there, in order to write of his arrival to the Adelantado: having come at midday, he despatched them. Twice there came to the ship six Indians, and one of them carried a crossbow with its cord, and other things which caused him no small surprise, and he said, 'May it please God that no one is dead.' And because from Sancto Domingo the three ships must have been seen to pass downward, and concluding that it certainly was the Admiral as he was expecting him each day, the Adelantado started then in a caravel and overtook the Admiral here. They both were very much pleased to see each other. Having asked him about the condition of the country, the Adelantado recounted to him how Francisco Roldan had arisen with 80 men, with all

¹ Here the Bishop remarks that this may well be true in regard to the darker or reddish pearls, since the Portuguese obtain such good prices for those they find.

² Las Casas here discourses on the different spices and the various commodities of the islands.

³ Las Casas says: "This is a small island of a matter of a league and a half close by this island of Española, and distant from this port of Sancto Domingo about 50 leagues and distant 15 leagues from the port of Yaquino, which is more to the west."

⁴ Las Casas makes the astonishing statement that the contrary currents are so great here as to prevent ships, finding themselves in that place, from reaching San Domingo for as long a period as eight months.

the rest of the occurrences which had passed in this island, since he left it.¹ . . .

" He left there, Wednesday, August 22, and finally with some difficulty because of the many currents and the north-east breezes which are continuous and contrary there he arrived at this port of Sancto Domingo, Friday, the last day of August of the said year 1498.² . . . "

¹ The Bishop here remarks that there is little necessity for dwelling upon the feelings of the Admiral when he heard the news respecting the Roldan rebellion.

² Las Casas adds: ". . . having departed from Isabella for Castile Thursday, March 10, 1496, so that from then to this day of his return was a period of absence covering two years and a half less nine days." Of course, the Bishop is alluding to the departure of the Admiral from *Isabella Vecchia* and his return to Spain from his second voyage.

CHAPTER LXXXII

THE EARTHLY PARADISE

WHEN Columbus was on his way home from his first voyage, having a week before passed through the fearful storm of Thursday, February 14, 1493, he entered in his *Journal* the reflection that he was returning from a land of delight, where the climate was gentle, the sea calm, the skies unclouded, and where all nature was serene and happy, only a few days after to experience the dangers of a tempestuous and familiar ocean. And then he recalls:

“The theologians and the philosophers have said with so much truth, that the Earthly Paradise is situated at the extremity of the East, because it is a country very temperate; and moreover he says the lands which he had just discovered are those at the extremity of the East.”

No navigator ever possessed the imagination which wandered through the chambers of the Admiral's brain. He was ever seeing visions and listening to celestial voices. This experience has been in all times the possession of him who believed he had a mission committed to his care by the Gods above. Divine missions are confided to divine messengers. They are not given to mean men. Columbus saw himself set aside from the beginning of time as the agent through whom the whole world should become known, the Christian religion be everywhere promulgated and triumphant, the Moslem be driven from the Holy Sepulchre, and even Paradise be regained. He had read in the Book of Genesis:

“Plantauerat ¹ autem dñs deus paradisum voluptatis a principio: in quo posuit hominē quem formauerat. . . . Et fluuius egrediebatur

¹ Genesis, cap. ii.

de loco voluptatis ab irrigandum paradifum: qui inde diuiditur in quatuor capita. Nomē vni phison. Ipse est qui circuit omnem terram ēuilath. Vbi nascitur aurum: ⁊ aur terre illius optimum est. Ibiq inuenitur bedellium: ⁊ lapis onichinus. Et nomen fluuii fecundi gyon. Ipse ē qui circuit omnē terram ethiopie. Nomen vero tercii tigris. Ipse vadit contra affirios. Fluminis autem quartus ipse est eufrates. Tulit ergo dñs deus hominem: ⁊ posuit eum in paradifum voluptatis vt operaretur.”

“But the Lord God in the beginning had planted a Paradise of Delight: in which he placed the man whom he had fashioned. . . . And a river came out from the Place of Delight to water Paradise: which from thence is divided into four heads. The name of the one is Phison. It is that one which encompasses all the land of Hevilath: whence gold is produced: and the gold of that land is the best. And there is found bdellium: and the onyx-stone. And the name of the second river is Gyon. It is that one which encompasses all the land of Ethiopia. Verily the name of the third is Tigris. It is the one which rushes toward the Assyrians. But the fourth river is the Euphrates itself. So the Lord God bore [carried] man: and He placed him in the Paradise of Delight that it might be tilled.”

If Columbus read the Bible at all, he read it as given here.¹ He says:

“I do not find and I have never found in any writings of the Latins or the Greeks anything which indicates with certainty the situation in the world of the Earthly Paradise, and I have never found in any map of the world any reliable arguments.”

Columbus probably never saw a copy of the printed Hebrew Pentateuch. He probably never saw a manuscript copy of the Septuagint version in Greek. Therefore there were only legend and the opinion of certain Fathers of the Church to warrant the placing of Paradise in the east,—that is to say, the extremity of

¹ The version of the Bible in use in the time of Columbus was that of Saint Jerome, made directly from the Hebrew into Latin, and not from the Septuagint Greek version. Not far from one hundred and fifty editions of the Holy Scriptures had been printed at the time Columbus was thinking about Paradise and the Gulf of Paria, mostly in the Latin and German tongues. The Hebrew Sacred Writings had been printed in parts as early as 1487: the Pentateuch in 1482, the Former Prophets in 1485, the Later Prophets in 1486, and the Hagiographa in 1487. There is said to have been printed in Spanish a copy of the Bible at Valencia in 1477, the same year that the first Dutch Bible issued from the press. The Bible was not printed in Greek until 1518, when the Septuagint version issued from the press. Nieolaus de Lyra, who wrote commentaries on St. Jerome's version, was the first, so far as we know, to call attention to the peculiar reading in Genesis where the Garden of Eden is said to have been situated *toward the east*. The commentator says this reading is found in some codices. The story that the Septuagint was really the result of the co-operative labour of two and seventy learned scholars from Palestine, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is to-day doubted.

the east. Columbus did not read from the Holy Scriptures any direct authority for locating the Earthly Paradise in the east,—*en el fin oriente*. Indeed, he expressly says that some have placed it in the Fortunate Islands,—up to his time the extreme west. If Columbus had sought an argument for modifying the view of the Paradise in the extremity of the east, he might have found it in the same version of the Bible in which he read the above account. In the fourth chapter of Genesis, after the murder of Abel, we read:

“*Egreffusq̃ cayn a facie dñi habitavit profugus in terra ad orientalem plagam Eden*”: “And Cain, going forth from the face of the Lord, lived a wanderer in the world to the region eastward of Eden.”

If, then, Cain wandered into regions eastward of where mankind was created, manifestly the Paradise was not in the extremity of the east. The Lord ordained this first social sinner to wander in that part of the world which was east of Paradise. Poetical as well as divine justice would require the condemned wanderer to go far away from the place called *Paradisus Voluptatis*. The above account used by Saint Jerome followed the Targum, or the Aramaic versions, and both followed a legend that before the earth was created there had been a Paradise. Some of the early painters represented Paradise as a terrestrial outgrowth from Heaven. The Hebrew version of the Book of Genesis, printed by Christopher Plantinus at Antwerp in 1571, was considered as nearly correct as it was possible then to find the text, and we give a literal translation from this:

“The Lord God planted a garden in Eden from the east ¹ and there placed the man whom he had fashioned. . . . A river going out from Eden for the watering of the garden, and from thence it is divided into four heads. The name of the one is Pison, encompassing the whole land of Chavilah: where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium ² and the Shoham stone ³: and the name of the second river is

¹ The Latin interlinear here has *ab oriente*. The Hebrew *Mikkedem* has a double meaning, one of place, the other of time, and, according as we translate it, so we follow Saint Jerome or the Septuagint. In the one sense it reads *from the beginning* (of time). In the other it reads from the beginning of the land,—that is, the place of the sunrise, and therefore to the ancients the eastward; moreover, in the interlinear Latin, the perfect and not the pluperfect tense is used,—*plantavit*, not *plantaverat*.

² In the Talmud this word is *yoma*, “pearl.”

³ Beryl. In some Greek versions it is written *πρασινοῦς*—green like the leek.

The word *onyx-onychis*, employed by Saint Jerome and the translators of the Septuagint to designate the onyx-stone, has an unusual meaning attached to it in Pliny

Ghico, the one encompassing all the land of Cush ¹; and the name of the third river is Chidekel,² the one going before Assyria: the fourth river is Perath.³ And the Lord God bore man and placed him in the Garden Eden."

In the modern version we read:

"And Cain went out from the face of the Lord and dwelt in the land of Nod on the east of Eden." ⁴

To construct a topographical map from the account in Genesis of man's first home, we must have a country called Eden, an extensive and mountainous region in order to accumulate and send forth the necessary volume of water; we must place to the eastward of this region a Paradise of Delight in which grow all manner of things good to see and good to eat: we must have four great rivers flowing from the Place of Delight, not to the eastward, as so many seem to think, but in various directions, separating the one from the other and departing for distant lands: we must have another country, a land of Nod, which we would place far away from Eden, and following biblical scholars rather than our own sense of dramatic fitness, we would place this land to the eastward of Paradise. Thus we have the first movement of mankind not from the east to the west, but from the west to the east. Man was fashioned in Eden, woman was created in Paradise, whither man had been carried, their progeny came into the world from a region outside and away from the Place of Delight, and beyond this, still farther to the east, wandered Cain and his people. Whoever wrote this interesting story of the creation of man and Paradise, with its brief occupation, was kin of soul to our own Columbus, like him a worshipper, like him imaginative.

(*Nat. Hist.*, lib. 32, eap. 6), where we read, "*Invenio apud quosdam ostreatium vocari quod aliqui onychen vocant.*" When the precious stones entering into the composition of the twelve gates are enumerated, the onyx of itself is not mentioned, although to the writer of the book called Genesis it might have appeared precious. On the other hand, if this mussel of Pliny is read as the producer of pearls, the same word is not again employed in that sense by this or any other sacred writer. In Exodus another Hebrew word is used in describing the stone in the breastplate of the High Priest which Saint Jerome translates onyx.

¹ Ethiopia.

² Dekel-Persian for arrow, the swift flight of the Tigris suggesting this name.

³ Perath, Phrat, Frat,—Euphrates.

⁴ This is interpreted to mean *toward the east*, but if Paradise lay between Eden and Nod it would have read "the land of Nod before or beyond Paradise."

In the time of Columbus there were two views prevailing relative to the situation of the Earthly Paradise. The one placed that region at the eastern extremity of the habitable earth. This view followed the Fathers of the Church, and they followed a certain Greek Codex, which read *κατ' ανατολας*—*down by the sunrise*. Therefore they placed Paradise toward the sources of the Indus and the Ganges. But the same authority named two of the four rivers which flow from this place and calls them the Tigris¹ and the Euphrates, both of which rivers flow not from the east but rather toward the east. This apparent difficulty was overcome by Theodoretus,² Bishop of Cyrus, who, in his commentaries on the Bible, written in the fifth century, considered that these rivers had their source in India, and were conveniently carried through subterraneous channels until, in the mountains of Armenia and Ethiopia, they were born again. This difficulty of fluvial regeneration was a stumbling block neither to the churchman nor to the philosopher. Pomponius Mela accepted the theory that the Nilus took its birth in the opposite part of the world,—the Antichthones,—and passed under the bottom of the ocean, reappearing in the mountains of distant Ethiopia, whence it flowed on down into Egypt. Seneca admitted the probability of subterranean streams: *Non equidem existimo diu te hæsitaturum an credas esse subterraneos amnes et mare absconditum*; and then the philosopher relates the story of the Greek colony in the Sicilian isles recognising in their new home the waters of their own beloved Alpheus. Timeus repeats the story of the flagon which, thrown into the Alpheus in Greece, came up to the surface in the fountain of Arethusa near Syracuse. Another embarrassing question which the Inquisition sometimes propounded was, why, if the Paradise was in the extreme east, whither travellers had early found their way, was there no report brought back to the world of its existence? Here again the Fathers of the Church answered that it was not the will of God that it should be revealed again to man while the world was still unregenerate, and no one within or without the Church knew the answer to this.

¹ This is the *Hiddekel* of the Saint James version—that is, the *Dekel* or *Diglaath*, a Semitic corruption some think of Tigra, Persian for an arrow, in Greek Tigris, or arrowy stream.

² Theodoretus, *Opera Omnia*, in Greek and Latin, printed at Paris in four folio volumes in 1642.

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The other view of the locality of the Earthly Paradise placed it in the Antichthones or Antipodes. By establishing this Garden of Delight in the Antichthones, the embarrassment of accounting for its remaining concealed all the ages was avoided, for the Antichthones were separated from the eastern hemisphere by impassable seas, unnavigable waters, shallow and destructive. Some have thought that the Phœnicians had voyaged very far toward the west, and whether successful or unsuccessful, had covered up their experiences by repeating stories of the dangerous shoals over which no ship might pass in safety. The Antichthones were not the mysterious islands which were reported to lie off westward in the ocean, but were immense habitable lands situated in the southern zone. Aristotle and Eratosthenes held the doctrine of the existence of a great southern continent. Here, according to some, was placed Paradise.

Columbus himself seems to have held the first of these views somewhat modified. He believed that he was near this place for many reasons. If the locality of Paradise had been kept from man, its name might still have been in part preserved to it, and the natives told him that the land where he then was bore the name of Paria. He rejected the theory that Paradise was on a high mountain, like the mountain of Purgatory described by Dante. Columbus believed that the earth was shaped more like a pear than an orange, and that Paradise might be found near the stem of the pear. When he was at land on this his third voyage, he regarded himself as having gradually ascended along the surface of the waters and as having arrived at the most elevated part of the globe. Paradise, though not situated on Dante's mountain, was on a high place, since there poured forth from it four such mighty rivers. He found himself breathing a pure air, under the softest skies, sailing unruffled seas, looking on fields of verdure. Paradise itself could not be happier in its climate. In Paradise was the home of gold, of palms, of pearls. The natives of Paria displayed golden ornaments, and the chief men wore crowns of this shining metal. Into the Gulf the waters of the Orinoco poured through four rivers, like the four rivers Phison, Gyron, Tigris, and Euphrates. As they came down to the coast they almost submerged the plenteous palm trees,—and there were palms in

Paradise. On the western coast of the Gulf the natives gave him beautiful pearls, which came from the shore of the ocean, not far west of the Gulf. He is not prepared to say but that farther to the south, over the line of the Equator, the elevation, of the land might not be greater, the air still softer, and the stars changing their places yet more markedly. The land he has discovered, he tells the Sovereigns, he believes to be very vast and to extend itself still more to the south. But the waters, so powerful that they can drive out the surging waves of the ocean, so pure that they can sweeten the salted sea, can come from no other region, it seems to him, than from that Paradise of Delight prepared from the beginning—*ab principio*—for the home of man, from which he was driven a certain distance, first by sin, and then still farther by the penalty of sin.

PLAN DE LA VILLE DE SAN-DOMINGO

ECHELLE.



1. le Château
2. l'Eglise Métropolitaine
3. l'Hôtel de Ville
4. l'Archevêché
5. Place d'Armes
6. Présidence
7. Palais de Dom Diego Colomb
8. les Portes de la Mer
9. les Jacobins
10. les Jacobins

11. les Cordeliers
12. Religieuses des *S^{ts} Claire*
13. les Jansénistes
14. S^t Antoine
15. S^{te} Barbe
16. le Collège
17. l'Hôpital
18. Hôpital des Incurables
19. Boucheries
20. Prison



CHAPTER LXXXIII

THE EMBLEMS OF INJUSTICE

THE Admiral found in Española a new city erected in his absence by Bartholomew Columbus. It stood on the spot first suggested by Miguel Diaz, and to which he invited the Spaniards by his glowing descriptions. The river Ozama there flowed into the ocean and the high ground on both its sides presented an ideal site for a city. In our chapters under "Los Restos" we will become more familiar with this ancient city.

The meeting of the brothers, the Admiral who represented the Sovereigns, and the Adelantado who represented the Admiral, was solemn and interesting. Each must have realised that the pendulum of success was swinging away from him. If the Admiral had to report a certain hostility at home, not necessarily that of some Fonseca, but that which does and always will step in front to bar or to impede the successful man, the Adelantado on his part had far worse news to impart. The colony was in revolt. Francisco Roldan, a Castilian, a leader among the discontented and second only in authority to Bartholomew Columbus, had conspired against the latter, and at the head of a large party, stronger than the forces of the Adelantado, was in open rebellion. Disorder was general throughout the unhappy island. Roldan was, by the favour and appointment of the Admiral, the Judge General, or Alcalde Major. He was a man of ambition, energy, and ability. In exercising the functions of his office he had quarrelled with the Adelantado, who was a splendid but not over-gentle executive. During the absence of the Admiral from Española the government was in the hands of his brothers Bartholomew and Diego, the former much the stronger and more forceful of the two. There was

always present with the Spaniards a feeling that the three brothers were foreigners, that they were reaping rich rewards which otherwise might go to some of their own people. With this natural sentiment for a foundation, Roldan built up an edifice of suspicion, jealousy, and hate. He represented that the Italian brothers were using the proud Spaniards like slaves, and that it was a galling shame to be obliged to humble themselves before foreign governors. We shall see in our account of the *Book of Privileges* that provision had been made for transporting to the New World the criminals of Spain, and this most unwise feature of colonisation was now working out its ruin. These low creatures lent themselves eagerly to the schemes of Roldan. They quickly enrolled themselves under his black banner. Instead of restraint he permitted them riot; instead of law he gave them licence. For the most part these men had served as soldiers, and there remained of their military discipline only enough of form to make them stand together and protect themselves against the regular authority of the Adelantado and the native hostility of the Indians. Roldan now began his labour of spreading dissatisfaction among these, beginning with advising the caciques or chiefs to pay no tribute, and promising to support them in their disobedience. He selected for the headquarters of himself and his men the province of Xaragua, fertile in its soil, like Andalusia in its climate, whose men were generous and hospitable; while in the carpeted groves danced Houris and Peris, and in the streams the foot disturbed sands of gold and the eye revelled in the graceful movements of enchanting nymphs. The inviting picture pleased all who heard it. The Adelantado knew not which of his men to trust. Deserters were marching off in companies. It was to a government discredited and to a colony in revolt that Columbus returned. His fate was carrying him from troubles known, from the danger of storm and the fickleness of the sea, to evils that he knew not of, and into dangers against which he could not guard, and ever the shadow of indignity moved on before him. He was not strong enough to cope with the evil forces about him. His hands were not supported by the Sovereigns as they should have been. But now he made one of the most beautiful diplomatic plays ever seen upon the board, and, sacrificing the pawns of official dignity and angry justice, he moved into a

position where he checked rebellion and held his enemy. This prime rebel, this ungrateful Roldan, was forgiven and bound to him by hostages of lands and offices. The knight of the road became the mounted patrol of peace and order. Henceforth the Admiral had a daring lieutenant whose own interests—the retention of his office and the security of his property—depended upon the establishment of authority and the obedience to law. Thus, when in the early fall of the year 1499, Alonzo de Hojeda, himself the most picturesque specimen of the Spanish adventurer, thought to forage on the colony of Española, Roldan, the reformed thief, was set to apprehend him.

The ships which returned to Spain bore tales of this constant strife, the sound of which continued to reverberate after the commotion was somewhat stilled. The Sovereigns sent from Spain an officer of their household, Francesco de Bobadilla. He came clothed with powers so great that they were indefinite. These papers of authority and commission were made out several months before, under date of March 21, 1499, and empowered him to make an executive inquiry as to seditions and revolts; another credited Bobadilla with authority and was directed to the magistrates of the island; still another required the Admiral to give up the forts, arms, and all Royal property. The most singular of all was this:

“El Rey é la Reina: D. Cristóbal Colon, nuestro Almirante del mar Océano: Nos habemos mandado al Comendador Francisco de Bobadilla, llevador desta, que vos hable de nuestra parte algunas cosas que él dirá: rogamos vos que le deis fe é creencia, y aquello pongais en obra. De Madrid á veinte y seis de Mayo, de noventa y nueve años. *Yo el Rey. Yo la Reina.* Por su mandado. Miguel Perez de Almazan.”

“The King and the Queen: Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral of the Ocean-sea. We have directed Francisco de Bobadilla, the bearer of this, to speak to you for us of certain things which he will mention: we request you to give him faith and credence and to obey him. From Madrid, May 26, '99. I THE KING. I THE QUEEN. By their command. Miguel Perez de Almazan.”

He bore also some warrants which were signed, but were not filled. The drafts were regular in their order to pay, but the amount was not specified in writing or in figures. If Bobadilla had been the best intentioned of mortals, he would probably have fallen a prey to the enemies of the Admiral and the

untoward circumstances surrounding him. The powers of Bobadilla were not recognised as quickly as he would have had them. Each obstacle and every delay set his face harder against the Admiral, the Adelantado, and Don Diego, the youngest brother. The fort occupied by a ridiculously small force, but commanded by Miguel Diaz, refused to surrender at the mere command of Bobadilla, and thus still further was antagonism aroused.¹ It soon had to yield to superior numbers. The new Governor established himself in the Admiral's house and seized his public and private papers, even using his money to pay such debts as were presented him without the Admiral's knowledge or consent. When we consider the *Book of Privileges* we shall see how an attempt was made to right some of these wrongs. But there was coming a wrong which could not be righted by apology or favour, the cries of which are still heard like ghostly sounds in the desolate halls of history. There never can be justice for this unjust thing.

It was sometime in the latter part of September in the year 1500 that the Admiral came into the town of San Domingo and was put into prison by Bobadilla, and his own servant² was detailed to fetter him with irons.

That the Admiral expected to be murdered is probable. Las Casas describes the scene when Alonzo de Villejo, who was to carry him to Spain, and from whom Las Casas says he heard all these things, approached the Admiral to remove him to the ship.

"With a mournful and profound sadness, which well indicated the strength of his apprehension, he asked:

"'Villejo, whither are you taking me?'

"Villejo responded:

"'Excellency, your Lordship is going to the ship to embark.'

"The Admiral, still in doubt, repeated his question:

¹ This failure temporarily to recognise authority, supplanting some previous authority and therefore unwelcome to it, always prejudices the case. More than 180 years after this occurrence, in the city of New York, Jacob Leisler's refusal to give up the keys of the fort at the order of William and Mary's newly appointed Governor, brought about his downfall as much as the original charge of treason.

² Las Casas says:

"When they desired to place the irons upon the Admiral there was not found present any one who would put them on, because of reverence and compassion, except one, a cook of his, ungrateful and shameless, who fastened them on with as impudent a face as if he were serving him with some dish of a new and delightful food. I knew this person very well, and he was called Espinosa" (*Historia*, vol. ii., p. 497).

“‘Villejo, is this true?’

“Villejo replies:

“‘By the life of your Lordship, it *is* true that you are going to embark.’

“With these words the Admiral was greatly moved and brought back almost from death to life.”

At the beginning of October, 1500 (Las Casas does not give us any closer date), the vessels with the Admiral and his brother in chains sailed from San Domingo. When he was at sea, Villejo desired to remove the fetters, but Las Casas and Ferdinand both relate that the Admiral would not consent to this, and declared that he would wear them ever till he should kneel, with them still on, before the Sovereigns. And both Las Casas and Ferdinand are agreed as to the much disputed story of the manner in which the Admiral ever after guarded these emblems of his wrongs, keeping them with him in his own room, and directing them to be interred with his body after death.¹ The Will of the Admiral makes no mention of this desire for perpetuating an episode in his life which, while painful and degrading, was not by the authority of the Sovereigns. However, this sentiment of insult and humiliation probably did exist very strongly, and, in a person of the Admiral's temperament, was not smothered by the passing years. Those irons riveted to his fame glory instead of disgrace, and as the world listens to the clanking chains they seem to drown the voice of Las Casas as he speaks of the wrongs the Admiral perpetrated on the Indians. Whether the Admiral will consent to our removing them or not, they will always remain somewhat in sight and always command something of our sympathy.

The ships arrived at Cadiz on November 20, 1500, and thus ended the third voyage of Christopher Columbus.

The news of this third voyage, particularly as to its discoveries, was spread by means of the *Libretto*, which was the first publication to relate its success. But, as was the case with

¹ It is commonly said that Ferdinand alone is authority for this statement, but Las Casas likewise repeats this story.

No signs of these irons have ever been found. Humboldt inquired in San Domingo if there had ever been seen any traces of oxydisation in the coffin of Columbus, which would suggest the presence there of chains or fetters, and could not discover any.

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other voyages, private correspondence carried the news to royal Courts and commercial centres directly after the return of the first ships from Española. In the Magliabecchian Library in Florence is preserved a manuscript letter written by Simon Verde,¹ a Florentine commercial agent, addressed to Mateo Cini, also a Florentine, but in business at Venice, and dated January 2, 1498, an evident error for January 2, 1499. This letter relates the arrival of five ships from the islands of the Indies after a voyage of forty days, and can only refer to news of this third voyage.

"They have brought 300 slaves, a little gold and much dye-wood of the first quality. According to what they say there are there immense forests of this [dye-wood]. They have discovered new lands and, as they report, continental land on the south coast or rather to the south-west, with inhabitants less barbarous than those with which they have hitherto met. . . . I have read a letter which the Admiral has written to the Sovereigns expressing great hopes on the subject of his enterprise. It is marvellous the great quantity and the force of the waters they encounter there. He says the sand-banks [*l'arene*] are very high and that the mouths of the river are very great, so that the ships are not able to oppose the strong currents of the fresh waters. The said ships have navigated 20 leagues in a gulf of which the waters are always fresh. That confirms the sayings of the philosophers that the earth is of a spherical form. And it is certain that the Admiral has exhibited a grand courage and genius in discovering another world [*altro mondo*] opposite ours at the expenditure of so much effort and fatigue and that he has seen the variation of the magnetic needle in passing the equator. As for myself, I never would have believed that he would have found there human beings, being persuaded that there one would find only water and no land."

¹ This is the same Simon Verde whose letter, written to Pierro Niccoli in Florence and dated May 10, 1494, spread the news of the second voyage when Torres returned from Española with twelve of the ships. He was a native of Saint Laurence de Mugello, and was at that time residing at Valladolid.

The learned Harrisie identifies him with that Simon, or Ximon, Verde then residing in Gelves, who, in 1515, was one of the executors of the Will of Don Diego Columbus, the younger brother of the Admiral.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

THE LETTER TO THE NURSE

SOON after his return from his third voyage, Columbus wrote a letter to Doña Juana de la Torre,¹ who had been nurse to the Prince Juan, and who was sister to that Antonio de la Torres under whom the twelve caravels returned to Spain from the second voyage. There are some who think that other letters to this same Doña Juana have been known, but it would appear that the only foundation for this statement is a fragment of a letter preserved in the *Historie* and which seems to have been written about this time. We believe that this is simply a few lines of a draft for the particular letter we here reproduce. Las Casas says he has not been able to find the letter or letters written to the Sovereigns by the Admiral directly upon his return, but the present letter is designed to reach them through the medium of a lady of the household and to whom an entrance would be accorded at any time. It was an important letter in the eyes of Columbus, for we find it included in the *Book of Privileges*, where it forms Document XLIV. It is found reproduced in the *Historia* and in Navarrete, but the best and most credible text is that in the *Paris Codex*, or *Book of Privileges*, which contains an important passage omitted in them, and a

¹ Ortiz de Zuñiga declares that Queen Isabella appointed as the nurse of the infant Prince, Doña Maria de Guzman, aunt of the Lord de la Alga. She may have been succeeded by Doña Juana de la Torre, or the latter may have been associated jointly with her in the duties of attending upon the Prince. However that may be, there is no doubt that this letter was written to the sister of both Pierre de Torres, one of the Royal Secretaries, and of Antonio de Torres, who accompanied the Admiral on his second voyage.

This lady was highly favoured by the Queen, and by a document dated at Granada, August 31, 1499, she had assigned her a pension of 60,000 maravedis, and again, in a document given at Alcala de Henares, July 11, 1503, at which time she appears to have been deceased, her daughter, Doña Isabella de Avila, received 1,500,000 maravedis for her dot.

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careful rendering of other passages which in Las Casas and Navarrete are more or less obscure. Since we know that this letter was incorporated with his other papers in the *Book of Privileges* in 1502, its text takes precedence of that in Las Casas, whose *Historia* was not composed until after many years. Navarrete copied the letter from the *Codice Colombo Americano* as presented by Spotorno. The original of this letter is not now in existence. While we have in Las Casas an account of the experience of the Admiral on the island of Española from the time of his arrival there on his third voyage until his removal in chains, this letter gives us the first utterance of the Admiral as to his life on the island and his treatment during those trying days, and formulates his just complaint. It is probable that this is the true cause of its insertion in the *Book of Privileges*:

“*Treslado* de una carta que el Almirante delas Yndias embio alma [al ama] del Príncipe Don Juan de Castilla, el año de MD. viniendo preso delas Yndias.

“*Muy* virtuosa Señora. Si mi quexa del mundo es nueva, su uso de maltratar es de muy antiguo: mill combates me ha dado, y a todos resisti fasta agora que non me aprovecho armas ni avisos, con crueldad me tiene echado al fundo. La esperança de aquel que crio a todos me sostiene: su socorro fue siempre muy presto: otra vez y non delexos estando yo mas baxo, me levanto con su braço derecho, diziendo, ‘O onbre de poca fe, levantate que yo soy non ayays miedo.’

“Yo vine con amor tan entrañable a servir æstos Príncipes, y he servido de servigio, deque jamas se oyo ni vido.

“Del nuevo çielo e tierra que hazia nuestro Señor, escribiendo Sanct Juan el Apocalis, despues de dicho por boca de Ysaya, me hizo dello mensagero y amostro aqual parte: en todos ovo yncredulidad y ala Reyna mi Señora dio dello el spiritu de ynteligencia y esfuerço grande, y le fizo de todo heredera como a cara e muy amada fija: la posesion de todo esto fue yo a tomar en su real nombre: la ynorancia enque avian estado todos, quisieron emendalle traspasando el poco saber, a fablar en ynconvinientes y gastos. Su Alteza lo aprovava al contrario, y lo sostuvo fasta que pudo.

“Siete años se pasaron enla platica y nueve executando cosas muy señaladas e dignas de memoria sepasaron eneste tienpo de todo non se fizo concepto: llegue yo y estoy, que non ha nadie tan vil que non piense de ultrajarme: por virtud se contara enel mundo a quien puede no consintillo.

“Sy yo robara las Yndias o tierra que jaz fase ellas, de que agora es la fabla, del altar de Sant Pedro, y las diera alos moros, non pudieran en España amostrarme mayor enemiga quien creyera tal, adonde ovo siempre tanta nobleza.

“Yo mucho me quisiera despedir del negocio si fuera onesto para con mi Reyna. El esfuerzo de nuestro Señor y desu Alteza fizo que continuase, y por aliviarle algo delos enojos enque a cabsa dela muerte estava, cometi viage nuevo al nuevo çielo y mundo que fasta entonçes estava oculto y sy non es tenido alli en estima asy como los otros delas Indias, non es maravilla, porque salio apareçer de mi yndustria.

“A Sant Pedro abraso el Spiritu Santo y con el otros dose, y todos combatieron aca, y los trabajos y fatigas fueron muchas en fin de todo llevaron la vitoria.

“Este viage de Paria crey que apaziguaria algo porlas perlas, y la fallada del oro enla Española. Las perlas mande yo ayuntar e pescar, ala gente con quien quedo el conçierto de my buelta porellas y a mi comprehender amedida de fanega. Sy yo non lo escrivi a Sus Altezas fue porque asy quisiera aver fecho del oro antes.

“Esto me salio como otras cosas muchas: non las perdiera ni mi honrra sy buscara yo mi bien propio, y dexara perder la Española, o se guardaran mis privilegios e asientos. E otro tanto digo del oro que yo tenia agora junto, que con tantas muertes y trabajos por virtud divinal he llegado aperfetto.

“Quando yo fue de Paria falle casy la mitad dela gente en la Española alçados y me han guerreado fasta agora como a moro, y los Yndios por otro cabo gravemente: enesto vino Fojeda, y provo a echar el sello: dixo que Sus Altezas le embiavan con promesas de dadivas y franquezas y paga: allego grand quadrilla, que en toda la Española muy pocos ay salvo vagamundos y ninguno con muger y fijos. Este Fojeda me trabajo harto: fuele neçesario de se yr y dexo dicho que luego seria debuelta con mas navios y gente, y que dexava la real persona dela Reyna nuestra Señora ala muerte. Enesto llego Viçentianes con quatro caravelas: ovo alboroto y sospecha mas non daño. Los Yndios dixeron de otras muchas a los canibales, y en Paria, y despues una nueva de seys otras caravelas que traya un hermano del alcalde, mas fue con malicia. Esto fue ya ala postre quando ya estava muy rota la esperança que Sus Altezas oviesen jamas de enbiar navio[s] alas Yndias ni nos esperarlos, y que vulgar mente dezian que Su Alteza era muerta.

“Un Adrian eneste tienpo provo aalçarse otra vez como de antes, mas Nuestro Señor no quiso que llegasse aefecto su mal proposito. Yo tenia propuesto en mi de non tocar el cabello a nadie, y a este por su yngratitud con lagrimas non sepudo guardar asy como yo lo tenia pensado: a mi hermano no hiziera menos sy me quisiera matar y robar el Señorio que mi Rey e Reyna me tenían dado enguarda.

“Este Adrian segund se muestra tenia enbiado a Don Fernando a Xoragua, a allegar algunos sus sequaces, y alla ovo debate conel alcalde, adonde naçio discordia de muerte, mas non llego aefecto: el alcalde le prendio y a parte desu quadrilla y el caso era que el los justiçiará, sy yo non lo proveyera: estovieron presos esperando caravela enque se fuesen. Las nuevas de Fojeda que yo dixe fizieron perder lo esperança que ya no vernia.

Christopher Columbus

“Seys meses avia que yo estava despachado, por venir a Sus Altezas con las buenas nuevas del oro y fuyr de governar gente disoluta que non teme a Dios ni a su Rey ni Reyna, llena de achaques y de malicias.

“Ala gente acabara yo de pagar con seysçientas mill, y para ello avia quatro cuentos de diezmos e alguno syn el terçio del oro.

“Antes de mi partida suplique tantas vezes a Sus Altezas que enbiasen alla a mi costa a quien toviere cargo dela justiçia, y despues que falle alçado el alcalde selo suplique de nuevo o por alguna gente o al menos algund criado con cartas, porque mi fama es tal que aunque yo faga yglesias y ospitales, siempre seran dichas espeluncas para ladrones.

“Proveyeron ya al fin y fue muy al contrario dello que la negoçiaçion demandava: vaya en buen ora pues que fue a su grado.

“Yo estuve alla dos años syn poder ganar una provision de favor por mi ni por los que alla fuesen y este llevo un arca llena: sy pariran todas a su serviçio Dios lo sabe. Ya por comienço ay franquezas de xx años, que es la hedad de un ombre, y se coje el oro, que ovo persona de çinco marcos en quatro oras, de que dire despues mas largo.

“Sy pluguiesse a Sus Altezas de desfaser un vulgo delos que saben mis fatigas, que mayor daño me ha fecho el mal desyr delas gentes que non me ha aprovechado el mucho servir y guardar su fazienda y señorío, seria limosna, e yo restituydo en mi honrra, e se fablaria dello en todo el mundo. Porque el negoçio es de calidad, que cada dia ha deser mas sonado y en alta estima.

“Enesto vino el Comendador Bovadilla a Santo Domingo: yo estava en la Vega, y el Adelantado en Xoragua adonde este Adrian avia fecho cabeça: mas ya todo era llano, y la tierra rica y todos en paz. El segundo dia que llevo se crio governador y fizo ofiçiales y exsecutiones, y apregonó franquezas del oro e diezmos, y general mente de toda otra cosa por veynte años que es la hedad de un ombre, y que venia para pagar a todos, bien que no avian servido, llena mente fasta ese dia, y publico que ami me avia de enbiar enfiernos y a mis hermanos así como ha fecho, y que nunca mas bolveria yo alli ni otrie de mi linaje, diziendo de mi mill desonestas y descortesias cosas. Esto todo fue el segundo dia que el llevo como dixi, y estando yo lexos absente syn saber del ni de su venida.

“Unas cartas de Sus Altezas firmadas en blanco de que el llevaba una cantidad, enchio y enbio al Alcalde y a su conpañia con favores y encomiendas. Ami nunca me enbio carta ni mensagero ni me ha dado fasta oy. Piense, que pensaria quien toviera mi cargo, honrrar y favorecer a quien provo a robar a Sus Altezas y ha fecho tanto mal y daño, y a rastrar a quien con tantos peligros selo sostuvo.

“Quando yo supe esto crey que este seria como lo de Hojeda o uno delos otros, templome que supe delos frayles, de çierto, que Sus Altezas le embiavan. Escrivile yo que su venida fuese en buen ora, y que yo estava despachado para yr ala corte y fecho almoneda de quanto yo tenia, y que enesto delas franquezas que non se açelerase, que esto y el gobierno, que yo selo daria luego tan llano como la palma, y ansy lo escriví a los religiosos.

Ni el ni ellos me dieron respuesta antes se puso el en son de guerra, y apremiava a quantos alli yvan que le jurasen por governador, dixerónme que por xx años.

“Luego que yo supe destas franquezas, pense de adobar un yerro tan grande y que el seria contento, las quales dio syn neçesidad ni cabsa de cosa tan gruessa, y a gente vaga munda, que fuera demasiado para quien troxiera muger y hijos. Publique por palabra e por cartas, que el non podia usar desus provisiones, porque las mias eran las fuertes, y les mostre las franquezas que llevo Juan Aguado.

“Todo esto que yo hize era por dilatar, porque Sus Altezas fuesen sabidores del estado dela tierra, y que oviesen lugar de tornar amandar enello lo que fuese su serviçio.

“Tales franquezas escusado es delas apregonar enlas Yndias los vesinos que han tomado vezindad es logro, porque seles dan las mejores tierras, y a poco valer valeran dozientas mill alcabo delos quatro años que la vezindad se acaba, syn que den un açadonada enellas. Non diria yo asy sy los vezinos fuesen casados mas non ay seys entre todos, que non esten sobre el aviso de ayuntar lo que pudiere[n], y se yr en buen ora. De Castilla seria bien que fuesen, y aun saber quien y como y se poblase de gente honrrada.

“Yo tenia asentado con estos vezinos que pagarian el terçio del oro, y los diezmos y esto a su ruego, y lo reçibieron en grand merçed de Sus Altezas. Reprehendilos quando yo oy que se dexavan dello, y esperaba quel comendador faria otro tanto, mas fue alcontrario.

“Yndignolos contra mi diziendo que yo les queria quitar lo que Sus Altezas les davan, y trabajo de melos echar acuestas y lo hizo, y que escriviesen a Sus Altezas que no me enbiasen mas al cargo, y ansy selo suplico yo por mi y por toda cosa mia, en quanto non aya otro pueblo. Y me ordeno el conellos pesquisas de maldades que al ynfierno nunca se supo delas semejantes. Alli esta nuestro Señor que escapo a Daniel y alos tres muchachos, con tanto saber y fuerça como tenia y con tanto aparejo, sy le pluguiere como con su gana.

“Supiera yo remediar todo esto, y lo otro de que esta dicho y ha pasado despues que estoy enlas Yndias, sy me consyntiera la voluntad a procurar por mi bien propio, y me fuera onesto, mas el sostener dela justiçia, y acreçentar el señorio de Su Altesa fasta agora me tiene al fondo. Oy endia que se falla tanto oro, ay division enque aya mas ganancia, o yr robando o yr alas minas. Por una muger tan bien se falla çient castellanos como por una labrança, y es mucho en uso, y ay fartos mercaderes que andan buscando muchachas, de nueve a diez son agora enpreçio, de todas hedades ha de tener un bueno.

“Digo que la fuerça del mardesyr de desconçertados meha mas dañado que mis serviçios fecho provecho, mal exemplo es porel presente y por lo futuro. Fago juramento que cantidad de onbres han ydo alas Yndias, que non meresçian el agua para conDios y conel mundo, y agora buelven alla, y seles consiente.

“Digo que en dezir yo que el Comendador non podia dar franquezas que hize yo lo que el deseava, bien que yo ael dixese que era para dilatar fastaque Sus Altezas toviessen el aviso dela tierra, y tornasen amandar lo que fuesse su serviçio.

“Enemistolos aellos conmigo, y el pareçe segund se ovo y segund sus formas, que ya lo venia y bien ençendido, o es que se dise que ha gastado mucho por venir aeste negoçio; non se dello mas delo que oyo. Yo nunca oy que el pesquisidor allegase los rebeldes y los tomase por testigos contra aquel que gobierna aellos ni aotros syn fe, ni dignos della.

“Si Sus Altezas mandasen fazer una pesquisa general alli vos digo yo que verian por grand maravilla como la ysla non se funde.

“Yo creo que se acordara Vuestra Merçed quando la tormenta syn velas me echo en Lisboa que fuy acusado falsa mente que avia yo ydo alla al Rey para darle las Yndias. Despues supieron Sus Altezas el contrario y que todo fue con malicia.

“Bien que yo sepa poco, non se quien me tenga por tan turpe que yo non conozca que aunque las Yndias fuesen mias que yo non me pudiera sustener syn ayuda de Príncipe.

“Sy esto es asy adonde pudiera yo tener mejor arimo y seguridad que enel Rey e Reyna, nuestros Señores, que de nada me han puesto entanta honrra y son los mas altos Príncipes por lamar y porla tierra del mundo, y los quales tienen que yo les aya servido, y me guardan mis privilegios e merçedes, y sy alguien melos quebranta Sus Altezas melos acrecientan con ventaja, como se vido enlo de Juan Aguado, y me mandan fazer mucha honrra, y como dixen ya, Sus Altezas reçibieron de mi serviçio, y tienen amis fijos sus criados, lo que en ninguna manera, pudiera esto llegar con otro Príncipe, porque adonde non ay amor todo lo otro çesa.

“Dixe yo agora ansi esto contra un maldezir con malicia, y contra mi voluntad, porque es cosa, que ni en sueños deviera llegar amemoria, porque las formas y fechos del Comendador Bovadilla, con malicia las quiere alumbrar en esto, mas yo le fare ver conel braço ysquierdo, que su poco saber y grand covardia con desordenada codicia, le ha fecho caer enello.

“Ya dixen como yo le escrivi, y alos frayles, y luego parti asy como le dixen muy solo, por que toda la gente estava conel Adelantado, y tan bien por le quitar de sospecha. El quando lo supo echo a Don Diego preso, en una caravela cargado de fierros, y a mi en llegando hizo otrotanto, y despues al Adelantado, quando vino, ni le fable mas, ael ni consintio, que fasta oy nadie me aya fablado, y fago juramento que non puedo pensar por que sea yo preso.

“La primera diligençia quel fizio, fue a tomar el oro, el qual ovo sin medida ni peso, e yo absente. Dixo que queria el pagar dello ala gente, y segund oy, para sy hizo la primera parte y enbia por rescate resgatadores nuevos. Deste oro tenia yo apartado çiertas muestras, granos muy gruesos, como huevos de ansara e de gallina, y de pollas y de otras muchas fechuras, que algunas personas tenian cogido en breve espaçio, conque se

alegrasen Sus Altezas y porello comprehendiesen el negoçio, con una cantidad de piedras grandes llenas de oro. Este fue el primero a sedar con malicia, porque Sus Altezas no toviesen este negoçio en algo fasta que el tenga fecho el nido de que se da buena priesa. El oro que esta por fundir mengua al fuego, una[s] cadenas que pesarian fasta veynte marcos nunca se han visto.

“Yo he seydo mui agraviado enesto del oro, mas aunque delas perlas, porque non lo he traydo a Su Alteza.

“El Comendador en todo lo que le pareçio que me dañaria, luego fue puesto en obra. Ya dixe con dc.M. pagara a todos syn robar anadie, y que avia mas de quatro quentos de diesmos e alguaziladgo, syn tocar enel oro. Hizo unas larguezas que son de risa, bien que creo que encomenço en si la primera parte. Alla, lo sabran Sus Altezas quando le mandaren tomar cuenta, enespeçial sy yo estoviese aella. El no fase sy no desyr que de deve grand suma, y es la que yo dixe y no tanto. Yo he sido mucho agraviado en que se aya enbiado pesquisidor sobre mi, que sepa que sy la pesquisa que el enbiare fuere mui grave que el quedara enel gobierno.

“Pluguiera a Nuestro Señor que Sus Altezas le enbieran ael o aotro doss años ha por que se que yo fuera ya libre descandalo y de disfamia, y no se me quitara mi honrra ni la perdiera. Dios es justo, y ha de hazer que se sepa por que y como.

“Alli me juzgan como a Governador que fue a Çiçilia, o çibdad o villa puesta en regimiento y adonde las leyes se pueden guardar por entero syn temor que se pierda todo, y reçibo grande agravio.

“Yo devo de ser juzgado como capitan que fue de España a conquistar fasta las Yndias a gente belicosa y mucha y de costumbres y seta a nos mui contraria, los quales biven por sierras y montes sin pueblo asentado, ni [como] nosotros, y adonde por voluntad divina he puesto so el señorio del Rey e dela Reyna nuestros Señores otro mundo, y por donde la España que hera dicha pobre es la mas rica.

“Yo devo de ser judgado como capitan que de tanto tienpo fasta oy trae las armas acuestas sin las dexar una ora y de cavalleros de conquistas y del uso, y no de letras, salvo si fuesen de Griegos o de Romanos o otros modernos de que ay tantos y tan nobles en España o de otra guisa reçibo grande agravio, porque enlas Yndias no ay pueblo ni asiento.

“Del oro y perlas ya esta abierta la puerta, y cantidad de todo, piedras preçiosas y espeçieria, y de otras mill cosas sepuede esperar firme mente, y nunca mas mal me viniese como conel nonbre de Nuestro Señor que le daria el primer viage, asy como diera la negoçiaçion del Arabia felis fasta la Meca, como yo escrivi a Sus Altezas con Antonio de Torres enla respuesta dela repartiçion del mar y tierra con los Portugueses y despues viniera a lo de Colucuti, asy como le dixe y di por escripto, enel monesterio dela Mejorada.

“Las nuevas del oro que yo dixe que daria, son que dia de Nabadad estando yo muy aflegido, guerreado delos malos Cristianos y de Yndios en termino de dexar todo, y escapar sy pudiese la vida, me consolo Nuestro

Señor milagrosa mente y dixo Esfuerça no temas, y proveere entodos los siete años del termino del oro, no son pasados y enello y enlo otro te dare remedio.

"Ese dia supe que avia lxxx^o leguas de tierra y entodo cabo dellas minas. El pareçer agora es, que sea toda una. Algunos han cogido cxx castillanos en undia, e otros xc, y seha llegado fasta ccl, del fasta lxx, otros muchos de xv fasta l, es tenido buen jornal, y muchos lo continuan. El comun es vi fasta xii, y quien de aqui abaxa no va contento. Pareçe tambien que estas minas son como las otras que responden enlos dias no ygual mente. Las minas son nuevas y los cogedores. El pareçer de todos es que aunque vaya alla toda Castilla, que por torpe que sea la persona, que no abaxara de un castellano o doss cadadia y agora es esto ansy en fresco. Es verdad que tienen algund Indio, mas el negoçio consiste enel Cristiano. Ved que discriçion fue de Bovadilla dar todo por ninguno y quatro quentos de diezmos, syn cabsa, ni ser requerido, syn primero lo notificar a Sus Altezas. Y el daño no es este solo.

"Yo se que mis hierros non han sydo con fin de fazer mal, y creo que Sus Altezas lo tienen asy como yo lo digo, y se y veo que usan de misericordia, con quien maliciosa mente les diserve. Yo creo y tengo por muy gierto que muy mejor e mas piedad avran conmigo que cay enello con ynorançia y forçosa mente como sabran despues por entero, y el qual soy su fechora y miraran amis serviçios y conoçeran de cada dia que son muy adelantados. Todo pornan en una balança asy como nos cuenta la sacra escriptura que sera el bien conel mal el dia del Juyzio.

"Sy toda via mandan que otra me judgue, lo qual no espero, y que sea por pesquisa delas Yndias, muy humill mente les suplico, que enbien alla doss personas de conçiencia y honrrados ami costa, los quales creo que fallaran de ligero, agora que se falla el oro, v marcos en quatro oras. Con esto, y syn ello es neçesario que lo provean.

"El Comendador, en llegando a Santo Domingo, se aposento en mi casa asy como la fallo, asy dio todo por suyo. Vaya en buen ora que quiça lo avia menester. Corsario nunca tal uso con mercader. De mis escripturas tengo yo mayor quexa que asy melas aya tomado, que jamas sele pudo sacar una, y aquellas de mas mi desculpa [que mas me avian de aprovechar en mi desculpa, *Navarrete*: tom. i, p. 275], esas tenia mas ocultas. Ved que justo y onesto pesquisydor. Cosa de quantas el aya fecho me disen que aya sydo con termino de justiçia, salvo absoluta mente. Dios nuestro Señor esta con sus fuerças, y sela [saber] como solia, y castiga en todo cabo, en especial la yngratitud de [e] injurias."

Translation.

"*Transcript* of a letter which the Admiral of the Indies sent to the Nurse of Prince Don John of Castile. [In the year 1500, when he was returning from the Indies as a prisoner.]

"Most Virtuous Lady: Though my complaint of the world is new, its habit of ill-using is very ancient. I have had a thousand struggles with it,

and have thus far withstood them all, but now neither arms nor counsels avail me, and it cruelly keeps me under water. Hope in the Creator of all men sustains me: His help was always very ready; on another occasion, and not long ago, when I was still more overwhelmed, He raised me with His right arm, saying, 'O man of little faith, arise: it is I; be not afraid.'

"I came with so much cordial affection to serve these Princes, and have served them with such service, as has never been heard of or seen.

"Of the new heaven and earth which our Lord made, when Saint John was writing the Apocalypse, after what was spoken by the mouth of Isaiah, He made me the messenger, and showed me where it lay. In all men there was disbelief, but to the Queen, my Lady, He gave the spirit of understanding, and great courage, and made her heiress of all, as a dear and much loved daughter. I went to take possession of all this in her royal name. They sought to make amends to her for the ignorance they had all shown by passing over their little knowledge and talking of obstacles and expenses. Her Highness, on the other hand, approved of it, and supported it as far as she was able.

"Seven years passed in discussion and nine in execution. During this time very remarkable and noteworthy things occurred whereof no idea at all had been formed. I have arrived at, and am in, such a condition that there is no person so vile but thinks he may insult me: he shall be reckoned in the world as valour itself who is courageous enough not to consent to it.

"If I were to steal the Indies or the land which lies towards them, of which I am now speaking, from the altar of Saint Peter, and give them to the Moors, they could not show greater enmity towards me in Spain. Who would believe such a thing where there was always so much magnanimity?

"I should have much desired to free myself from this affair had it been honourable towards my Queen to do so. The support of our Lord and of her Highness made me persevere: and to alleviate in some measure the sorrows which death had caused her, I undertook a fresh voyage to the new heaven and earth which up to that time had remained hidden; and if it is not held there in esteem like the other voyages to the Indies, that is no wonder, because it came to be looked upon as my work.

"The Holy Spirit inflamed Saint Peter and twelve others with him, and they all contended here below, and their toils and hardships were many, but last of all they gained the victory.

"This voyage to Paria I thought would somewhat appease them on account of the pearls, and of the discovery of gold in Española. I ordered the pearls to be collected and fished for by people with whom an arrangement was made that I should return for them, and, as I understood, they were to be measured by the bushel. If I did not write about this to their Highnesses, it was because I wished to have first of all done the same thing with the gold.

"The result to me in this has been the same as in many other things; I should not have lost them nor my honour, if I had sought my own advan-

tage, and had allowed Española to be ruined, or if my privileges and contracts had been observed. And I say just the same about the gold which I had then collected, and [for] which with such great afflictions and toils I have, by divine power, almost perfected [the arrangements].

"When I went from Paria I found almost half the people from Española in revolt, and they have waged war against me until now, as against a Moor; and the Indians on the other side grievously [harassed me]. At this time Hojeda arrived and tried to put the finishing stroke: he said that their Highnesses had sent him with promises of gifts, franchises and pay: he gathered together a great band, for in the whole of Española there are very few save vagabonds, and not one with wife and children. This Hojeda gave me great trouble; he was obliged to depart, and left word that he would soon return with more ships and people and that he had left the Royal person of the Queen, our Lady, at the point of death. Then Vicente Yanez arrived with four caravels; there was disturbance and mistrust but no mischief: the Indians talked of many others at the Cannibals [Caribbee Islands] and in Paria; and afterwards spread the news of six other caravels, which were brought by a brother of the Alcalde, but it was with malicious intent. This occurred at the very last, when the hope that their Highnesses would ever send any ships to the Indies was almost abandoned, nor did we expect them; and it was commonly reported that her *Highness* was dead.

"A certain Adrian about this time endeavoured to rise in rebellion again, as he had done previously, but Our Lord did not permit his evil purpose to succeed. I had purposed in myself never to touch a hair of anybody's head, but I lament to say that with this man, owing to his ingratitude, it was not possible to keep that resolve as I had intended: I should not have done less to my brother, if he had sought to kill me, and steal the dominion which my King and Queen had given me in trust.

"This Adrian, as it appears, had sent Don Ferdinand to Xoragua to collect some of his followers, and there a dispute arose with the Alcalde from which a deadly contest ensued, and he [Adrian] did not effect his purpose. The Alcalde seized him and a part of his band, and the fact was that he would have executed them if I had not prevented it; they were kept prisoners awaiting a caravel in which they might depart. The news of Hojeda which I told them made them lose the hope that he would now come again.

"For six months I had been prepared to return to their Highnesses with the good news of the gold, and to escape from governing a dissolute people who fear neither God nor their King and Queen, being full of vices and wickedness.

"I could have paid the people in full with six hundred thousand, and for this purpose I had four millions of tenths and somewhat more, besides the third of the gold.

"Before my departure I many times begged their Highnesses to send there, at my expense, some one to take charge of the administration of

justice; and after finding the Alcalde in arms I renewed my supplications to have either some troops or at least some servant of theirs with letters patent; for my reputation is such that even if I build churches and hospitals, they will always be called dens of thieves.

"They did indeed make provision at last, but it was the very contrary of what the matter demanded: it may be successful, since it was according to their good pleasure.

"I was there for two years without being able to gain a decree of favour for myself or for those who went there, yet this man brought a coffer full: whether they will all redound to their [Highnesses] service, God knows. Indeed, to begin with, there are exemptions for twenty years, which is a man's lifetime; and gold is collected to such an extent that there was one person who became worth five marks in four hours; whereof I will speak more fully later on.

"If it would please their Highnesses to remove the grounds of a common saying of those who know my labours, that the calumny of the people has done me more harm than much service and the maintenance of their [Highnesses] property and dominion has done me good, it would be a charity, and I should be re-established in my honour, and it would be talked about all over the world: for the undertaking is of such a nature that it must daily become more famous and in higher esteem.

"When the Commander Bobadilla came to Santo Domingo, I was at La Vega, and the Adelantado at Xoragua, where that Adrian had made a stand, but then all was quiet, and the land rich and all men at peace. On the second day after his arrival, he created himself Governor, and appointed officers and made executions, and proclaimed immunities of gold and tenths and in general of everything else for twenty years, which is a man's lifetime, and that he came to pay everybody in full up to that day, even though they had not rendered service; and he publicly gave notice that, as for me, he had charge to send me in irons, and my brothers likewise, as he has done, and that I should nevermore return thither, nor any other of my family: alleging a thousand disgraceful and discourteous things about me. All this took place on the second day after his arrival, as I have said, and while I was absent at a distance, without my knowing either of him or of his arrival.

"Some letters of their Highnesses signed in blank, of which he brought a number, he filled up and sent to the Alcalde and to his company with favours and commendations: to me he never sent either letter or messenger, nor has he done so to this day. Imagine what any one holding my office would think when one who endeavoured to rob their Highnesses, and who has done so much evil and mischief, is honoured and favoured, while he who maintained it at such risks is degraded.

"When I heard this I thought that this affair would be like that of Hojeda or one of the others, but I restrained myself when I learnt for certain from the friars that their Highnesses had sent him. I wrote to him that his arrival was welcome, and that I was prepared to go to the Court

and had sold all I possessed by auction; and that with respect to the immunities he should not be hasty, for both that matter and the government I would hand over to him immediately as smooth as my palm. And I wrote to the same effect to the friars, but neither he nor they gave me any answer. On the contrary, he put himself in a war-like attitude, and compelled all who went there to take an oath to him as Governor; and they told me that it was for twenty years.

"Directly I knew of those immunities, I thought that I would repair such a great error and that he would be pleased, for he gave them without the need or occasion necessary in so vast a matter: and he gave to vagabond people what would have been excessive for a man who had brought wife and children. So I announced by word and letters that he could not use his patents because mine were those in force; and I showed them the immunities which John Aguado brought.

"All this was done by me in order to gain time, so that their Highnesses might be informed of the condition of the country, and that they might have an opportunity of issuing fresh commands as to what would best promote their service in that respect.

"It is useless to publish such immunities in the Indies: to the settlers who have taken up residence it is a pure gain, for the best lands are given to them, and at a low valuation they will be worth two hundred thousand at the end of the four years when the period of residence is ended, without their digging a spadeful in them. I would not speak thus if the settlers were married, but there are not six among them all who are not on the lookout to gather what they can and depart speedily. It would be a good thing if they should go from Castile, and also if it were known who and what they are, and if the country could be settled with honest people.

"I had agreed with those settlers that they should pay the third of the gold, and the tenths, and this at their own request; and they received it as a great favour from their Highnesses. I reproved them when I heard that they ceased to do this, and hoped that the Commander would do likewise, and he did the contrary.

"He incensed them against me by saying that I wanted to deprive them of what their Highnesses had given them; and he endeavoured to set them at variance with me, and did so; and he induced them to write to their Highnesses that they should never again send me back to the government, and I likewise make the same supplication to them for myself and for my whole family, as long as there are not different inhabitants. And he together with them ordered inquisitions concerning me for wickednesses the like whereof were never known in hell. Our Lord, who rescued Daniel and the three children, is present with the same wisdom and power as He had then, and with the same means, if it should please Him and be in accordance with His will.

"I should know how to remedy all this, and the rest of what has been said and has taken place since I have been in the Indies, if my disposition would allow me to seek my own advantage, and if it seemed honourable to

me to do so, but the maintenance of justice and the extension of the dominion of her Highness has hitherto kept me down. Now that so much gold is found, a dispute arises as to which brings more profit, whether to go about robbing or to go to the mines. A hundred castellanos are as easily obtained for a woman as for a farm, and it is very general, and there are plenty of dealers who go about looking for girls: those from nine to ten are now in demand, and for all ages a good price must be paid.

"I assert that the violence of the calumny of turbulent persons has injured me more than my services have profited me; which is a bad example for the present and for the future. I take my oath that a number of men have gone to the Indies who did not deserve water in the sight of God and of the world; and now they are returning thither, and leave is granted them.

"I assert that when I declared that the Commander could not grant immunities, I did what he desired, although I told him that it was to cause delay until their Highnesses should receive information from the country, and should command anew what might be for their service.

"He excited their enmity against me, and he seems, from what took place and from his behaviour, to have come as my enemy and as a very vehement one; or else the report is true that he has spent much to obtain this employment. I do not know more about it than what I hear. I never heard of an inquisitor gathering rebels together and accepting them, and others devoid of credit and unworthy of it, as witnesses against their Governor.

"If their Highnesses were to make a general inquisition there, I assure you that they would look upon it as a great wonder that the island does not founder.

"I think your Ladyship will remember that when, after losing my sails, I was driven into Lisbon by a tempest, I was falsely accused of having gone there to the King in order to give him the Indies. Their Highnesses afterwards learned the contrary, and that it was entirely malicious.

"Although I may know but little, I do not think any one considers me so stupid as not to know that even if the Indies were mine I could not uphold myself without the help of some Prince.

"If this be so, where could I find better support and security than in the King and Queen, our Lords, who have raised me from nothing to such great honour, and are the most exalted Princes of the world on sea and on land, and who consider that I have rendered them service, and who preserve to me my privileges and rewards: and if any one infringes them, their Highnesses increase them still more, as was seen in the case of John Aguado; and they order great honour to be conferred upon me, and, as I have already said, their Highnesses have received service from me, and keep my sons in their household; all which could by no means happen with another prince, for where there is no affection, everything else fails.

"I have now spoken thus in reply to a malicious slander, but against

my will, as it is a thing which should not recur to memory even in dreams; for the Commander Bobadilla maliciously seeks in this way to set his own conduct and actions in a brighter light; but I shall easily show him that his small knowledge and great cowardice, together with his inordinate cupidity, have caused him to fail therein.

"I have already said that I wrote to him and to the friars, and immediately set out, as I told him, almost alone, because all the people were with the Adelantado, and likewise in order to prevent suspicion on his part. When he heard this, he seized Don Diego and sent him on board a caravel loaded with irons, and did the same to me upon my arrival, and afterwards to the Adelantado when he came; nor did I speak to him any more, nor to this day has he allowed any one to speak to me; and I take my oath that I cannot understand why I am made a prisoner.

"He made it his first business to seize the gold, which he did without measuring or weighing it and in my absence; he said that he wanted it to pay the people, and according to what I hear he assigned the chief part to himself and sent fresh exchangers for the exchanges. Of this gold I had put aside certain specimens, very big lumps, like the eggs of geese, hens and pullets, and of many other shapes, which some persons had collected in a short space of time, in order that their Highnesses might be gladdened, and might comprehend the business upon seeing a quantity of large stones full of gold. This collection was the first to be given away, with malicious intent, so that their Highnesses should not hold the matter in any account until he has feathered his nest, which he is in great haste to do. Gold which is for melting diminishes at the fire: some chains which would weigh about twenty marks have never been seen again.

"I have been more distressed about this matter of the gold than even about the pearls, because I have not brought it to her Highness.

"The Commander at once set to work upon anything which he thought would injure me. I have already said that with six hundred thousand I could pay every one without defrauding anybody, and that I had more than four millions of tenths and constabulary [dues] without touching the gold. He made some free gifts which are ridiculous, though I believe that he began by assigning the chief part to himself. Their Highnesses will find it out when they order an account to be obtained from him, especially if I should be present thereat. He does nothing but reiterate that a large sum is owing, and it is what I have said, and even less. I have been much distressed that there should be sent concerning me an inquisitor who is aware that if the inquisition which he returns is very grave he will remain in possession of the government.

"Would that it had pleased our Lord and their Highnesses had sent him or some one else two years ago, for I know that I should now be free from scandal and infamy, and that my honour would not be taken from me, nor should I lose it. God is just, and will make known the why and the wherefore.

"They judge me over there as they would a governor who had gone to

Sicily, or to a city or town placed under regular government, and where the laws can be observed in their entirety without fear of ruining everything; and I am great'y injured thereby.

"I ought to be judged as a captain who went from Spain to the Indies to conquer a numerous and war-like people, whose customs and religion are very contrary to ours; who live in rocks and mountains, without fixed settlements, and not like ourselves: and where, by the Divine Will, I have placed under the dominion of the King and Queen, our Sovereigns, a second world, through which Spain, which was reckoned a poor country, has become the richest.

"I ought to be judged as a captain who for such a long time up to this day has borne arms without laying them aside for an hour, and by gentlemen adventurers and by custom, and not by letters, unless they were from Greeks or Romans or others of modern times of whom there are so many and such noble examples in Spain; or otherwise I receive great injury, because in the Indies there is neither town nor settlement.

"The gate to the gold and pearls is now open, and plenty of everything—precious stones, spices and a thousand other things—may be surely expected, and never could a worse misfortune befall me: for by the name of our Lord the first voyage would yield them just as much as would the traffic of Arabia Felix as far as Mecca, as I wrote to their Highnesses by Antonio de Torres in my reply respecting the repartition of the sea and land with the Portuguese; and afterwards it would equal that of Calicut, as I told them and put in writing at the monastery of the Mejorada.

"The news of the gold that I said I would give is, that on the bay of the Nativity, while I was much tormented, being harassed by wicked Christians and by Indians, and when I was on the point of giving up everything and if possible, escaping from life, our Lord miraculously comforted me and said, 'Fear not violence, I will provide for all things: the seven years of the term of the gold have not elapsed, and in that and in everything else I will afford thee a remedy.'

"On that day I learned that there were eighty leagues of land with mines at every point thereof. The opinion now is that it is all one. Some have collected a hundred and twenty castellanos in one day, and others ninety, and even the number of two hundred and fifty has been reached. From fifty to seventy, and in many more cases from fifteen to fifty, is considered a good day's work, and many carry it on. The usual quantity is from six to twelve, and anyone obtaining less than this is not satisfied. It seems to me that these mines are like others, and do not yield equally every day. The mines are new, and so are the workers: it is the opinion of everybody that even if all Castile were to go there, every individual, however inexpert he might be, would not obtain less than one or two castellanos daily, and now it is only commencing. It is true that they keep Indians, but the business is in the hands of the Christians. Behold what discernment Bobadilla had, when he gave up everything for nothing, and four millions of tenths, without any reason or even being requested, and

without first notifying it to their Highnesses. And this is not the only loss.

"I know that my errors have not been committed with the intention of doing evil, and I believe that their Highnesses regard the matter just as I state it: and I know and see that they deal mercifully even with those who maliciously act to their disservice. I believe and consider it very certain that their clemency will be both greater and more abundant towards me, for I fell therein through ignorance and the force of circumstances, as they will know fully hereafter; and I indeed am their creature, and they will look upon my services, and will acknowledge day by day that they are much profited. They will place everything in the balance, even as Holy Scripture tells us good and evil will be at the day of judgment.

"If, however, they command that another person do judge me, which I cannot believe, and that it be by inquisition in the Indies, I very humbly beseech them to send thither two conscientious and honourable persons at my expense, who I believe will easily, now that gold is discovered, find five marks in four hours. In either case it is needful for them to provide for this matter.

"The Commander on his arrival at San Domingo took up his abode in my house, and just as he found it so he appropriated everything to himself. Well and good; perhaps he was in want of it. A pirate never acted thus towards a merchant. About my papers I have a greater grievance, for he has so completely deprived me of them that I have never been able to obtain a single one from him; and those that would have been most useful in my exculpation are precisely those which he has kept most concealed. Behold the just and honest inquisitor! Whatever he may have done, they tell me that there has been an end to justice, except in an arbitrary form. God, our Lord, is present with His strength and wisdom, as of old, and always punishes in the end, especially ingratitude and injuries."

CHAPTER LXXXXV

INTRODUCTION TO THE "LIBRETTO"

WE have already said that of this book only one example ¹ has been preserved. It reposes to-day in the San Marco ² Library at Venice, and probably its pages have never been closely examined until they looked into the camera to be reproduced for this present Work.³ Peter Martyr de Anghera may

¹ Ferdinand Columbus is said by Henry Harrisse, in *Additions* to the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, to have owned at one time an example of this *Libretto* and to have written therein, following his custom with his books: "Costo en venetia 4 Maravedis a 4 di de Maijo d. 1521." In his important *Excerpta Columbiana* (Paris, 1887), Harrisse notices a book in the library of Ferdinand Columbus entitled *Viaggio ed Paese de l'isola de loro trouato p. Juan de Angliara*, with the following memorandum in the hand of Ferdinand: "Costo en Ferrara medio quattrin á 4 di de Mayo de 1521, y el ducado vale 378 quatrines." The memoranda in his books serve quite accurately to fix the halting places of Ferdinand Columbus in his wanderings, but while it was not an impossibility he hardly could have been in Venice and Ferrara on the same day. As Harrisse, in his later book, *Excerpta Columbiana*, makes no mention of the *Libretto*, he may be understood to correct the statement in the *Additions*.

² The library of St. Mark was established on the 10th of September in the year 1362, on which day the Venetian Senate accepted the offer of Francis Petrarch to give to the church of St. Mark all his books, in consideration of his being provided with a dwelling house for the remainder of his life. Petrarch's books were first deposited in a monastery of the nuns of St. Sepulca, in which monastery he himself had for a time a residence. Among his precious possessions were a manuscript of Homer which was given to him by Nicolaos Siguros, Ambassador of the Greek Emperor: a beautiful copy of Sophocles: the entire *Iliad* and a great part of the *Odyssey*, translated by Leontius Pilatus and copied in the handwriting of Boecacio, whom the translator had instructed in Greek: an imperfect Quintilian: the works of Cicero translated by Petrarch himself and many others of great, if not of equal, interest. The Venetians apparently did not appreciate Petrarch's gift when he left them his books. Tomasini, in the early part of the seventeenth century, asked permission to collate some of the books in the collection, when he was led to the roof of St. Mark's only to find the books *partly reduced to dust, partly petrified*. To-day this famous library is poor in its possessions of volumes and manuscripts belonging to the great poet. The librarians of St. Mark have been men distinguished for honesty and care as well as for learning, yet in some way most of the books of the poet have disappeared.

³ The *Libretto* is recorded as No. 32 in the *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, and also receives mention under No. 48 in the same work, but at that time it was

be said to have composed the matter in this little book, writing it in Latin from a series of letters addressed by him to various noted personages. These letters were written immediately after the events they describe. They bear the first news. They reflect first impressions. Personal correspondence with the Admiral, interviews with his sailors, conversations with his companions, a knowledge of the Court side of affairs,—all these things equipped our author for his work. He tells what he knew, what he saw, what he heard. This work was put into its present narrative form some time prior to the summer of the year 1501. The manuscript, or more probably a copy thereof, fell into the hands of Angelo Trivigiano, who translated it into the Venetian dialect and transmitted it to Domenico Malipiero, an admiral and a Venetian historian. The manuscript went into print in April, 1504, and, except for the interjection by Trivigiano of the few words describing the personal appearance of Columbus, the work is Peter Martyr's own.

For many years diligent search had been made for the letters and original manuscript of Trivigiano sent to Domenico Malipiero. It was known that Malipiero presented them to the Venetian Senate, whence Albertino Vercellese da Lisona, the Venetian printer, obtained the manuscript of the *Libretto* for publication. They were known to have some way gotten into the family of Jacopo Soranzo of Venice, in whose library they were marked as the contents of a Codex No. DCLXI. This library went partly into the hands of a priest, the Abbé Canonici, and partly into the library of Amedeo Svajer. The Canonici library, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, went to England, being largely incorporated in the Bodleian Library. The Svajer library was divided between the Marciana, the Venetian State Archives, and the library of the Counts Mannin di Passeriano. The particular Codex in question finally found its way into the possession of the Rev. Walter Sneyd of London, and on his death went to his son, living at Newcastle-on-Tyne.¹

thought no example of the *Libretto* had been preserved. When Mr. Harris published his *Additions* (No. 16) to his great work, he described the example in the San Marco Library as, he says, *de visu*, but he is not correct in saying it "contains *only* the Voyages of Columbus."

An exact fac-simile of this most rare specimen of Americana is here for the first time given.

¹ The writer repeatedly attempted to obtain a sight of these manuscripts or a transcript thereof, but his solicitations in the interests of historical inquiry failed.

About 1892 the editors of the magnificent Italian Columbian history, the *Raccolta*, succeeded in having copies made of the letters and of the manuscript Codex, together with a photograph of the title-page of the latter. The fact that the *Libretto* was printed in the year 1504, and thus contributed to the dissemination of the news of the discovery, makes it of much more interest to us than the original manuscript copy hidden from sight for so many ages, and subject to the possibility of changes and alterations. As a matter of fact, however, the printed copy has followed carefully Trivigiano's transcript.

Angelo Trivigiano has gone into history as the individual responsible for the *Libretto*. He was the Secretary of Domenico Pisani, Ambassador from the Republic of Venice to the Spanish Court. He wrote home at least four separate letters, one of which is dated Granada, August 21, 1501,¹ and was addressed to the famous Admiral Domenico Malipiero.² Peter Martyr, who comes first in point of importance and fulness of all the early writers on America, had written in Latin many letters on the discoveries, some of which were gathered by him and put into his *Decades*. The earliest of these fell under the eye and hand of Trivigiano, and the latter translated the greater portion of the *First Decade* into the Venetian dialect. The above work appeared in Venice, coming from the press of Albertino Vercellese da Lisona, on the tenth day of April in the year 1504. Trivigiano knew Columbus personally, and while the Admiral was in Spain, between his third and fourth voyages, a signal proof of the latter's graciousness is found in the letter written to Malipiero under date of August 21, 1501:

"Magnifico et clementissimo domino Dominico Maripetro quondam clarissimi domini Francisci, domino observandissimo, Venetiis. Magnifico et clarissimo signore mio observandissimo. cum grandissimo despiacer ho inteso, per lettere de mio padre, che la magnificentia vostra se duol de mi dicendo havermi scripto duo fiate et che io non li ho risposto, et tanta mazor passione me sento quanto io mancho de colpa, perchè da quattro mesi in qua io non ho receputo alcuna sua. ma ben li ho scripto almancho tre fiate. se la magnificentia vostra non le ha havute nè io le sue, non ne ho però colpa alcuna. de questo instesso mio padre se lamenta de mi, che non li scrivo, et io me lamento altro tanto de lui: tamen me par

¹ See Zurla's *Di Marco Polo*, Venice, 1818, vol. ii., p. 362.

² Domenico Malipiero wrote *Annali Veneti dall' Anno 1457 al 1500*, published in *l'Archivio Storico Italiano*, Florence, 1843, vol. vii., see Part II., p. 622.

che nè lui nè io ne habiamo colpa. siamo cussì luntani che spazar de lì ogni tracto corieri serìa troppo gran spesa, che ogni corier vol. 100. ducati a venir de lì. et però bisogna scrivamo per via de Roma, Zenoa et Franza, et che usamo el mezo de mercadanti zenoesi; sichè, magnifico patron, vostra magnificentia non se dogli de mi, che zuro a Dio niuna altra cossa più desidero a questo mondo che servirla. et azò che la intendi el tuto, io ho tenuto tanto mezo che ho preso pratica et grandissima amicitia cum el Columbo, el quale al presente se atrova qui in desdita, mal in gratia de questi re et cum pochi danari. per suo mezo ho mandato a far far a Palos, ch'è uno loco dove non habito salvo che marinai et homeni pratici de quel viazo del Columbo, una carta ad instantia de la magnificentia vostra, la qual sia benissimo facta e copiosa et particular de quanto paese è statos coperta. qui non ce n'è, salvo una de dicta Columbo, nè è homo che ne sapia far. bisognerà tardar qualche zorno ad haver questa, perchè Palos, dove la se fa, è luntano de qua. 700. milia, et poi, come la sarà facta, non so come la potrò mandar, perchè l'ho facta far del compasso grande, perchè la sia più bella. dubito ch'el bisognerà la magnificentia vostra aspeti la nostra venuta, che de rasone non doveria tardar molto, ch'el sarà presto uno anno che siamo fuora.

“Circa al tractato del viazo del dicto Columbo, uno valentuomo l'ha composto, et è una dizeria molto longa. l'ho acopiato et ho la copia apresso di me, ma è sì grande che non ho modo de mandarla se non a pocho a pocho. mando al presente alla magnificentia vostra el primo libro, quale ho traslato in vulgar per mazor sua comodità. se l'è mal scripto, vostra magnificentia me perdoni che l'è la prima copia, nè ho tempo de recopiarlo per seguire lo resto.

“Il compositore de questa è lo ambassator de questi serenissimi re che va al soldano, el qual vien de lì cum animo de presentarla al principe nostro, el qual penso la farà stampare, et così la magnificentia vostra ne haverà copia perfecta. non resterò perhò de mandarli, questo vulgar mal scritto et mal composto, per contento de la magnificentia vostra; ma senza la carta, vostra magnificentia non haverà molto piacer. de la carta penso la restarà molto satisfacta, perchè l'ho vista et hone preso gran contento cum quela puocha intelligentia ch'io ho. el Columbo me ha promesso darme commodità de copiare tute le lettere l'ha scritto a questi serenissimi re de li soi viazi, che sarà cosa molto copiosa. voglio in ogni modo tuor questa faticha per amor de la magnificentia vostra.

“Ulterius aspetiamo de zorno in zorno da Lysbona el nostro doctore, che lassò lì el nostro magnifico ambassator, el qual a mia instantia ha facto un' opereta del viazo de Calicut, de la qual ne farò copia a la magnificentia vostra. de carta de quel viazo non è possibile haverne, che el re ha messo pena la vita a chi la dà fora. questo è quanto posso far adesso per servizio de la magnificentia vostra; e se li par che più possa far, la mi comanda.

“De novo qui non habiamo alcuna cosa. le nove aspetamo de Italia. io sto in continuo desiderio de sentir la expeditione de la magnificentia

vostra, ch'el nostro signor Idio me doni gratia io possa sentir presto iuxta la expetatione mia. altro io non ho. me ricomando per miara de volte a la magnificentia vostra, preghandola se degni recomandarmi a la magnifica mia madona et al magnifico messer Fantino, a la magnifica madona Francesca Marina Maria et messer Zuane, et basar Francesso per mia parte et saludar mio fiozo et tuti de casa, ch' el Signor per sua bontà et clementia ne conservi tutti sani nella sua bona gratia.

"SERVULUS ANGELUS.

"Ex Granata, die. 21. augusti. 1501."

"To the magnificent and most illustrious Master Dominico Malipiero, etc, etc, at Venice:—

"I have heard with the greatest concern, through the letters of my father, that your magnificence complains of me, saying that you have written me twice and that I have not replied to your letters. And I am all the more disturbed by it as I am not at fault, because for four months I have not received any letter from you; but I have certainly written to you, at least three times. If your magnificence has not received my letters and I have not received yours, I am not at fault for that. For this same thing my father complains of me, that I do not write to him, and I am likewise complaining of him. Notwithstanding, it appears to me that neither he nor I are to be blamed for it. We are so far apart that it would be too great an expense to despatch couriers from there at every moment, as every courier wishes 100 ducats to come from yonder. And therefore it is necessary that we write by way of Rome, Genoa and France, and that we avail ourselves of the means of Genoese merchants. So that, magnificent patron, your magnificence must not complain of me, for I swear to God that I desire nothing more in this world than to serve you.

"And in order that you may understand everything, I have used so many means that I have had free intercourse and am on terms of great friendship with Columbus, who is now here in disgrace, in ill favour with these Sovereigns and with little money. At the request of your magnificence, I have by his means ordered a map made at Palos, which is a place inhabited only by sailors and people fully conversant with that voyage of Columbus. This map will be very well made and copious, and will give particulars of all the countries which have been discovered. There is only one map [of this kind] here, which belongs to the said Columbus, neither is there any man who knows how to make one. I shall be obliged to wait some days for this map, because Palos, where it is being made, is a distance of 700 miles from here; and then when it is finished, I do not know how I shall be able to send it to you, because I have had it made of large size, that it may be finer. I doubt not your magnificence will be obliged to await our return, which of necessity cannot be far distant, for it will very soon be a year that we have been abroad.

"As to the Work on the voyage of the said Columbus, it has been composed by an able man, and it is a very long history. I have copied it and have the copy in my possession, but it is so voluminous that I have no means

of sending it to you save a little at a time. I send the first book to your magnificence at this time, which I have translated into the vulgar tongue for your greater convenience. If it is badly written your magnificence will pardon me for this is the first copy, neither have I had time to recopy it, wishing to secure the entire Work.

"The author of this book is the Ambassador of these Most Serene Sovereigns ¹ who is going to the Sultan ²; he comes from yonder intending to present it to our Prince who, I think, will have it printed, and then your magnificence will have a perfect copy of it. I could not refrain however from sending you this version badly written and composed in the vulgar tongue, in order to please your magnificence; but without the map, your magnificence will not have much pleasure in it. I think your magnificence will be fully satisfied with the map for I have seen it, and with what little knowledge I have, I was very much pleased with it. Columbus has promised me to give me an opportunity to copy all the letters he has written to these most Serene Sovereigns in regard to his voyages, which will be a very lengthy undertaking. I wish by all means to engage in this task through love for your magnificence.

"Later: We are daily expecting our doctor from Lisbon, who left our magnificent Ambassador there: at my request he has written a short account of the voyage from Calicut,³ of which I will make a copy for your magnificence. It is not possible to procure the map of that voyage, because the King ⁴ has declared a sentence of death against any one giving it out.

"We have no news here. We are expecting news from Italy. I am constantly desirous of seeing the expedition of your magnificence. May our Lord God give me grace that I may soon feel that my expectation is just. I have nothing else to say. I commend myself a thousand times to your magnificence, begging you to deign to commend me to her magnificence, my lady, and to the magnificent messer Fantino, to her magnificence, my lady Francesca Marina Maria and messer Juane, and to kiss Francesco for me and salute my son and all of the household. May the Lord in His goodness and clemency keep them all well and in His good favour.

"SERVULUS ANGELUS.

"From Granada, August 21, 1501."

It is pleasant to catch the glimpse of kindness on the part of the old Admiral, lately come home in chains, living under the frown of the Court and in the cold of scanty resources, and

¹ Peter Martyr of Anghera.

² The Sultan of Egypt.

³ This is probably the voyage made by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, who sailed from Lisbon for Calicut, March 9, 1500, with thirteen ships, and whose expedition found itself unexpectedly driven on the shores of Brazil. Cabral gave to this region the name of "Terra de Santa Cruz." He returned to Lisbon at the end of July, 1501, and we can see the alertness of foreigners in this attempt of Trivigiano to secure a copy of a map showing the new discoveries.

⁴ The King of Portugal.

yet obliging a new friend with minute details of his discoveries. It was not necessary to give to a citizen of another country a map of the discoveries,—indeed, it was contrary to custom and contrary to law. The last paragraph of this letter of Trivigiano (the custom applying to Spain as well as to Portugal) discloses the dangers confronting strangers and foreigners who sought to obtain geographical information concerning newly discovered lands.

The following three letters belong to the same correspondence:

“Magnifice et clementissime domine domine colendissime. A li zorni passati scrissi a la magnificentia vostra copiosamente quanto me occorreva, et li mandai uno libro del viazo del Columbo. da poi ho receputo sue de l'ultimo luio, a le qual farò risposta. et prima ringratio quanto mi posso la magnificentia vostra de la humanità la usa in scrivermi così copiosamente et darmi tanti particular avisi, che certo me sono stà gratissimi, sì per non li haver hauti per altra via como per esser de uno tal mio signor. questo magnifico orator etiam ne ha obligo a la magnificentia vostra, perchè l'ha inteso per sue littere cose ch'el non haveva per altri, et maxime de la venuta del magnifico messer Francesco de Montibus, che li è tornato molto al proposito, et ne ringrazia sumamente la magnificentia vostra, et de questo et de le humane salutation, et in converso molto se li ricomanda, offerendosi molto a tuti li soi piaceri. ben io ho sentito molestamente che la magnificentia vostra non sia ancora expedita. prego el nostro signor Dio la trazi de tal affanni et travagli come merita la sua innocentia. et illumini quella terra che cognosca le opere sue. circa el desiderio ha la magnificentia vostra de intender el viazo de Calicut, io li ho scritto altre fiате che aspeto de zorno in zorno Messer Cretico, qual me scrive haverne composto una opereta. subito ch'el sia zonto, farò che la magnificentia vostra ne haverà parte. li mando al presente uno altro pezo del viazo del Columbo, et sic successive lo mandarò tuto, benchè credo che a questa hora el sarà gettato a stampa de lì, perchè lo ambassador de queste alteze ch'è venuto de lì, cha va al soldano, lo ha composto, et lo vole donar a la illustrissima signoria; ma senza carta la magnificentia vostra non potrà pigliarne compito piazer. come li scrissi, l'ho mandata a far far a Palos, che è loco a marina, dove se fanno; ma non credo de haver modo de inviarla a la magnificentia vostra avanti la nostra venuta: la qual però spero haverà ad esser presta, che son hormai .13. mesi che siamo in questa legatione. me doglio de la partita de li garzoni, per lo interesse ne ha la vostra magnificentia. el nostro signor Idio la restauri in qualche altra cosa. di novo non havemo de qui alcuna cosa. questi serenissimi et catholici re sono benissimo disposti a perseverar la guerra contra Turchi, et hano dicto apertamente al magnifico ambassador che non solum anno, ma l'altro e l'altro sono per mantener l'armata sua contra Turchi a

favor de le cose christiane et particular de la serenissima signoria nostra, et accadendo el bisogno non sono per recusar de metere le proprie persone. altro non ho. me ricomando a la magnificentia vostra.

"Ex Granata."

"To the magnificent and most illustrious master, etc.

"I wrote at length to your magnificence some days ago in regard to what occurred to me, and I sent you a book of the voyage of Columbus. Since then I have received your last letter to which I will reply. And first I return thanks to your magnificence with all my heart for your kindness in writing me so fully and in giving me such particular advices, which certainly have been very welcome to me, as much because I had not received them from any other source, as because of coming from such a person as my lord. This magnificent orator is also obliged to your magnificence, because he has learned things from you for his letters which he did not learn from others, and especially of the coming of the magnificent messer Francesco de Montibus, who has returned yonder very appropriately, and he thanks your magnificence most emphatically for it, and by this letter and with his kind salutations and in much conversation he commends himself to you, placing himself at your disposal in everything that you desire. I have felt very much disturbed that your magnificence has not yet been despatched. I pray to our Lord to deliver you from such troubles and to dispose matters according to the merits of your innocence. And to enlighten that country that it may recognise your works.

"In regard to the desire of your magnificence to learn of the voyage to Calicut, I have written you at other times that I am daily expecting Messer Cretico, who writes me that he has composed a small Work in regard to it. As soon as he arrives, I will see that your magnificence has a part in it. I send you now another portion of the voyage of Columbus and thus successively I will send all, although I believe at this very moment it will have passed into print yonder, since the Ambassador of their Highnesses who has come from there and who is going to the Sultan, has composed it and wishes to give it to the most illustrious Seignior, but without the map your magnificence will not be able to derive entire pleasure from it. As I wrote you, I have ordered one made at Palos, a place on the seashore where they make them; but I do not believe I shall have an opportunity to send it to your magnificence before our coming, which I hope, however, will be very soon, because it is now thirteen months that we are on this embassy.¹

"I am sorry for the departure of the boys, on account of the interests of your magnificence. May our Lord God requite you in some other ways. We have nothing new here. Those Most Serene and Catholic Sovereigns are very well disposed to persevere in the war against the Turks, and they have said publicly to the magnificent Ambassador that not only for one

¹ This is not dated, but as Trivigiano says, in the first letter dated Granada, August 21, 1501, that he had already been a year in the embassy, thirteen months would fix the time of writing the second letter as of the month of September in the same year.

year but for another and another their army is to be maintained against the Turks, for the protection of Christian interests and particularly of our most serene Seigniory, and if it becomes necessary they will not refrain from taking the field in person. I have no more to say. I commend myself to your magnificence.

“ From Granada.”

“Magnifico et clarissimo signor. Tute le lettere de la magnificencia vostra me soleno esser gratissime, come letere de chi son più schiavo che de me medesimo; ma queste ultime me hano empito de tanta alerezza, che non trovo loco che me tegni, sentendo la innocentia de la magnificencia vostra esser stà cognosciuta et lei liberata de afani, cum tanto suo honor et reputation, et subito rimasta de la zonta, che per lo vero Dio non so che cosa a questo mondo me potria esser più grata et de mazor contento. ne rendo immortalissime gratie al nostro Creator, dator de tuti li beni et che non lassa perir li iusti et boni, et cum la magnificencia vostra et tuti me congratulo cum tuto lo core. benchè, per la fede de Dio, el dover voria che la magnificencia vostra et tuti se ne congratulassi cum mi, perchè voria meterne la testa che persona del mondo non ha receputo mazor alegreza de Anzelo. Dio ne sia laudato. spero ne la sua divina bontà che vederò de brevi vostra magnificencia exaltata a quello grado che la ne è benemerita, et refaremo li danni de li travagli patiti. l'ho facto intender a questo magnifico ambassador, che certo ne ha receputo grande piacer, et scrive de sua mano a la magnificencia vostra. missier Cretico, etiam sviscerato perli al et servitor de la magnificencia vostra, la rengratia che la se habi degnato per sue lettere salutarlo così amorevolmente, et molto se ricomanda, congratulandose ex intimo cordis de le felicità sue. el venne de Portugal fino questo settembre molto informato del viazo de Calicut, et tuta via compone uno tractato che sarà molto bello et grato a chi se delecta de tal cose. se venimo a Venetia vivi, vostra magnificencia vederà carte et fino a Calicut et de là più che non è do fiate de quì a Fiandra. vi prometto che l'è venuto in ordine de ogni cosa; ma questo vostra magnificencia non se curi divulgarlo; unum est che l'haverà, et intenderà a la venuta nostra tante particolarità quante se la fosse stà a Calicut et più inanti, et de tuto vostra magnificencia ne sarà fata partcipe, che forsi altri no.

“Mando cum questa uno altro libro del viazo del Columbo, el quale essendo mal scritto, la magnificencia vostra me perdonerà che non ho tempo trascriverlo; io l'ho traducto così de grosso, et soto più brevità che ho possuto, per dar spasso a la magnificencia vostra. a la venuta nostra vederà el tuto più particolarmente et per la opera integra et per la carta che li portarò. in questo interim la passerà cum questo. io havea lassato de mandarne più, perchè credeva ch'el fusse stà getà a stampa, che così me afermò l'ambassador de queste alteze che andò al soldano; ma poi ch'el non l'ha facto, proseguirò in mandar a libro per libro, et questo è lo terzo aviso suo. nè bisogna che vostra magnificencia de questo me ne prega, perchè ho più volontà di farli piacer che lei non l'ha de riceverlo. rengratio la magnificencia vostra de le nove la me scrìve. io a l'incontro non

ho nova alcuna da dirli, salvo che tuti siamo alegri, poi che havemo inteso la electione del successor del nostro patron. prego Dio ch'el vegni presto a ciò possiamo repatriar, et che io possa venir a veder et far reverentia a la magnificentia vostra, che una hora me par mille anni. in questo interim me ricomando a la magnificentia vostra et pregola se degni racomandarme a la magnifica mia madonna.

“De la bona dispositione de queste catholice alteze non dirò altro, chè la magnificentia vostra essendo de pregadi lo intenderà per le publice. el signor Dio faci che la metino in operatione, al che po esser certa la magnificentia vostra che non se li manca de solitudine. se ha aviso de qui che lo arciduca de Bergogna, zenero de queste alteze, è partito de Fiandra per venir a tor el zuramento per el fiolo che ha a succeder in questi regni, unde iudico fra brevi zorni se partiremo forsi per Castilia.

“Ex Exigia. 3. decembrio.”

“To the magnificent and most eminent Lord. All the letters of your magnificence are always most welcome to me, as being the letters of one of whom I am more the slave than I am of myself; but these last letters have filled me with such joy that I do not find a place which can contain me, feeling that the innocence of your magnificence has been recognised and that you are freed from anxieties, with so much honour and esteem and at once re-instated by the Council; for by the true God, I do not know that anything in this world could be more pleasing to me and give me greater joy. I give everlasting thanks for it to our Creator, giver of all benefits, who does not allow the just and good to perish and I rejoice with all my heart, with your magnificence and with every one. Although, by the faith of God, duty wills that your magnificence and every one should rejoice with *me* over it, because I would wager my head that no one in the world has received greater pleasure than Angelo. God be praised for it. I hope in His divine goodness that I shall very soon see your magnificence exalted to that degree of which you are worthy, and that the injuries and afflictions you have suffered will be recompensed. I have made this known to this magnificent Ambassador, who certainly has derived great pleasure from it, and is writing with his own hand to your magnificence. Messer Cretico, also a loyal servitor of your magnificence, renders thanks that you have deigned to salute him so kindly in your letters, and commends himself to you greatly, rejoicing with you, from his inmost soul, over your felicity. He came from Portugal at the end of last September, well informed in regard to the voyage to Calicut, and is constantly at work composing a treatise which will be very fine and acceptable to those who are pleased with such things.

“If we reach Venice alive, your magnificence will see maps, both as far as Calicut and a distance beyond there greater than twice the distance from here to Flanders. I promise you that everything has come in order; but this, your magnificence may not care to divulge. One is, that you will have and will learn, upon our arrival, as many particulars as if you had been to Calicut and beyond, and your magnificence will be made a participant in everything, as perhaps others will not.

"I send with this another book of the voyage of Columbus, which being badly written, your magnificence will pardon me that I have not time to transcribe. I have translated it almost as a whole and with the most possible brevity in order to give space to your magnificence. Upon our arrival you will see the whole more particularly, both by means of the entire work and by the map which I will take there. In the interim, you will be satisfied with this. I had given up ordering more of the Work, because I believed that it had already passed into print, as I was told so by the Ambassador of these Highnesses, who went to the Sultan, but since *it has not been done*, I will continue to order it book by book, and this is his third advice. Neither is it necessary for your magnificence to beg me to do this, because I have more desire to give you pleasure than you have to receive it from me. I thank your magnificence for the news you write me. In return I have no news to tell you, except that we are all joyful since we have heard the election of the successor of our patron. I pray God that we may soon be able to return home and that I can come to see and pay reverence to your magnificence, for one hour appears to me a thousand years. In this interim I recommend myself to your magnificence and pray you to deign to commend me to her magnificence, my Lady.

"I will not say anything else of the good disposition of these Catholic Highnesses, because your magnificence being 'de pregadi' will understand it by the ordinary means of publicity. May the Lord God cause them to put it into operation, for which your magnificence may be certain that solicitude is not lacking.

"It is learned here that the Archduke of Burgundy, son-in-law of these Highnesses, has left Flanders to come and take oath for the son who is to succeed in these realms, therefore I think we shall perhaps start for Castile in a few days.

"From Exigia, December 3." [1501.]

"Magnifico et clarissimo patron et signor mio. Credo che l'ultime ch'io scripsi a la magnificentia vostra fosseno de dò del instante da Exigia, cum le qual mandai uno de li libri del viazo del Columbo, che è lo 3°. dapoi ho receputo lettere de la vostra magnificentia de .9. novembrio, che come lettere de mio signor a l'usato me son stà gratissime et tanto più de l'usato quanto io vedo la magnificentia vostra andarse redriciando a bon camino.

"El Columbo se mete in ordine per andar a discoprir, et dice voler far uno viazo più bello et de mazor utilità che alcuno altro l'habia facto. credo partirà a tempo novo; cum lui va molti mei amici, che al suo ritorno me farano partecipe del tuto. sono etiam preparate a Cades molte caravelle, che de zorno in zorno deno partir per la insula Spagnola, cum .3000. homeni." "To my magnificent and most eminent patron and Lord.

"I believe that the last letters I wrote to your magnificence were from Exigia, where I was for a short time, and with which I sent one of the books of the voyage of Columbus, which is the third. Since then I have received letters of Nov. 9 from your magnificence, which, being letters from my

Lord, as usual have been very pleasing to me and more than ordinary, when I see your magnificence again directed in a favourable course.

"Columbus is preparing to go and make discoveries, and says he wishes to make a finer voyage and one of greater utility than any other he has made. I believe he will start at the beginning of the new year. With him go many of my friends, who upon his return will make me a participant of all the results of the voyage. They are also fitting out many caravels at Cadiz, which from day to day are to start for the island of Española, with 3000 men."

This last letter evidently was written in the opening days of the year 1502. The reference to the greater expedition,¹ with its three thousand men, is doubtless to that under Nicolas de Ovando, who, with some twenty-five hundred men and twenty-five or thirty ships, left Spain, February 13, 1502, and landed in the new city of San Domingo, April 15 following. Columbus set sail for Cadiz on the voyage mentioned in this last letter of Trivigiano on May 11, 1502. He returned to Spain from his fourth and last voyage, November 7, 1504. The *Libretto* by this time had been in print for nearly seven months, and, as the reader will discover, carries the history of Columbus and of his discoveries no farther than the return of the Admiral and his brother from the third voyage, and their appearance at the Royal Court, "where," says Trivigiano, "they are yet found at the present time."

We thus know from Trivigiano himself that while he was the translator and transmitter of this written history of Columbus, the "composer" thereof was the Ambassador sent by the Spanish Sovereigns to the Sultan of Egypt. The Ambassador was Peter Martyr of Anghera, who departed from Granada on this Embassy, August 14, 1501. This composer, Peter Martyr,

¹ The expedition was a colonising one rather than one of discovery, notwithstanding the destination was stated to be "las Islas e Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano, a las partes de las Indias que Nos Mandamos descubrir,"—"the islands and mainland in the Ocean-sea, to the parts of the Indies we have been commanded to explore." One of the ships, *La Rabida*, named after the convent near Palos, where Columbus with his little son halted in his darkest days, but whence issued his help and aid, was lost at sea with one hundred and twenty persons. Antonio de Torres, who accompanied Columbus on his second journey to the New World and who bore back the earliest account of that voyage, was the Captain-General of the present expedition. Bartolomè de las Casas, the future historian of the Indies, and no less number than twelve Franciscan monks, were among the men of peace who accompanied the men of war. Las Casas said of the Governor, Nicolas de Ovando, that he was a good Governor, but *not for the Indians*, and it is true that no Governor, good of repute or bad of repute, ever made more bloody history.

resented the publication of the *Libretto*. He was the great epistolary writer of Spain, his adopted country, if not of the world and of his time. There are preserved to us and printed in book form in 1530, no fewer than 812 of his delightful letters. In the year 1511 he himself published at Seville a short history of the discoveries compiled from letters he had previously written. He entitled his work *Oceani Decas*. In a document printed in Spanish on the folio following that of the title, Queen Joanna grants Peter Martyr the privilege of printing his work upon *his petition*. In the year 1516 Peter Martyr published in Alcalá another edition of his history, enlarged to three decades. In the seventh book of his *Second Decade* he says:

"Est præterea cautum ne alienigena quicq̃ in iussu regio commisceatur hispanis. Propterea fui admirat⁹. Aloisium quendā cadamuftū venetū scriptorem rerum Portugalensiū ita perfricata frōte scripsisse de rebus castellanis fecimus uidimus iuimus: quæ neq̃ fecit unq̃ neq̃ uenetus quicq̃ uidit: ex tribus meæ decadis primis libellis: ad cardinalem Ascaniū & Arcimboldum: quibus eram conterraneus: quando illa fiebant: scriptitata: ea excerpfit & suffuratus est: existamans nostra nunq̃ proditura in publicū: Potuit & forte apud oratorē aliquē venetum in eos libellos incidisse. Celebres nanq̃ uiri ab illustrissimo fenatu illo missi sunt ad reges hos catholicos: quibus ego ipse illa ostendebam libens: utq̃ exemplaria ab eis caperent facile assētiebar. Vtcunq̃ sit bonus uir Aloisius cadamuftus alieni laboris fructum sibi studeuit uendicare."

"It was moreover provided that no foreigner should form part of an expedition without the order of the King of Spain. Wherefore I marvel that a certain Venetian, Aloysius Cadamustus, a writer of Portuguese things, should have been so lost to shame as to write on Spanish [Castilian] affairs: he says *We went: we saw: we accomplished:* whereas neither he nor any Venetian saw or accomplished anything [in that region]: He extracted and stole certain writings from the first three books of my Decade sent as they were written to Cardinal Ascanius [Sforza] and Arcimboldus, whose fellow-countryman I was, thinking that our work would not appear in print: it might be perchance that he came into possession of these books at the hand of some Venetian ambassador. Many famous men are sent to the Catholic Sovereigns from that illustrious Senate and I freely disclosed to them my books: and I was quick to suffer them to make a copy of them: however, this good man Aloysius Cadamustus was eager to appropriate for himself the fruit of another's labour."

Peter Martyr may never have seen an example of the *Libretto*, and probably alluded to the *Paesi Nouamente Retrouati*, published for the first time at Vicenza in the month of November

in the year 1507. The fourth book of this work reproduced faithfully the matter in the *Libretto*, and it was doubtless this and subsequent editions which fell under the eye of Peter Martyr and caused him to charge Aloysius Cadamustus with unworthy conduct in appropriating his letters as his own. This is more likely, since the voyage of Cadamustus was first narrated in the *Paesi Nouamente Retrouati*.

Peter Martyr, reading in the *Libretto* or the *Paesi* the account of the Columbian voyages and the expeditions of Pietro Alonzo Niño and of Vicente Yañez Pinzón, discovers the matter to be taken bodily from his own writings, not yet at that time published, but somewhat widely known through the passing of his manuscript letters from hand to hand. He utters a cry of complaint, not against the correctness of the printed record, but against the surreptitious manner in which it was given to the public, and he charges the author, or the alleged author, not with uttering misrepresentations, but with deliberate plagiarism.

Aloysius Cadamustus, or Luigi Cadamosto, was a Venetian captain who, in the service of King Alfonso V. of Portugal, made the voyage to Cape Verde and Senegal in 1455 and 1456. He died in 1480¹ at about the age of forty-eight years, having in his early manhood enrolled himself among the most distinguished explorers of the African coast. Therefore it is not at his door that Peter Martyr's charge of plagiarism will lie. There seems to have been doubt in the minds of the early historians as to the personal experiences related by Cadamustus, and it may be that this reputation had so attached itself to the Venetian navigator that the very name stood for a form of plagiarism. Thus, without alluding to Trivigiano by name, Peter Martyr might be chastising him by calling him an "Aloysius Cadamustus"—that is to say, a man who appropriates the work of another.

Trivigiano is the first writer to give any particulars as to the personal appearance of Columbus. These were not taken from Peter Martyr, for the latter nowhere speaks of the Admiral's person. Nor could Peter Martyr, when he came to publish his *First Decade* in 1511, have had the *Libretto* before him, or he would have been struck with the propriety of alluding to the

¹ See Zurla's *Dei Viaggi e delle Scoperte Africane di Cada-Mosto*, Venice, 1815.

outline drawing of the figure of the great discoverer. Trivigiano himself, who was admitted by the Admiral to terms of intimacy, introduced into his translation the brief description of Christopher Columbus.

Neither Trivigiano nor Peter Martyr contributes anything to the biographical knowledge we have of the Admiral. Gallo and Senarega, the earliest biographers of Columbus, have copied the brief description given by Trivigiano, but in addition they give us information as to the origin of the discoverer. The writings of these Genoese chroniclers were not published until the eighteenth century, but doubtless historians had access to them, as they were in the nature of official records. Giustiniani is the first writer to publish to the world the statement that Columbus was sprung from common stock,—*vilibus ortus parentibus*,—incorporating the very expression of Gallo, but omitting the details given by him as to the training and trade of Columbus and his family. This work reached the public in 1516. It was not until 1571, when the *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo* was printed, that any further information concerning the personal life and character of the Admiral was given, and which repeated the description of the physical traits mentioned by Trivigiano.

This little book was the innocent cause of an interesting geographical error in connection with the name Joanna, which Columbus gave to the island of Cuba. Peter Martyr, in his letter to Cardinal Ascanius Sforza, and which formed part of his *First Decade*, says:

"Patefecit navigatione hac prima sex tantum insulas atq̃ ex iis duas inaudite magnitudinis: quarum alteram Hispaniolam: Joannam alteram uocitavit: sed Joannam esse insulam non pro certo habuit."

"In this first voyage, he found as many as six islands: and of these, two were of extraordinary size: He called one of them Española and the other Joanna, but he did not know for certain that Joanna was an island."

Trivigiano properly translated the latter part of this phrase into the Venetian dialect in his manuscript, thus:

"Una chiama òpagnola, l'altra la Zoāna, ma la Zoāna non hebero bẽ certo che la fũjfi isola."

Harrisse¹ and other writers² have shown how the printer, Albertino Vercellese da Lisona, edited the *Libretto*, making chapters where Trivigiano had a continuous story. He made chapter two end with part of the above translation, "*Una chiama f̃pagnola: laltra la Zoāna mela*," uniting the conjunction *ma* (which he changes into *me*) and the article *la* in one word, and then he commenced the third chapter with "*Zoāna no hebero bē certo ch'lafuffe isola*." In the *Paesi Nouamente Retrouati* of 1507, and in other books following after this, the mistake was gravely incorporated and the island of Cuba for a time took its place in geography as *Joanna Mela*. And, indeed, the mistake at one time took on continental proportions, and on the map in the edition of *Margarita Philosophica* of Gregory Reisch, printed by Johannes Gruninger at Strasburg in the year 1515, the northern continent is called *Zoāna Mela*.

The *Libretto* is the first collection of voyages ever printed. It contains, as we have already said, the first three voyages of Columbus, thus giving to the world for the first time an account of the latter portion of the Admiral's second expedition and of the third voyage.³ The book, rare and valuable as it is, would be of the first importance were it not that Peter Martyr himself gave to printed form some seven years later his own letters forming the *First Decade*. As it is, some of the dates given by Trivigiano are accepted by writers in preference to those given by Peter Martyr in his *Decades*, on the ground that any difference would be decided in favour of the earliest public statement of those dates. When they were communicated to the Venetian secretary they were fresh in the mind of Martyr, and the passing years are not calculated to sharpen details. Besides the three Columbian voyages, there is the one made by Pero Alonzo Niño⁴ and Cristobal Guerra in 1499 and 1500,

¹ *The Discovery of North America*, p. 314.

² Dr. Frank Wieser, in his *Zoāna Mela*.

The reader will find this interesting error on the recto of folio *a ii* in the fac-simile we give of the *Libretto*.

³ From May 30, 1498, to October, 1500, in which he saw the mouth of the Orinoco River and the Gulf of Paria, and from which he returned to Spain in disgrace and chains.

⁴ Pero Alonzo Niño was the pilot of the unfortunate caravel, the *Santa Maria*, the flagship of the Admiral on his first voyage. In the *Libretto* he is called Alonzo il Negro. The name was written in the Venetian dialect, *Nigno*, and this became in the careless printing, *Nigro*, changing the *n* into an *r*. The error passed from the *Libretto* into several of the books on the early voyages, notably the *Itinerarium Por-*

going over much the same route travelled by the Admiral in his third voyage,¹ going farther west a matter of many leagues.² This was a famous voyage, however, for it opened to Spain a veritable gate of pearl. Niño carried back with him from the coasts of Paria and Cumana a great quantity of precious pearls,³ the first instalment of gems which were destined to be poured into the lap of that European country. Peter Martyr, in the eighth book of his *First Decade*, says that when they departed from Curiana, Niño had of pearls threescore and sixteen pounds—counting eight ounces to the pound,—purchased in exchange for trifling things,⁴ in all to the value of five shillings.⁵ When they came home Niño was arrested at the instance of his companions, who charged him with concealing a great quantity of

tugallensium and *Grynaeus*. Ramusio speaks of him correctly as "Pietro Alonzo called Nigno." In the German translation of the *Paesi*, published in 1508, and in which Spanish, Latin, and Portuguese proper names are rendered into their German equivalents, Nigro is called *der Schwartz*. In this same German edition Columbus himself has his name transformed to its equivalent,—*Dawber*.

¹ They are said to have returned, landing in Galicia, at Bayona, in April, 1500. In Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 541, will be found the deposition of Nicholas Perez, who says that Niño arrived in Spain a few days before Hojeda returned from his first expedition. The date of this cannot be fixed, except that it occurred before July 28, 1500, as on that day Bishop Fonseca, acting for the King and Queen, and Hojeda signed a contract for another expedition to be undertaken by the latter.

Humboldt gives the date of return as April, 1500. Peter Martyr says they started home *octavo idus Februarii* (February 6) and were at sea sixty days—threescore days,—which would make the date of arrival April 5.

² The expedition, unlike most that sailed to the New World, consisted of a single ship of about sixty tons, and a crew of thirty-three men.

³ There is preserved in the Municipal Library of Ferrara a manuscript containing a description of voyages, apparently earlier in its composition than the *Libretto* or *Paesi*. In it one reads this passage in the description of the pearls brought by Pero Alonzo Niño from Curiana: "And Anzol Trivisan, the Secretary of the Illustrious Seignory of Venice, being in Spain, saw a great quantity of these."

⁴ As an illustration of the cheapness of articles of food, Peter Martyr declares in the eighth book of his *First Decade* that on this expedition the sailors bought a peacock for four pins, a pheasant for two pins, and a wood pigeon or turtle dove for one. When the natives asked what they should do with the pins, since it was their custom to go naked, the sailors told them they were to be used in picking their teeth or in removing thorns from their flesh.

⁵ The importance of this discovery of a pearl coast by Niño was always recognised in Spain, and we find expeditions, when licenced to go to the New World, were expressly forbidden to visit the region in which Niño found the pearls, whether under the name of Curtana, Curiana, or Valfermoso. This was notably the case with the expedition of Alonzo Velez de Mendoza, under letters patent of July 20, 1500, the third expedition of Hojeda, under letters patent dated June 8, 1501,—notwithstanding this interdiction the expedition seems to have visited Curiana,—and even as late as when Vicente Yañez Pinzón was sent to Porto Rico and was given power to make discoveries everywhere, "except the region where Niño found [bartered for] the pearls."

precious pearls and thereby defrauding the King of his one-fifth share. He was kept in prison a long time, but to the end denied that he had detained for his own use any of the pearls. Peter Martyr tells of a dinner he attended, given by the Duke of Medina in the city of Seville, when there was brought to his host a parcel of a hundred and twenty ounces of pearls for his purchase, and that the fairness and brilliancy of the pearls greatly delighted them. Then, he says, some declared that Niño did not get the pearls from Curiana, which is distant more than a hundred and twenty leagues from Boca del Drago,¹ but that he procured them in the regions of Cumana and Manacapana, near the *Os Draconis*—Dragon's Mouth—and the island of Margarita, for they deny that any pearls are found in Curiana.

Thus was this alert Venetian courtier, Angelo Trivigiano, the first to present to the world a portrait of Christopher Columbus, and, fully appreciating the value of Peter Martyr's letters in describing the earlier voyages to the New World, he was the first to publish those voyages in printed form. The demand for such a narrative might easily exhaust even a large edition, and examples of books which are much read and re-read scarcely ever have long lives. We may not wonder overmuch, then, if there has come down to us only one example of this interesting little book.

¹ The Mouth of the Dragon, so named by Columbus during his third voyage, August 13, 1498. Columbus himself had given this name to the wild channel between the north-western point of the island of Trinidad and the eastern point of the mainland, forming the northern entrance to the Gulf of Paria.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

Libretto De Tutta La Nauigatione De Re De Spagna De Le Isole Et Terreni Nouamente Trouati.

Capitulo primo:



RISTOPHORO Colôbo Zenouesé homo de alta & prôcera statura rosso de grande ingegno & faza longa. Sequito molto tempo li serenissimi Re de spagna in q̃lunga parte andauano; pcurâdo lo aiurassero ad armare qualche nauilio: che se offeriua attouare p ponêre insu-

finitime de la india: doue e copia de pietre p̃ciose: & & specie: & oro: che facilmête se porriano cōsegre. Per molto tempo el Re & la Regina: & tutti li primati de Spagna: de zo ne pigliauano zocho. & finaliter dapo sette anni: & dapo molti rrauagli. Cōpiacetteno a sua uolûta: & li aruiarno una naue & do carauelle cō leq̃le circa ali p̃mi zorni de septê. i. 492. se pri da li liti spani: & icomîzo el suo uiazo. Ca. ii.

Rîo da Cades se nâdo ali sole fortûate ch̃ alp̃nte spagnoli lechi p amâo canarie: forno chiamate dali antiq̃ isole fortûate nel mar oceâ lôtan dal stretto. 1200. mi. secôdo sua rason ch̃ dicono. 30. leghe: una lega e. 4. migla. q̃ste canarie forô dcê fortûate p la loro tēpie. sōno fora dî clia dela europa uerlo mezo dî. sōno êt habbitate de gēte nude ch̃ uiuono senza religiōe. alcua. q̃ ando colôbo p̃sar aq̃ & tor refre scamêto: pria chel sa metesse a così dura fatica. Den sequête el sole occi dēte. Nauigâdo 33. note & zorni cōtinui: ch̃ mai uede terra alcua. Dapoi un hō n̄rato i gabia ueteno terra Et delcoprîrno. vi. isole. Do de leq̃le de grâdeza inaudita: una chiama spagnola: l'altra la zoâna mela. Ca. iii.

Oâna nō hebero bē certo ch̃ la fuisse isola. Ma zōti ch̃ soro ala zoâna scorêdo q̃lla p costa. Sētirono câtar del mese de nouê. fra dēlissimi boschi rulsignoli: & trouoro grandissimi fiumi de aque dolce: & bōissimi porti: & grâdi scorêdo p costa de la zoâna p maestro piu de. 800. migla che nō trouorn termie ne segno de termie: p̃soro ch̃ fuisse terra ferma: delibo de torna: p̃ch̃ così el cōstîrgea il mar: p̃ch̃ era âdaro tâto p diuersi golfi: che hauea uolto la pua a sēptētrîōe. Ita ch̃ labora ormai lîcomizaua adar trauaho: uolta adûq̃ la gua uerfo leuâte: ritrouo l'isola chiamata spagnola. Et dîsiderâdo tētar lanatura de li lochi da lapte d̃ tramôtana: za se aproxiaua a terra: q̃u la naue m̃zor inuesti sopra una secha piana: che era copta daq̃: & se aprite: ma la planitie del sâso che staua sotto laq̃ laiuto che nō somerse: le carauelle scapolo li hoî: & el m̃orati i terra uidêo hoî d̃ l'isola liq̃li uisti subito se miseno a fugire aboschi dēlissimi: cōe fusseno tâte fief sēgtate dacâi (iaudita pgēia) li n̄r segradoli p̃sô una dōna: & lamenorô anauere bē pasiuta d̃ n̄rî cibi & uio & ornata d̃ uestim̃ti ch̃ loro tuti uâo nudî: la lassarno andâr. Ca. iiii.

Vbito ch̃ so zōta asoi ch̃ fauca oue stauâo: mōstrâdo il marauigloso

A ii

aloro ornato, et liberalita de linfi tuti aragata corsero amarina. Pésando q̄sta eér ḡcte madata dal cielo: Se gitauano nelaq̄: & portauano seco oro che haueáo: & baratauáo oro i piadene de terra & taze de uero, chi li do naua una stringa o sonaglio o uero un pezo de specchio: o altra simel cosa: & dauano p̄ simel cose oro che haueano: hauédo zá facto insieme un cōmertio familiar. Circádo li nfi li loro costúi: trouoron p̄ segni & acti che haueano Re tra de loro: & esmontando li nostri in terra forono receuti honoratissimaméte dal Re: & da li homini de lisola: & bene acharezati, uenendo la sera, & dato el signo del Aue maria inzenochiandosi li nfi: simel faceuano loro: & uedendo che li nostri adorauano la croce: & loro simelmente: uedendo etiam che la supradicta naue rotta andauano con loro barche che chiamauano Canoe aportare in terra li homini & le robbe cō tanta carita che nihil supra le loro barche sono de uno solo legno. Cauate con pietre acutissime longe & strette. La sōno alcune da lxxx. remi luna: elli nō hāno ferro alcun: per laqual cosa li nostri molto se marauegliaro come fabricassero le loro case: che marauegliosamente erano lauorate: & laltre cose che hāno: inteforo che, tutto faceuano con alcune pietre d̄ fiumi durissime: & acutissime. Inteforo che non molto lōrano da quella isola: erano alcúe isole de crudelissimi hoī che se passeno de carne humana. Et questa fu la causa che al principio che uettero li nostri si mesino in fuga credendo fusseno de quelli homini quali chiamauano Canibali, li nostri haueuano lassato le isole de quelli huomini osceni q̄si amezo el camin da labanda de mezo di.

Capitulo quinto:

T se lamétauano li pueri homini che non altraméte sono uexati da questi canibali: come fere saluatiche da tigrī & leoni: li garzoni che loro prédeno licastrano: come faciamo noi castrati: perche diuentano piu grassi per mazarli: & li homini maturi cōsi come li prédeno li amazano: & mangiano: & mangiano freschi le intestini & li extremi mébra del copro. El resto infalano: & li seruano ali soi tépi come faciamo noi: li presuti le donne non le mázano: ma le saluano a far figlioli: non altrimenti come faciamo noi. Galine per uoui: le uechie ufano per schiaue. De le isole che oramai potemo reputar nostre. Cōsi li homini come le femine: come presentano questi canibali appproximare aloro: nō trouano altra salute che fugire: anchora che usino faette acutissime: tamen aiprimare el furore & la rabia de quelli trouano: che pocho gli zouano: & confessano che. x. canibali che li trouano. 100. de loro li supano. Nō poteno linfi bñ itédere che adori q̄sta ḡcte altro che el cielo sole & luna: De l. costúi de altre isole. labreuita del tépo & máchaméto de interpreti fu cá che nō potemo sapere altro

Capitulo sexto.

I homini de quella isola usano in locho de pane certe radice de grandezza: & forma de nauoni alquanto dolce chome castagne fresche: elqual chiamano Ages. Oro apresso dessi e in aliquanta extrimatione: ne portano alorechie: & alnaso attachati. Tamé hāno cognosciuto li nsi: che da un locho & laltro nō fano traficho alcū. Come zaro adimandare p signi doue trouano quello oro. Inteforo cō nauano nella rena de certi fiumi: che correno daltissimi mōti. Ne lo grā fati ga lo recoglono in balotte: & loreducano dapoi in lame. Ma el nō se troua in quella parte delisola doue erano. Come dapoi circūdādo lisola cognoscetero per expiēti: perche dapoi partiti deli si imbatero a caso i un fiume de imensa grandezza: doue essendo esmontati in terra per fare aq̃ & pescare trouorono la rena mescolata con molto oro. Dicono nō haucr uisto in questa isola alcuno animal da quattro piedi saluo de tre generatione: de cuni: di serpenti de grandezza & numero admirabile qual la isola nutrisce ma non che nocino ad alcū: uedeno et saluatiche turture: Anadre mazore de le nostre: oche piu bianche che cesani con el capo rosso. Papagai deliquali alcuni sono uerdi alcuni zalli tutto el corpo. altri simiti a quelli de india cō una gorgiera rossa: ne portorono. xl. ma de diuersi colori. Questi papagalli portati de li mostrano: o per propinquitato p natura q̃ste isole pricipare de lidia: bēche laopinione di colombo pari aduerfar alagrādeza de la spera. Atestādo maxime Aristotele nel fin del libro de celo & mūdo. Seneca & altri che nō sono ignorant de cosmographia dicono lindia nō molto distare da laspagna p lōgo tracto de mare. Questa terra pduce de sua natura copia de mastiche: aloes: bambaso & altre simel cose certi grani rossi de diuersi colori piu acuti del peuare che noi habiamo. Certa canella: zenzaro del qual ne portarono.

Capitulo septimo.

L colōbo contento de questa nuoua terra: trouo de li signali & un nuouo: & inaudito mōdo. Essendo ormai la prima uera deli bero tornar sene: & lasio ap̃sso al Re supradicto. xxxviii. homini equali haueſsero ad inuestigare lanatura del luoco: & tēpi infino che lui tornasse. Questo Re se chiamaua Guacranarillo cō ilqual facto liga & cōfederatiō de uita & salute & adefensiōe de q̃lli ch̃ restauāo esso Re misericordia motus: guardādo li rimasi lachrio: & abrazādoli li mōstraua farli ogni comodita: & el colōbo in questo fece uela p spagna: & meno seco. x. homini de quella isola. Daliquali compresero che loro lēgua se impararebe facilmete: qual etiam se pole scriuere cō nostre lettere Chiamauano el celo turci la caxa boa lo oro cauni homo dabem toyno niente maxani li altri suoi uocabuli loro non proferiscono mancho de

quelli che li nostri latini: & questo fo el successo de la prima nauigatione.

Capitolo octauo.

El Re & la Regina che altro non desiano che augmentar la religione xpiana: & ridurre molte semplice natione al diuin culto: facilmente commossi non solo da colombo: ma et dio da piu de. 200. de li suoi spagnoli che erano stati con el Colombo. Receuero esso colombo con gratissima faza & fecero grandissimi honori & sentar publicamente dauanti de loro: che e apresso de loro de liprimi honori. Et uolsero che fusse chiamato Admirante del mare oceano. Et per questo esso admirante afferma se speraua nel principio trar grandissima utilita de queste isole: piu per rispetto de augmento de la fede che altra utilita. Vn fue serenissime maestre feceno preparare. 17. nauili tra naue con cable grande: & .xii. caruelle senza cable con. 1200. homini con le sue arme tra le quale erano fabbri: artusci de tutte le arte mechaniche salariati: con alchuni homini da cavallo. El colombo preparo caualli: porci: uache: & molti altri animali con li soi massculi: legumi: formento: orzo. & altri simili: non solm per uiuere ma etiam per el seminare: uite & altre molte piante de arbori: che non sono deli perche non trouorono in tutta quella isola altro de nostra cognitione: che pini: & palme altissime: & de marauigliosa durezza: durezza: & altezza per la uberta de la terra: & altri assai che fano fructi che ne sono ignoti: che quella terra e la piu uberosa che altra sia sotto el sole. Preparo etiam el dicto admirante per portar con li tutti istrumenti de qualunque exercitio: & demum tutte quelle cose che se apparteneuano ad una Citta che se habbia edificare in nuoui paesi. Molti fidati & li clienti del Re se messino de propria uolunta a questa nauigatione: per desiderio de noue & auctorita de l'admirante. Al .1. di de septembrio. 1493. con prospero uento fecero uela da Cades: & el primo di de octobrio zonseno alle canarie: & da lultima de laquale e chiamata fereta a. 4. octobrio dette uela al mezzo di. Non se hebbe nuoua de loro sino allo equinoctio dello inuerno: che essendo el Re & la Regina amenza del campo a. 23. marzo per uno corrier hebbero nuoua esser zonti a cade. xii. di questi nauili ad i. 5. aprile. 1494. del capitar de questi nauili per uno certo fradel della baia del primo genito del serenissimo Re destinato da l'admirante arriuo a sue alteze: dalquale & altri fide degni testimoni hebbe quanto qui sotto se contiene.

Capitolo nono.

Li primi zorni de octobrio partito lo admirante Colombo da canaria. Nauigo. xxi. zorno per mare. Imprima che trouasse terra alchuna: ma ando piu aman sinistra uerso ostro carbino che laltro primo uiazo. Vnde diuenne ne li sole de canibali dicti di sopra. Et

ala prima uetteno una selua tanto spessa de arbori che non si poteua di scernere che cosa si fusse.& perche era dominica el zorno che ueddero lachiamarono dominica:& acorzendosi che era habitata:non se fermorono in essa:ma andarono auanti.In questo,xxi.zorno secôdo el iudicio loro feceno Szo.leghe.Stato li era propitio el uento da tramontana, da poi partiti da questa insula per pocho spacio deuennero in una altra referta:& abundantissima de molti arbori che spirauano uno odore mirabile.Alchuni che descorsero in terra non uetteno homo alchuno.Ne animale de altra sorte che luxertole de inaudita grandeza. Questa insula lachiamarono croce.Et fu la prima terra habbitata che ueddero dappo el suo partire de Cannaria.Era questa insula de li canibali: chome dappoi cognoscertero per experientia & per li interpreti de linsula spagnola che haueuano con si.Circundando la insula trouarono molti caseli de.20.in.30.cafe luno.Lequale erano tutte edificate per ordine.In circo atorno una piazza ritonda:che li staua de mezo:tutti erano de ligno fabricate intondo.Prima furno in terra tanti arbori altissimi che fanno la circunstantia de lacasa:Dappoi limettano dentro alchuni traui curti:acostati a questi legni longhi che non caschino. El coperto lo fanno in forma de pauoni.Er cossi tutte queste cafe hanno el tecto acuto.Dappoi tessonno questi legni de foglie de palme:& de certe altre simile foglie che sono securissime per lacqua.Ma dentro dali traui curti tessonno con corde de bambaxo:et de altre radice che simigliano al Sparto. Hanno alchune sue lettere che stanno in aere.Sopra a lequale mettano bambaxo:& stramo per letto.Et hanno portichi:doue se reduccano in zuccare. In uno certo locho uetteno do statue de ligno:che stauanno sopra a.2.bisse:pessorono fossero soi ydoli.Ma erano poste solû p bellezza che elli solamete adorâo:el cielo cõ soi pianeti.Acostâdosi li nñi a qsto loco:doue hoî:& dõne se mesino afugire:& abâdonâdo le sue cafe.xxx.feie & garzoni che erano presoni:li qli garzoni questi canibali haueuano pñi de alcune insule p mazarli:& le feie per tegnire p schiaue:fuggero ali nñi.Intrati linñi i le sue cafe:trouorono che haueuano uasi de pietra a nñi usanza de ogni sorte:& ne le culine carne de hoî lessate insieme cõ papagalli:& oche & anare crâo i spiedo p rostir:p casa trouarono ossi de brazi & cosse humane:che saluauano p fare ferri a sue frize:pche nõ hâno ferro:& trouorõ etiam el capo de un garzõ morto pocho auanti che era attachato a un traui:& giozaua ancora sangue.Ha questa isola.8.grâdissimi fiumi:& chiamarola guadipea per eer sile al môte de scâ maria di guadaluپی di spagna:li habitati lachiamano Carachara:portino da qsta isola papagalli mazor ch fahâi:molto differeti dali altri:hâno tutto el corpo:& le spalle rosse le ale de diuersi colori.Nõ mâcho copia

hanno de papagalli: che appressi de noi cilligati: anchora che li boschi siano
 pieni de papagalli nōdimeno li nutriscono: & poi li mazzano. Lo admirante
 colōso fece donare molti presenti ale done: che erāo fugite aloro: & or
 dinaro che cō quelli presenti andasso atrouare li canibali. Impho chelle sa
 ueano doue stauano: & andate dicte done trouorno grā numero de qlli
 liqli ueniano p ingordita de li doni. Ma subito che uetteno li nri o per
 paura che se hauessino o p cōscientia de loro selerita' guardādo in faza
 luno laltro se messino afugire nelle ualle & boschi uicini: li nri che era
 no andati p lisola reducti anaue rōpero quante barche trouorno de lo
 ro. Et se partirno da questa guadaluppa p andar atrouar li suoi cōpagni
 alisola spagnola. Nel primo uiazo lassoro aman destra & ala sinistra mol
 te isole. Li aparse di tramontana una gran isola laquale quelli de lo ad
 mirante che hauea menati seco da lisola spagnola: saueano parlare: & q
 li che erāo recuperati de lemā de li canibali. Dissono ch se chiamaua Ma
 tinina. Affermando che in essa nō habitauan saluo femine. lequale a cer
 to tēpo de lāno se congiungeuano cō li canibali: come se dice de le ama
 zone. Et si parturiuano masculi li nutriuano: & poi li mandauano ali lo
 ro padri: & li femine le tegniuano seco. Diceuano etiā che queste femi
 ne hano certe caue grande sotto terra: ne le qual fuginō si adaltro tēpo
 delāno che el statuito alcuno uada ad esse. Et se alchuno per forza oper
 infidie cerca dintrare le se deffendano con freze lequale trazeno benis
 simo: per alhora nō poteno li nostri acostarse a quella isola. Nauigan
 do dalla uista de questa isola a cinquāta miglia passorno per unaltra iso
 la laqual lipredicti de lisola spagnola diceuāo esser populatissima: & ha
 bundante de tute le cose necessarie aluictō humano: & ch ella era piena
 de alti monti: li missono nome monferrato. Li prefati de lisola spagnola
 & li recuperati da canibali diceuan che alcune fiate essi canibali andaua
 mille miglia per prender homini per manzarli. El sequente zorno sco
 priorno unaltra isola: laqual per esser tonda lo admirante lachiamo san
 cta maria rotunda: unaltra poi auanti chiamo san Martino. Ma in niu
 na de queste se fermorono. Et terzo giorno trouorono unaltra laqua
 le ferono iudicio esser longa per costa diametrale. Da leuante apponen
 te. cl. miglia. Linterpreti del paese affirmano queste isole essere tutte de
 marauegliosa bellezza: & fertilita: & questa ultima chiamaro sancta ma
 ria itiqua: Dapoi laqual trouo altre assaissime isole: ma de li a. cccc. mi
 glia una mazor de tutte le altre: laqual da li habitanti e chiamata ay ay
 & li nostri lachiamarono sancta croce. Qui scorseno per far aqua: & lo
 admirante mando in terra. xxx. homini de la sua naue che sequitasseno
 la isola. liquali trouorno quattro Canibali con quattro femine: lequale
 uisti li nostri con le man zonti pareuan dimandar secorso: lequale libe

rate per li nostri: li canibali fugierono aliboschi: Et staado li lo ammirante do zorni: fece stare. xxx. de li suoi homini in terra cōtinuo in aguarō i q̄sto li n̄ri uegnire uegnire una chinea. cioe una barcha cō. vii. hoī & viii. dōne: & facto segno li n̄ri li alatorono: & loro cō freze se defendeano: per modo che auanti che li nostri se coprisseno cō letarghe uno buschano fu morto da una dele femine: laqual cō una friza ne feritte anchora unaltro grauissimamente: & li nostri se acorseno che le frize erano atosechate: che in cima de laponta erano onte de certo unguero uenenato. fra questi era una femina a laquale pareua che tutti li altri obedisseno come Regia: & cō essa era un zouene suo fiolo robusto de a pecto crudele: & faza de assassino. Li nostri dubitando che cō freze nō fusino guasti: Deliberorno per la miglor uegnire alestrette: Et cusi (dato de liremi in aqua) con una barcha de naue la inuestirono: & mandaro a fondo. Loro ueramente cusi homini come femine nodado non restauan de trazer frize con tãto impeto uerso deli nostri come essendo in barcha. Se misseno sopra a un sasso copto daqua: & li combatendo ualentemente furono presi dali nostri: & un ui fu morto: & el fiol de la regina ferito de doe ferite. Conducti dauanti dalo Admirante non perseno la atrocita: & ferita loro. Altramente suol per dar un fier leone quando se 'entre preso: & legato: & alhora piu rugge: & piu se incrudelisce. Non era homo che li uadessse che non sentisse paura tanto atroce: & diabolico suo aspetto. Procedendo in questo modo lo ammirate hora per mezo di: hora per Garbino: hora imponente diuene in una uastita de mare piena de innumerabile insule differente. Alcune pareano boschose: & amene: altre se che: & sterile: saxose montose: altre mōstrauano fra sassi nudi colori cri mulini: Altre di uiole: Altri biachiissimi. unde molti existimauano fusse uene de metalli: e pietre pretiose nō scorsero qui pche el tempo nō era buono. Et per paura dela densita: & spissitudine de tante insule. Dubitãdo che le naue mazor non inuestissino qualche sasso. se reseruoron a q̄l che altro tempo numerare le insule per la gran multitudine: Et la confusa pmistion de esse. Tamẽ alcune carauelle che non libi ognaua troppo fondo passorno per mezo alcune: & numerorono. xlv. chiamorono questo loco Arcipelago: per tanto numero de insule passando auanti a questo tracto in mezo del camino. Trouorono una insola chiamata bũ chema: doue eran molti di quelli che forono liberati de man deli canibali: quali diceuano che era populatissima coltiuada: piena de porci: & de boschi: & li habitadori de essa erano stati continuo inimici deli canibali. loro non hãno nauili da potere andare atrouare la insula deli canibali. Ma si per caso li canibali uano ala soa insula per dipredarli: & li possono mettere le mane adosso li chauano li ochi: & tagliano in pezi

li rustissimo : & lideuorano per uendetta tutte queste cose intendeuano per gli interpreti menati da l'isola Spagnola. Li nostri per non troppo tardare pretermiseno questa insula: saluo da un canto in uer ponente che per far aqua scorfero. Doue trouarono una gran casa : & bella a suo costume con altre, xii. pichole ma dexabitare, per laqual causa non intendendo sel fusse: o per lastason del anno che a quel tempo habitasseno al monte per il caldo; & per paura deli canibali, tutta questa insula hâno un solo Re quale chiamano chacichio: & e obedito con grandissima reuerenza da tutti. La cõsta de questa insula uerso mezo di se exte de circa a. cc. miglia. La nocte do femine: & do zouani deliberati da le man deli canibali se gittoron in mar, & nottaron ala insula chera loro patria.

Capitolo. x.

Admirante tandem zonse cõ la sua armata a l'isola spana: Distan-
 I te dala prima insula deli canibali, cccc. lighe. Ma con infelice aduenimento: che trouoro morti tutti li compagni haueano lassati li. In questa isula spana e una regione che se chiama xainana; da laquale lo admirate uolèdo tornare in spagna la prima uolta. tolse parizo cõ li. x. homini de l'isola, de liquali tre solum erâo uiui: li altri morti: per la mutation de laere. li altri quando primo zonsero a san Theremo: che cosi hâno chiamato quella costa xainana. lo admirante ne fece lassare uno, li altri do di nocte furtiuamete se gittaron in mar: & nodando Scâpareno. De laqual cosa pero nõ se curo credendo trouar uiui li. xxxviii. che hauea lassato. Ma andato un pocho auanti lincõtro una canea zoe barcha longa de molti remi: Nellaqual era un fradel del Re Guaceanarillo: con elquale quando lo admirante soparti hauea facta si ferma con federation: & recomandato li suoi. Costui acompagnato da uno solo uene da l'admirante & per nome de suo fradel glie porto adonare do imagine doro: Et come dapoi se intese per el suo idioma incomenzo anarrare la morte de gli nostri: ma per defecto de interpreti altutto non fu inteso. Zonto lo admirante al Castel de legno: & le case quale gli nostri hauean facte: trouo che tutte erano destructe: & conuertite in cenere: De laqual cosa tutti receuetero gran passion, pur per uedere si alcun de li rimasi era restati uiuo: fece trazere molti bombarde azo che si alcun fusse ascoso uegnisse fora: ma tutto in uano perche morti eran tutti. Lo admirante mando suoi messi al Re Guaceanarillo liquali riportarono per quanto per segni hauean possuto comprendere: che in quella insula sonno molti mazor Re de lui: de liquali do inteso la fama de que

sta noua gente ueneno li con grande exercito:& superati li nostri foron morti:& ruinorno el Castello : a brusando tutto. & che lui uolendo li aiutar era sta ferito de friza : & monstro un brazo che hauea legato: Dicendo che questa era la causa che non era uegnuto ad l'admirante come el desideraua. L'altro sequente zorno lo ammirante mando un altro Marchio da sibilila al dicto Re. Ilqual tirattogli uia la binda dal brazo trouo non hauere ferita alcuna: Ne segno de ferita, tamen trouo che era in lecto monstrando de hauere male. E lo suo lecto era conzonto con altri septi lecti de sue concubine, unde incomenzo a suspicare lo ammirante & li altri: che li nostri fussero stati morti per consiglio: & uolonta de costui. Tamen dissimulando Marchio messe ordine con lui che el sequente zorno el uenisse a uisitare lo ammirante:& cosi fece: & l'admirante li fece bona cera:& gran careze:& molto se excuso de la morte de li nostri: uista una dele femine tolte dali Canibali. Laqual li nostri chiamauan chatarina gli fece gran festa: & parlo con lui molto amorosamente che gli nostri non lo intesero. Dapoi se parti con grande amore forono alcuni che consigliauano lo ammirante: chel douesse retegner: & far confessasse come li nostri erano morti: & li facesse portare la debita pena. Ma lo ammirante considero che non era tempo de irritare li animi deli insulani: El zorno sequente el fradel de questo Re uenue a naua:& parlo con le femine sopra dicte: & le subdusse come monstro lo exito: che la nocte sequente quella chatarina sopra dicta: o per liberarse de caruita: o per persuasione del Re se gitto ne laqua con.vii. altre femine tutte inuitate da lei:& passorno forse.iii.miglia de mar.li nostri seguitandole con le barche le recupero.iii. solamente. Catharina con le altre tre sene andorono al Re. Elquale la mattina per tempo sene fugitte con tutta la sua famiglia. Vnde gli nostri compresero che gli .xxxviii. restati fussero sta morti da lui.

Capitolo.xi.

O ammirante li mando drieto el sopradicto Marchio cō.ccc. homini Armati:elqual cercandolo deuenne a casu alla bocha dun fiume.Doue trouorno un Nobilissimo: & bon porto el quale chiamato porto reale. La intrata e tanto ritorta che come l'homo e dentro non cognosce doue el sia intrato Anchora che la intrata sia si granda che tre naue aparo ne pariuano intra re nel mezo del porto e un monte tutto uerde:& boscoso pieno de pagalli:& altri uccelli che continuo cantano suauemente: Et in questo

B ii

porto: correnno do fiumi. Procedendo piu auanti uidenno una altissima casa: & pensando li fusse el re se ne ando a quella: & approximádose li uenue incontro uno acompagnato da cento homini ferocissimi in aspetto tutti armati cō archi: & freze: & lanze. Cridando che non erano Canibali Ma taynos: cioe nobili: & gentilhomini. Li nostri factoif ceno de pace: & loro deposta la sua ferita le fecero insieme molti amici: & tanto che immediate senza rispetto discesono ale naue: doue furono donati de molti pñenti. Cioe sonagli da spauier: & simel cose. Li nñi mesurorno la sua casa che era la circumferenza, xxxii, gran passi: era tonda: & con. xxx. altre case piccole, attorno. li traui erano canne de diuersi colori con marauigliose arte tessute. Domandando li nostri al meglio che poteuano del Re scampato: gli notificorono che era fugito al monte. Et de questa tal noua amicitia li nostri deliberaro fare intendere alo ammirante. Mal ammirante in diuerse parte mando diuersi homini ad explorare del dicto Re. Intra quali mado Horeda: & Gormaiano zouani nobili: & animosi questi trouorono. iiii. fiumi: uno da una parte: & laltro da laltra. iiii. de liquali descenduano da uno altissimo monte: & nel sabione che tutti quelli de li sola recogleuano oro. in questo modo cazauano le braze in alcune fosse & cō la man sinistra cauauan larena: & cō la destra coglieuan oro. & lo dauano ali nostri. Et dicono hauere uisto molti granelli de quātita de zecara qual fo portato al Re dispagna. Vno grano de. ix. oñ. qual fo uisto da pur assai persone.

Capitulo duodecimo.

Al li nostri (uisto questo) tornorono ad lo ammirante per che hauea comádato sotto pena dela uita chñ nisciuno facesse altro che m
descoprire. Intesero etiam che lera uno certo Re ali monti: doue uenian li fiumi loqual chiamano Cazichio cannoba cioe signor dela casa de loro: boa uol dir casa: canno oro: & cazichio re. Trouorono in questi fiumi pesci pfectissimi: & similiter aque. Marchio de sibilia dice che apresso li canibali el mese de decembrio e equinoctio: ma non so come possi essere per la rason dela spera: & dice quel mese li ucelli facciano li suoi nidi & alcuni haueano za fioli. Tamen domádato de lalteza del polo da loriente: dice che ali canibali tuto el carro era ascoso sotto el polo arrico: & li guardiani tramontati. Nō e uegnuto alcuno desto uiazo che li si possa prestare firma fede per essere homini illitterati.

Capitulo. xiii.

O ammirante prese locinfrone uno loco propinquo a uno porto per edificare una cita: & incominzo a fabricare: & fare una chiesa. Ma approximádose el tempo che hauea promesso el re notificarli del suo successo, & cusi remádo. dodeci carauelle in drieto con

noctitia del che hauemo uisto; & etiam dio facto. Essendo rimaso lo admirante ne l'isola Spagnola laquale alcuni la chiamano offira uogliono che sia quella de laquale nel testamēto uechio nel terzo libro de li re se ne fa mentione . Laquale per sua largeza e cinq gradi australi che sono migla. ccc. xxx. El polo si lieua. xxv. i. gradi : & da mezo zorno si come el dice gradi. xxi. la sua lōgheza da leuāte a ponēte. e otocēto e otanta milga, la forma de l'isola e come la foglia dun castagno. Lo Admirante delibero edificare una cita supra un colle in mezo l'isola da la parte de tramontana, perche li apresso era un monte alto boschofo con sassi : & da far caloina laqual chiamō isabella; & ali piedi de questo mōte era una pianura de sexātra migla longa; & larga in alcun luoco dodeſe & in alcun luoco piu stretta. vi. migla. per laqual passauano molti fiumi : & lo mazor desso scorre dauanti la porta de la cita un trar d'archo. Ita che questa pianura e tanto uberiosa; che in alchuni zardini che fecero sopra larena del fiume seminorrono diuerſe sorte de herbe come rauani; laſtuche; uerzi; borafene; tutte in termine de sedeli zorni nascertero meloni; cucumeri; zuche : & altre simel cose, in. xxvi. zorni furono raccolte; meglior che mai māzassino. In questo lo Admirante per noticia hauea da quelli insulani che hauea seco mando trāta homini a una prouincia di questa isola dicta Cipangulaqual in mezo de l'isola era situata : muntuosa con gran copia de oro. Questi homini retornati referireno mirabilita de richeze de quel loco; & che dal monte descēdeuan quattro fiumi che diuidon l'isola in quattro parte. lun ua uerso leuante chiamato Suma. laltro in ponente attribūco. el terzo attramontana dicto lachem el quarto a mezo di Naiba chiamato.

Capitulo. xiiij.

A per tornare al proposito lo admirante facta questa cita incin
m cta de muro a di. xii de Marzo se parti con circa a quatrocento
 a piedi & ha cavallo se mise in camino per andāre ala prouincia
 de loro dela parte de mezo di. & dapoi passati monti; ualle; & fiumi de
 uenne in una pianura e principio de cimbage; per laqual pianura corre
 no alcuni riuoli con rena da oro. Intrato adūche lo admirante per. lxxiiij
 migla dentro de l'isola : & distante dala sua cita . zonſe in una riuā dun
 gran fiume; & li in un colle eminente delibero far una forteza per po
 ter piu figuramente cercare li secreti del paese; & chiamo la forteza . S.
 Thoma stando in questa edification molti paesi ueneno alo admirante
 per hauere sonagli; & altre fuffaſ che hauea; & lui al incontro li diman
 do che li portassino de loro. Vnde in pocho tempo andarono; & porto
 rono assai quatita de oro; intra liquali un porto un grano de una onza;
 li nostri se marauegliarono de tal grādeza; tamen con cenni demonstra

uano trouarsene anchi de mazori: & maxime in un paese distante de li meza zornata se trouaua de grã pezi de liquali per non essere lauorati & messi in opra non lo existimauano molto. Da questo altri portarono mazor pezi de .x. dragme luno: & etiam affirmauano trouarsene de mazori: Lo admirante mando alcuni de suoi a quel luochò liquali ritrovarono molto piu de q̃l ch̃ glera dicto. hãno li boschi piẽi d̃ sperie: ma ñ le recoglono saluo in quãto uogliono permuttar con gli homini delle altre isole uicine in piadene: & cattini de terra: & uasi de legno facti in altre isole per che loro non hãno. Trouorono del mese de mazo uue saluatiche ben mature. Questa prouincia non obstate che sia saxosa: tamẽ e piena de arbori: & tutta uerde. Dicono ch̃ li pioe assai pero sono molti fiumi & riui con la rena de oro. & credeno che quello oro descẽda da quelli mōri & sono gẽte molto occiose de inuerno tremano da freddo: & hãno li boschi pieni de bãbaso ne ne sano fare uestimẽti. Cap. xv.

Ercato quanto e dicto lo admirante sene torno alla Rochahisbella doue lasso al gouerno alcuni: & lui se parti cō tre nauili per andare a descoprire certa terra ch̃ lui hauea uisto. penso fusse terra ferma: & e migla. lxx. & non piu lontana dala dicta isola Spagnola. La qual terra li paesani chiamauan cuba: passato de li dabanda del mezo di si messe andare uersò ponente: & quanto piu lo andaua auanti tanto piu se slongaua iliti & andauase in Golfando uersò mezo di. Ita ch̃ ogni zorno se trouaua piu uersò mezo di. tanto chel zonse a una isola chiamata da paesani iamaica: ma come lui dice dali cosmographi e dicta lanna mazor: quale e mazor dela cicilia: & ha un solo monte in mezo che incho menza a leuarse da tutte le parte de lisola. Ma ua ascendendo cusi apocò a pocho fina nel mezo de lisola chel par che non ascenda. Questa isola cusi a le marine come al mezo e fertilissima: & piena de populo che piu acuto: & de mazor ingegno che tuti li altri isulani: atti a mercantie: & bellicosì. Et uolendo lo admirante mettere in terra in diuersi lochi correuano armati & non li lasciaueno esmontare: & in molti loci combattere con li nostri: ma restorono perdenti: & feronse dapoi amici. Lafata questa iamaica nauigarono per ponente. vii. zorni pur per la costa de Cuba. tanto che lo admirante pensaua essere passato fino a laurea chersoneso che apresso el nostro leuante: & crede hauer trouato de le. xxiii. hore del sole le. xxii. anchora che in questa nauigatiõe el patisse de grã de angustie: tamen delibero andare tanto auanti che uolea uedere la fine de questa Cuba se lera terra ferma o no: & nauigo. 1300. migla per ponente per el litto sempre dela cuba. Et in questa nauigatiõe messe nome a. 700. isole: ma ne passo piu de. 3000. Et trouo molte cose degne de commemoration: scorrendo la costa de questa terra Cuba: & primo pocho

dapoi che incomanzio a nauigare trouo un bellissimo porto capace de gran numero de naue doue messo in terra alcũ suoi trouorono alcune case de pagla senza alcun dentro tamen trouorono spidi de legno al suo cho con circa a .iioo. libre de peste:& doi serpenti de otto pi di uno. uisto che nullo ued'ano incomancioron a manzare el pesce:& lassorono gli serpenti che erano ala forma de cocodrilli. Dapoi se misseno a cercare un boscho li uicino uiddeno molti de questi serpenti ligati ad arbori con corde:& escorsero un pezo auati trouorono da .lxx. homini che erano fugiti in cima duna grandissima rupe per ueder quello uoleano fare li noia. Ma li nri li fecero rate careze co' signi mostrandoli tonagli: & altre fustie che un di loro si risigo smotare in una altra rupe piu uicina. Vn del isola spagnola che da picholo era nutrito co' lo admirate se a uicino a costui:& li plo che de linguazo erano qli cõformi:& ascuratelo:& lui:& li altri tutti ueneno a naue:& fecero grãde amicitia con li nri.& li dichiarorono ch' loro erao pescatori uenuti a pescare p el suo Re. che faceua pasto a unaltro Re:& dezo trouorosi molti cõtenti ch' li nri li hauea no lasciati li sot serpenti qli saluao p la psona dl Re: p pasto delicatissimo. Lo admirate (hauea la informatiõ ch' desideraua) li lasso andare: & lui se gui el suo uiazo uerso ponete:& scorredõ qsta pre la trouo molto fertile:& piena de gẽte masuetissime ch' senza alcun suspecto correuao a naue:& portuan ali nri de lor pan che usano:& zucche piene de aq. & linuauano in terra amoreuellissimamẽte. Scorsi auati deuẽnero in una multitudie de isole sine nũero qli infinito che tute mostrauao habirate piene de arbori:& fertilissime dala pie dela terra ferma secondo loro nella costa. Ne la costa ch' scorreuao trouorono un fiume nauigabile de aq. tato calda ch' nõ si li posscuu regnire le mane. Trouarono dapoi piu auati alcuni pescadori i certe sue barche de uno legno cauo come zopoli ch' pescauao. In qsto mō haueuao un pesce duna forma a noi incognita ch' ha el corpo d' aguilla:& mazoni:& supra ala testa ha certa pelle tenerissima che par una borsa grãde. Et qsto lo tieono ligato co' una trezola ala spõda dela barcha p che el nõ po patir uista de aere:& cõe uedẽo alchun pesce grãde o bisia scudelera li lassao la trezola:& qillo subito corre como una sueta al pesce o ala bischia: butadoli adosso qlla pelle ch' tien sopra la testa co' laq̃l tie tato forte ch' se par nõ possono:& non li lassa si nol tiri for de laq̃: elq̃l su' ito sentito laire lassa la preda. & li pescadori psto apigliare. Et i pũua de li nri pfero .iiii. gran caladre. leq̃e donorono ali nri p cibo delicatissimo. Domandando li nri quanto durarebe qsta costa uerso ponete: risposero ella nõ hauer sine. Partiti da qui scorsero piu auanti. pur per costa trouorõ gran diuersita de gente: & apresso questa terra una isola doue non uidono persona alcuna che tuti sene erano fugiti

Ma solo uidero do cani de brutissimo aspetto; & non habiauão uide
no oche Anare tra questa insula: & la costa de cuba trouorono uno sì
stretto passo & con tante gorghi: tanta spuma molte fiare tochorono
con le naue terra. xl. migla gle duro questi gorghi: & era laqua tanto biã
cha: & spesso che pareua fussi gittata farina p tutto. Passati questi gor-
ghi a. lxxx. migla trouoron un monte Altissimo. Doue mesino in terra
alcuni homini per far aqua: & legne. un balestrier che intro in un bo-
sco aspasso. Se escôtro in un homo uestito de bianco fino in terra che
li fu supra a capo che non se nauide nel pricipio credettechel fusse un
frate che con loro hayeano in naue. Ma subito drieto cultui ne apparse
nô do altri uestiti a quel modo. & cusi esguardando ne uedde una squa-
dra de circa a. xxx. liguali uisti subito incomenzo a fugire: Et quelli tali
li andauano dirieto facendo segno che non fugisse. Ma lui quanto piu
presto potte ne uene a naue. Et fece intendere alo ammirante quãto lha
uea uisto. Elqual mando in terra per diuerse uie molti homini. Ma niu
no seppe trouare alcua cosa. Veddero uiole assai attachate ad arbori: &
molti altri arbori de spiciarie. Scorrendo auanti trouarno altre molte
gente de diuerse lingue lequale quelli delisola spagnola che erano con
ladmirante. Niente intendeuano. Et collegiando pure questa terra cu-
ba se andauano ogni zorno piu ingolfando. hora a ostro: & hora a gar-
bin: & scorrendo el mare pieno de insole: & molte spiagge. Adeo che piu
fiade le naue tochauano terra: & laqua entraua dentro: & hauea guasto
uele sarchie: & elbiscocto, uñ foreno cōstrecti atornarse p la uia che an-
darono. Et per che ne landare hauea facta bona compagnia a tutti nel
ritorno foron ben uisti: & cusi peruenero alisola spagnola.

Capitolo. xvi.

Que trouorono che un Monsignor margarita: & altri molti ca-
d ualieri se erano partiti irati contro alo ammirante: & tornati in-
spagna. Vnde anchora lui delibero uegnire dubitando nô risruif-
feno mal de ello al Serenissimo Re. & per adimandare gente: & uictua-
rie. Ma prima cercho de mittigare alcuni de quelli del Re. che serano et
esdegnati contra de loro per insolentie: & furti: Rapine: & homicidii fa-
ceuano spagnoli auanti lisuoi ochi: & prima reconcilio: & se se amico
un Re Guatixonio: & fece matrimonio duna sua sorella in un homo
de lisola che lui hauea tolto fin al primo uiazo & a releuato suo iterpe-
tre. Dapoi ando al monte doue hauea facta la forteza chiamata. S. tho-
maso. laqual assediata da un Re za. xxx. zorni lalibero & prese quel Re
che assidio sua forteza: Et Deliberaua etiam andare piu oltra subiugan-
do quelli Re. Ma inteso che per lisola semoriua de fame: & che za nera
no morti una infinita: & questo per loro difetto perche azo che chri-

stiani patisseno haueano cauate le radice: de lequal loro se ne fano pane & nutricauanse. Pésando per questa causa christiani douer habandonare l'isola ma el male era sopra di loro per che li nostri forono socorsi de uiguarie dal Re Guarionexio che nel suo paese non era tanta necessita. Per questa causa lo admirate si rimose dal inhominciato camin. Et per che li suoi hauessino piu reduci in quella isola per ogni occurrentia fabrico tra la rocha de. S. Thomas: & el regno del Re Guarionexio una altra rocha supra a un monte & lachiamo la conceptione. Li isulani uedendo christiani esser in preposito de mantegnire quella isola mandarono de diuerse parte ambasciatori ad lo admirate de duplicarlo per lamor de dio el metesse freno a li suoi liquali sotto ptesto de trouare oro andauan per li'ola & li faceano milli mali offerendosi darli tributo de quelle cose che se trouauano ne le loro prouincie: & cosi fo cōcluso & facto acordo. li habitatori de li mōti cibani da loro se obligano dare ogni tre mesi che loro chiamano ogni tre lune una certa missura piena de oro: & mandarla fina a la cita. Li altri do doue nascono le speciarie: & gottoni se obligano dare de quelle una certa quantita.

Capitulo. xvii.

A questo acordo sotto per la fame: per che essendo manchara quelle suoi radice haueano assai trauagli andar tutto el zorno per boschi procurando da manzare pure alcuni atreseno: & al tempo debito portauano parte de obligatione excusandoli del resto: & pmetteuano q̄ primum se potessino restaurare pagariano el doppio: In questo tempo fu trouato neli monti cibani un pezo de oro de onze xx. da un certo Re che habitaua distante da la riuu del fiume elqual fo etiam portato in Spagna a li serenissimi Re che molta gente el uedette fu trouato boschi de uerzi: & molte altre cose digne. Et perche alcuni se mirau: glaueno dicendo cossi come le carauelle andorono in Spagna carche de uerzi: per che piu presto non andarono carche de oro essendone tanta quantita: a questo respose che ben che se troui oro assa respecto a molti altri lochi: attamen el non se recogleua senza gran fatica & che gli homini che meno seco erano in disposition Contraria ala fari g: ymo dediti al otio & lasciue: non curiosi a castigare paesi: ymo scandalosi: & per lor mili costoni se ribellorono ad esso admirante. Et ultra de questo li homini de l'isola che sapuan de natura barbarica erano non pocho indomiti: & multo piu eldegnati per lo mal portamento de Spagnoli. adeo che fina ala p̄sente hora apena el guadagno satiffa ala spesa. Niente dimeno questo anno. 1501. hanno in doi mesi ricolto. 1200. libre de oro. de. viii. onze per libra. Et altre intrate & guadagni come di sotto a dio placédo diremo nō diuertendo dal nostro p̄posito. In quello

anno uiene tanta furia de uento che eradicaua li arbori: & portauan fina al cielo & somerse tre naue del Colúbo che stauano in porto: & cresciette tãto laqua cñ la uenne sopra ala terra alta piu dun brazo. De laqñ cosa linfulani pensauano che li christiani de cio fussino causa per li loro peccati che erano andati a disturbare el loro tranquillo uiuere: perche nõ era alcun che mai hauessi ne audito ne uisto simel cosa. Lo ammirante uegnuto al porto immediate fece fare do carauelle che haueua con li maistri sufficientissimi.

Capitulo.xviii.

IN questo mezo mando Bertholomio columbo suo fradello che za lo hauea constituito Capitanco de lisola con alcuni bene armati & exercitati ale minere de metalliali mōti doue cauano loro che sono. 60. leghe distãti dala forteza isabella: per inuestigare ad plenum la natura de quelli luochi. Andato el dicto capitanco: ouer adelantado che cōsì in suo lenguazo el chiamano trouo profondissime caue: & antique: donde se iudica chel Re Salamone cauasse el suo thesoro come se leze nel testamento uechio. Li maistri che el capitanco seco menato hauea cerchãdo le superficie dela terra de quelle caue: uittino che duraua circa a. 16. miglia iudicarono che fusse tãta quãtita de oro che ogni maistro facilmente potesse canare ogni zorno tre onze de oro. De laqñ cosa el capitanco subito ne dette noticia al ammirante elquale inteso questo delibero tornare in spagna: primo constitui suo fradello capitanco e gouernator de lisola: & ello se parti al principio de marzo. 1495. ala uolta de spagna. In questo mezo el capitanco remaso dicto adelantado per consiglio del ammirante suo fradello edifico apresso le prefate caue de loro una forteza: & la chiamo aurea: pche nela terra de che faceuan le mura trouorono immixto loro consumo tre mesi a far edificare: & fabricare artificii da lauorare: & recogler oro: ma la fame el disturbo: & cōstrense a lassar lopra imperfecta: & partisse de li: & lassò ala guardia de la forteza. x. homini con quella parte chel potte de pan de lisola: & un can da prendere cunigli: & tornasse ala ro: ha dela conceptione: nel mese che Guattonexio: & manicantexio Re doueano pagar el tributo. Et stato li tutto zugno scosse el tributo integro da questi do Re: & le cosse necessarie al uiuere per lui & per li suoi che erano seco: che erano da. 400. homini.

Capitulo.xix.

TA circa ali primi de luglo zōse tre carauelle cō formeto oglio: e uin carne de por. ho: & de manzo salate: lequal tutte cosse furono partite: & accadun dato la sua portion. Per queste dicte carauelle li serenissimi Re de spagna mandorno p comiadameto ali suoi homini che erano in lisola che douesse andare ad habitare dala pre del mezo di piu propinqua ale caue de loro: & che li mandasse in spagna tutti

Li Re de l'isola che hauea morti christiani cō soi subditi: & mādato ad se-
 cutione li mādati forono presi. 300. insulani cō li soi Re: & destinati ali
 serenissimi Re: & etiam dala parte in uerso mezo di de l'isola secono el
 mandato edificorno in un colle apresso un optimo: & bel porto una ro-
 cha laqual chiamaro de san Domenico: perche de domenica zōsero al
 loco de li. Nel porto corre un fiume de saluberrime aque uberiosissimo
 de diuerse sorte de pesce: per il q̃l li nauili nauigano fina. 12. migla apres-
 so la rocha aurea. Ne la forteza de isabella lassarono solum li anialati: &
 alcuni maistri che fabricauano do carauelle tutto el resto uenne a que-
 sta rocha de san Domenico. Dapoi fabricata questa rocha lo capitaneo
 lassato in guardia in dicta rocha. xx. homini se parti cō el resto p andre
 a prescurare le parte dētro l'isola uerso ponēre. Capitulo. xx.

T messo in camin trouo el fiume Naiba distante. 120. migla el q̃l
 e come e dicto disopra descēde dali mōti cibani dala pre de ostro.
 passato quello mando doi capi con alcune gente ne la puincia
 de alcuni Re dā la parte de ostro che haueā molti boschi de uerzin de
 liquali ne tagliaro gran quantita: & le misseno nele case de quelli insula-
 ni a saluare fino che ritornassino a leuar cō nauili: & così scorādo el di-
 cto capitāo da la man dextra nō molto distāte dā fiume naiba. Trouo
 un Re potēte che hauea messo capo: per subiugar q̃lli populi de q̃sti lo-
 chi. Ma el regno de q̃sto tal Re e i capo de l'isola uerso ponēre q̃l se chia-
 ma Saragna lōtan dal fiume Naiba. 30. leghe paese mōtoso. & aspro: &
 tutti li Re de q̃lle pre gle dāno obediēza. Lo capitaneo facendosi auāri
 uēne a plamēto cō q̃sto Re in mō che lo in iusse a pagare tributo di go-
 toni: canauo: & altre cose ch̃ loro hāno: pch̃ oro nō se troua in q̃lle pre.
 Et dapoi facto lo acordo andarono d cōpagnia a casa de q̃l Re: doue fo-
 rono molto honrati: & li uēne incōtro tutto q̃l populo cō grā festa &
 iter cetera li sorno q̃sti do spectaculi. El priō ch̃ li uēne icōtro. 30. belie-
 zouāe dōne del Re nude tute: excepto le pre pudibūde ch̃ haueā copre
 cō certo pāno de gotōi secōdo loro usanza: & costume alle dōzelle: ma
 q̃lle ch̃ sono corrodēte uāno secōdo tutto el corpo discoperte haueā una
 rama de oliuo cadauna in man: cō li cauelli p le spalle: ma ligata la frōte
 cō una bida. El color de la q̃le era oliuastro ma formosissime: saltādo &
 dāzādo chaduna dono el ramo d'oliuo al capitaneo ch̃ portauā i man
 intrati i casa li fu apparecchiata una cena molto lauta a loro usanza: & da-
 poi tutti alozari secōdo laqualita de cadaun. El sequēte zorno forono
 cōducti a una casa laquale usano i locho de teatro doue li fo facti mol-
 ti zochi: & danze tranquille: Dapoi questo uennero due squadre de
 homini: una da una banda: & l'altra da l'altra banda combattando inie-
 me così ferocemente: & aspramente: pareuan fussēro capitali inimici.

con dardit & frize: Ita che ne forono morti quattro. Et gran quantità se riti & questo per dare solazo al Re: & al capitano: & piu seriano morti ma el Re facto el suo segno in mediate cessorono.

Capitolo. xxi.

T el terzo zorno se parti de li & torno alifabella doue hauea lassati amalati: Et ritrouo che erano morti da. cc. per uarie infirmita: De che se trouaua mal contento: Et molto piu che non uedeua apparire naue despaña con uisuarie. De che hauea gran necessita: Tandem deliberarno partire li amalati per li castelli alariua del mare: Da isabella a san Domenico adrieto camin da ostro attramontana e desicorno questi castelli: Primo da isabella a. xxxvi. miglia la rocha speranza. & da speranza a. xxiii. miglia Santa Catharina. Da. S. Catharina a. xx. miglia san Iacomo. Da san Iacomo altri. xx. la conceptione. Vn'altra tra la conceptione & san Domenico la chiamarono bono anno del nome dun Re li uicino: Partiti li amalati per questi Castelli. Iui sene ando a san Domenico scodando li suoi tributi da quelli Re. Et cosi stando alcuni zorni. per le rapine & mali portamenti de spagnoli molti de quelli Re se rebellorono: Et fecero suo Capitano el Re Guarionexio & erano conuegnuti a certi zorni a saltare spagnoli con. xv. milia armati a suo modo. El che presentendo el capitano: prese el tratto auanti: & a uno a uno tutti li supero: Non pero senza gran trauagli: & angustie. & qui elassaremo & torneremo alo ammirante colombo.

Capitolo. xxii.

O ammirante Colombo adi. xxviii. mazo. 1498. partito dal castello de barameda a presso cades con otto nauilli carghi corse al consueto camino de le isole fortunate: Et questo etiam per paura de alcuni corsari francesi: & ando a lisola de lamedera: & de li mando cinque nauilli aditto camino ala lisola spagnola: & seco retiene una naue: & due carauelle con lequal si misse a nauigare uerso mezo di con intentione de trouare la linea equinoctiale: & de li uoltar se poi uerso ponente: & per instigar la natura de piu diuersi luochi: & trouosse in quelle parte a mezo el so corso alifole de cauo uerde. Del qual partito: per garbio nauigo 480. miglia con tanta feruetia de caldo che era del mese de zugno che quasi li nauilli se abrusauano: & similmente le botte schioppauano: in modo che aqua: e uino: e oglio andauano fora: & li homini embastiauano de caldo. viii. zorni stetero in questo affanno: & el primo zorno fu sereno: & li altri nebulati: & piovosi: unde piu siate se pentiano essere andati a quel camino: passati li. viii. zorni se misse el uento elqual tolto Impoppe sene andarco ala uolta de ponete continuo trouado meglio: & teperie de aere. ita che al terzo zorno trouorono amenissimo aere: &

a lultimo di de luglio dala gabia de lamazor Naue furono scoperti tre altissimi monti. De laqual cosa non pocho se reiegrarono: p che stauano mal cōtenti: p laqua che glie comenzaua a manchare p essere cheppate le botte dalo esmesurato caldo con lo aiuto de dio zonsero a terra. ma p essere el mare tutto pieno de seche nō se poteuano a costare: bē cōpre seno che lera terra molto habitata: p ch dale naue se uedeu bellissimi orti: & prati picci de fiori che li mādauāo suauissimi odori fina a naue. De li a uinti miglia trouorono un bonissimo porto ma senza fiume: p laq̃l cosa scorsero piu auāti: & tādē trouorono un porto attissimo di poterse riparare: & fare aq̃. laq̃l chiamauan ponta de erena. Nō trouorono uicino al porto alcuna habitatiōe. Ma molte uestigie de aiali che mōstrauano le pedate. Et laltro zorno ueddēno uenire da lōtano una canea zoe una barcha al modo loro: o uero un zoppolo al modo nō cō. xxiiii. zoeni armati de frize: & targhe: & erāo nudi copri solū le parte uergogno se cō un pāno de bābaso. capelli longhi. Lo admirāte p tirar costoro a se glie se mostrar sonagli: & uasi de rami lucidi: & altre simel cose: ma quelli quāto piu erano chiamati: tātō piu dubitauāo essere ingānati: & se slargauano ogni hora piu cōtinuo esguardando li nostri cō grande admiratione. ueddēdo lo admirāte nō li poter tirare cō queste cose: ordino che nela gabia dela naue: se sonasse tamburliuini pue: & altri instrumenti. Et cantare p prouare si cō tal losenghe se possino desmesticare: Ma loro pēfando che quelli fussero suoni che linnitasseno abataglia tutti imediate tolsero dardi: & frize i mano pēfando che li nri li uolesse assaltare: & partiti dala naue mazore cōsidandose nela celerita de suoi remi se acostorono a una naue minore: & tātō si li auicinorono che li patroni dela naue glie gitto un saio: & una beretta a un di loro: & p segni se cōcordorono andare i su li liti a parlare insieme. Ma andato el patrō dela naue adimā dare licētia alo admirāte: & loro temēdo de q̃liche ingāno dettero deli remi in aq̃: & se ne andorono uia. in modo che de questa terra non hebbero altra cognitione: & non molto lōtano de qui trouorono una corēthia de aq̃ da leuāte in ponēte tātō celere: & impetuosa che lo admirāte mai dapoī che nauiga (che le da la sua pueritia) dice haueē habuto la mazor paura andato alq̃to auāti p questa corēthia trouo una certa bocha che pareua lintrata dun porto doue andaua q̃sta corēthia: & da q̃sta bocha a lintrare isua unaltra corēthia terribile de aq̃ dolce laq̃l se cōzēgeua cō la salsa. Intrati in questo golfo trouarono tandē aq̃ dolcissima: & bōa: & dicono che. xxvi. leghe cōtinuo hāno trouato aq̃ dolce. & quāto piu andauano a ponēte tātō piu erano dolce. Trouorno dapoī un mōte altissimo. Doue misse in terra: & uiddino molti cāpi coltiuati ma nō uitero ne hoī: ne anche case. & dalato del mōte uerso ponēte cognossēte

ro essere alcuna pianura: & p molti segni cōpiēdeuano che questa terra se chiamasse paria:& essere grande:& populatissima uerso ponēte tolsero de qui quatro homini in naue:& andorono seguitādo quella costa da ponēte un zorno tirati dalamenita del luocho andarono i terra pocho auāti el zorno doue trouareno mazor numero de hoī che in alcuno altro luoco.& trouarono Re: quali chiamauano cacihī liquali mandaro ambasciadori ad ammirante:p cēni e signi de grande offerre:& inuitandoli ad esmōtare in terra.El che recusando lo admirāte:quelli mandarono ale naue grā numero de barche.con gran multitudine de hoī ornatī de catene doro:& per le oriētale ale braza:& al collo:& domādati doue recoglieuano quelle perle:& oro.cō cenni respondeano che le ple se trouano in līte del mare li uicino:Demonstrauano et che retrouano in copia assa cōueniēte:tū a presso loro nō ne faceuan grāde exultation dele q̄ le ēt ne offeriuāo ali nri: uolendo loro stare alquāto deli & p che li for mēti dele naue se guastauano:Lo admirāte delibero defferire questo comertio ad altro tēpo.Et mādō alhora do barche de hoī in terra p inuistigare:& intēdere la natura de quel locho.Andati adonche a terra foro no receuti molto amoreuelmēte:tutti coreuano auederli come un miracolo:& doi de costoro più ~~geui da li altri~~ se ferono in contro uno era uechio:& laltro zouene suo fiolo.fctā scōdo loro costūe la salutatiōe:Li menorono in una casa fatta in tondo a uāti laquale era una gran piazza, liquali entrati,quelli feceno portare certe carieghie da sentare dū legno negrissimo:& lauorati cō gran magisterio: & sentādo li nostri insieme con quelli primati:Venero molti scudieri tutti carchi de diuerse generatiōe de frutti(incogniti a noi)& uini bianchi & rossi:nō de uue: p che non hanno uigne ma fatti de diuersi frutti molto suauī:& ameni. Fatto adunque colatione in casa del uechio:Dapoi el zouene li cōdusse a casa sua:Doue stauano molte femine separate tutte da gli homini: liquali tutti uanno nudi excepto le pudibunde parte che portano copte con certi ueli de bābaso tessuto de uarii colori: & adimandati donde portassino loro ch portauāo: rñdeuāo cōsegni che glieueniua da certi mōti che mō stauano.a liq̄li p mō alcun non douesseno andare per che li se manzano hoī: Ma li nri nō poteuano intendere si diceuano de fiere: o uero da canibali mostrauan molestia che non intendeuano el nostro parlare:& etiam che loro non erano intesi.

Capitūlo.xxiii.

Stati adunque li nostri in terra fina amezo di tornarono anāue
 f con alcune colane de perle: Et lo ammirante imediate se leuo cōtute le naue per rispetto del formento: che come habiam ditto se imarciaua & questo con animo de tornar unaltra fiada. Et procedēdo

auanti continuo trouaua mancho fondo: & p molti zorni dauano grā trauaglio alenauē maggiore: & p questo mādarono auanti una garaueila minore cō el scādaglo che faceua la uia alaltre. Andato cūsi molti zorni credendo che questa fusse insula sperando poter trouar uia & uoitarle per tramontana uerso linsola spagnola: Capito ino in un fiume de pfundita de .xxx. cubiti: & de largheza inaudita: Donde che essendo in .xviii. o .xx. leghe larghe poco auanti pur per ponente ma un pocho piu amezodì: che cūsi se ingolfaua quel lito uettero el mar pieno de herba ben che pareua che coresse come un fiume. Et sopra del mare mandaua alcune semenze che pareuano lente: & era tanto spessa lherba che impediua el nauigare de le naue. Qui in questo loco: Dice lo admirante essere p tutto lanno gran téperie de aere: Et el zorno tutto lanno: essere quali equale: & non molto uaria: & uedendo in questo golfo quasi intricato: & nō trouādo exito da tramontana p andare alisola spagnola, uolto la proua doue hauea la poppe: & ritorno per el canuin che lera intrato: & insito de lherbe: preso uerso tramontana el dritto suo camino: Alcuni dicono che quella sia terra ferma de lindia: tamen lo admirante non trouo altro capo ma tornato alquanto indirieto per tramontana pigliando el suo camino con lauto de dio zense alisola spagnola secondo el firmato preposito ad .xxviii. auosto. 1498.

Capitulo .xxiiii.

Onto lo admiratē colombo alisola spagnola trouo ogni cosa in
z confusione: & uno Roldano che era stato suo arleuato con molti altri spagnoli lera rebellato & uolendo loadmirante mitigarlo non solum non si pacifico: ma scrisse ali serenissimi Re tanto male de lo admirante: quanto mai e possibile a dir: & etiam de suo fradello che remase Capitaneo al gouerno de lisola spagnola. Accusandolo che ello era scelerato de ogni deshonestā: Crudelissimo: & iniusto che p ogni pizola cossa faceua a pichare: & morire homini: & erano superbi: inuidiosi: & pieni de ambitione intollerabile: & per questa causa essere rebellati di loro: come da siere: che se alegrano de spandere sangue humano: & inimici del suo imperio: Et come da quelli che non cercano altro che usurpare lo imperio de quella insola. Argumentando queste coniecture che nō lassauano andare a le caue de loro se non saluo li soi creati. Lo admirante similmente notifico ali Serenissimi Re la natura de questi giortoni: latroni: & dechiarando etiam che non attendeuanō sī non a stupri: & assassinamenti: al tutto effrenati: De che temando non essere puniti sī senon rebellati: & Andauano per lisola uiolando: robando: & assassinando: de dia alsono: alorio: & ala libidine: & che per diletto andauano

apiccando li poveri homini de quella isola. Et mentre se faceuano queste inuestiue lo admirante mando ad expugnare un che li hauea ribellato che si chiamaua el Re de cigiani q̃le hauea da sey milia homini tutti armati de archi: & freze ma nudi: & portano depincto el loro corpo de uari colori dal capo ali piedi ingroppati de diuerse maniere: questi dapoi molti trauagli forono superati: & ueneno ala obedientia.

Capitolo, xxv.

In questo mezo li serenissimi Re receuettero le lettere de lo admirante & de li aduersari soi: & uedendo che per queste disensione de tãta copia de oro ne trazeua poca utilita: mandorono un suo Governatore che hauesse ad inquirere chi fusse in error: li castigasse ouer mandasse in spagna che li castigarebbe & zonto questo gubernatore a liso: la Spagnola: per subornita: & fraudulentia de quelli scelerati Spagnoli: & etiam per grande inuidia che hauea lo admirante e suo fratello fo suo parere prendere lo admirante e suo fratello: liquali in ferri forono mandati ala uolta de Spagna: & zonti che forono a cades li serenissimi Re intendendo li mando a liberare: & feceli andare a corte uoluntariamente doue etiam al presente zorno se ritrouano.

Capitolo, xxvi.

Apoi che lo admirante Colombo segnuto a tal cõtumacia molti suoi peotti & nuchieri che seco continuo erano stati ale supradicte nauigatione: fecero intra loro deliberatione andare per lo oceano adiscoprire nuoue isole: (& tolto dal suo caro patron licentia) armorono nauili a sue spese: & sene andoron a diuersi camini con comandamento de nõ se acostare doue era stato lo admirante a: l. leghe: & uno piетро alonso chiamato el negro con una carauella armata a sue spese se misse andare uerso mezo di: & capito a quella terra chiamata paria dela quale za disopra hauemo facto mentione che lo admirante trouo tanta copia de perle: & scorendo piu auãti quella costa per. l. leghe per obedire a li Re deuienne in una prouincia chiamata Curtana da li habitanti doue trouo un porto simile a quel di Cades doue intrato uirte un borgo de. lxxx. case e smontato in terra trouo cinquãta homini nudi che nõ erano di quel locho ma duno altro populatissimo locho .iii. migla uicino de li con liquali se permutation de sonagli: & altre suffare al incõtro hebbe da loro: (quãrunche in primis fecero resistenza). xv. onze de perle che portauano al collo. dapoi molte preghiere: & el sequẽte zorno se leuo cõ la naue & ando al suo borgo. Doue zonto tutto el populo che era infinito corse a marina con archi: & cegni pregauano che desmontasseno a terra: ma nigro alonso (uedẽdo tanta moltitudine) hebbe paura a desmontare: per che etiam loro non erano piu de. xxxiii. homini ma per

cenni gli faceua intendere che si uoleuano comprare alcuna cosa andaf
 fino a naue. Vnde gran copia de loro con suoi zoppoli;portando seco q̃
 tita de perle andarno a naue:In modo che con alchune fuffarette che ua
 leuano pochi denari,hebbeno da.50.libre de perle. Ma poi che Alonso
 negro li ucdde cosi humani:& doppo stato.20.zorni.Delibero esmonza
 re in terra,Doue fu receuuto amoreuclissimamente:le loro'habitatione
 sono caxe de legno coperte de foglie de palme. Et a loro familiar cibo
 sono cappe:Da molte de lequale cauano perle:hanno cerui porci zangi
 ali conii lieuori colombi tortore in grande habundantia,Le donne nu
 triscano le oche:& anare come le nostre.Ne li loro boschi sonno copia
 de pauoni,Non cosi ben pennati come li nostri:che el maschio quasi nõ
 e differente da la femina:hanno fasiani in quantita:lequale gente sonno
 perfectissimi arcieri mandano la freza precise doue uogliono. Nel qual
 luochu alonso negro con la sua compagnia per quelli zorni che stette
 ro li triumpharono.Haucano un pan per quattro chiodi per uno : uno
 fasiano:cosi turture oche colombi.Spendeuano etiam per denari pater
 nostri de uetro aghi.Et domandati per atti & cenni a che opauano aghi
 respondeuauo similiter per gesti per curarse identi:& da cauarle le spine
 da ipiedi:perche uanno de scalzi:Et per questo molto existimauão aghi.
 Ma supra tutto li piaceua sonagli:& andati alquanto dentro lisola:uette
 ro boschi de altissimi arbori:& spessi.Doue sentiuano mugiti de anima
 li che intonaua quel paese:con extranee uociferatione . Nondimeno iu
 dicauano non esser animali nociui. Et questo per che quelli andauano
 securamente cosi nudi senza tema alchuna per quelli boschi : con loro
 archi & freze.Haueuano aloro libito cerui cenghiali quanti uoleano:
 Non hanno boi ne capre ne pecore usano pane de radice & de pannizo
 Quasi come quelli de lisola spagnola:hãno cauelli negri & grossi & me
 zi crespi ma longhi.Et per hauer lidenti bianchi portano in bocha con
 tinuo una certa herba,Et come la buttano uia se lauano la boccha: Le
 donne attendeno piu alagricultura:& ale cose de casa che li homini,ma
 li homini attendeno ale caze zuochi & feste & altri solazi. Hanno pi
 gnate:cantari:zare:& altri simili uasi de terra. Comprati in altre prouin
 cie:fanno traloro fiere & merchat, Doue concorre tutti lialtri uicini:&
 portano de uarie merce secondo lauarieta de prouincie:& fanno baratti
 & permutatione da una cosa alaltra secondo che aloro piace. Hanno
 oselli & altri animali quali nutriscono & adomesticano aloro solazo: li
 quali portano gorzere de oro & de perle.Ma quello oro non trouano i
 quella prouincia:ma per baratti lhanno daltre prouincie:elquale e la bõ
 ta de loro del sfiorino de reno.Li homini portano una udra in locho de

bragha. Et similiter portano le donne ma la mazor parte del tempo 'sta no in casa: Domandato quelli per cén: & atti si intermine de quel lito si troua mare. Demonstrauano nō saure: ma per la sorte de animali che se trouano in quelle parte: loro fermamente credeno sia terra ferma: & tanto piu et per che hāno nauigato per quella costiera de ponēte piu de 4000. miglia: che mai hāno trouato fine: Ne anchi segno alcun de fine. Et poi li adimandareno da che locho haueano quello oro. & da che bāda uegnia li fece intendere chel se partuea da una puincia chiamata canchiete: Distante da li. vi. zornati uerso ponente. Capitulo. xxvii.

Oue alon^o negro delibero andare: & circa ali primi di de nouēbri^o. 1500. arriuò li a questo canchiete. Doue sorsero con la naue: (li quali subito uisti) quelli del paese uenero a naue senza timore alcuno: & portaro quel oro che al presente se trouano: Quātūq; el fusse pocho: & d la sorte: & bōta sopradicta: trouorno molti belli papagalli de molti colori li era suauissima rēperie senza freddo alcun: Et fo del mese de nouēbrio: Quella gente e de bona natura: stāno senza suspetto alcuno: Tutta la notte con le sue barche ueniuaano a naue securamente come in casa loro: Ma sōno zelosi dele sue dōne leq̃l faceuāo stare in dritto. Et molto remesse hāno ~~etiam~~ gran quantita de bambasi che da sua posta nasse senza cultura alcuna: del quale sāno loro braghe. Dapoi partendose de qua: & scorendo per questa costa: piu de. x. zornate: uerte un luochu bellētissimo con casamenti: & castelli pure affai cō fiumi: & zardini: che mai uerte p̃a belli luochi: nel qual uolendo desimontare: glie uenia alincontro piu de. 2000. homini: armati a usanza loro: liq̃l p uia alcuna del mondo mai uolsero ne pace: ne amicitia ne patto alcuno: de monstrauano in loro grādissima rusticitā ymo quasi pareuano homini saluaticchi: non obstante che glierano belli homini: & proportionatissimi delloro corpi bruni de colore: & uniuersalmēte macilenti. Donde p questo alōso negro contento de quanto hauea trouato: delibero tornar se per la uia chera uegnuto. Capitulo. xxviii.

T cōsi nauigando cō laiuto de dio zonsero ala prouincia dele p̃e le chiamata curiana. Doue dapoi stetero zorni. xx. adarse p̃asere: Et in un luochu nō molto distante dala prouincia auanti a loro zonzere se incōtrorono in. xviii. zoppuli: ouer canoe: o barche de canibali. che sōno de quelli uiuō de carne humana liquali uisto la naue itrepidamente lasaltarono: & circōdandola cō loro archi: & frize incomenzarono acōbatter: Ma spagnoli cō loro balestre: & bēbarde le misse in gran paura: In modo che tutti se dettero a fug re. & elli con la barcha armata li seguitorono intanto che p̃rendettero una loro barcha: de laq̃le

molti de quelli canibali buttati in aqua, nattando scáparono, ma sol un ne prendero che scápar nō pote: el q̄le haue tre hoī ligati cō mano: & piedi: p uolerli a suo bisogno magnarli: Dōde chē li nri cōpreso questo: discolse li legati: & el canibalo legato: & dato in man de lipresoni del q̄le aloro uolere ne faceſso que uendetta che aloro piaſeua: & imediate q̄lli cō pugni calci: & bastoni tate mazate glie deteno che lassarēo q̄si a morte recordādoſe che haueā magnato ſuoi compagni: & iſequenti zorni ſi melmēte uoleā queſti altri mázare: & piu oltra adimandaro de loro coſtumi: Nortificaro che queſti canibali andauāo p tutte quelle iſole ſcorſezando: & tutte quelle puincie: & q̄primū ariuo a terra ie fáno ur o ſtechato p forza de pali: & uāno arobare, in q̄ſta puincia dele ple ſōno grādiffeſime ſaline: & dicono che come el more alcuno nō da conto el mette no ſopra a una certa caretha ſotto la q̄le fáno un certo ſuoco lēto: tātō che ſe diſtilla apoco apoco tutta quella carne che nō reſta ſaluo la pelle e loſſa: Dapoi el ſaluano p ſuo honore. Et adi. xiii. partirono de queſta puincia p uegnire in ſpagna con. 96. libre de ple a once. viii. p libra: Cōpra te aprecio de pochiffimi ſoldi in. xvi. zorni ariuario in galitia. Le ple quale portorono ſōno orientale: tñ non ben forate: & p quāto dicono molti mercadanti che zo cognoſcano: nō ſōno de troppo prexio.

Capitulo. xxix.

Incérianes chiamato Pinzone: & aries ſuo fradello che ſorono al u primo uiazo cō el colōbo del. 1499. Armorono a ſue ſpeſe. iiii. Carauelle: & adi. xviii. Nouēbrio ſepartiero da palos p andare adi ſcoprire noue iſole: & tereni: imbreui tēpo ſorono aliſole de canaria: & poi ſucceſſiue aliſole de cauouerde: Dale q̄l partendoſe: & pigliādo la uia p garbino: & nauigarono p quel uēto. 300. leghe. Nel q̄l uiazo pirono la tramōtana (la q̄le imediate pfa) ſorono aſaltati da una terribiſſima fortuna de mare cō pioza: & uēto crudeliſſimo niētedimeno ſequēdo el loro camino cōtinuamēte p garbino: nō ſenza manifeſto piccolo andorono auāti. 240. leghe. & adi. xx. zenaro dalōtan uitteno terra: ala q̄le apromandandoſe ogni ſiada trouāo mancho fondo: gittarono lo ſcandaglio & trouorono. xvi. brazza de aq̄ & tandē zonti a terra de ſmōtorono & li do zorni ſettero che mai apparſe alcun partiti de di. & ſcorendo piu auāti ueddeno la notte molte luce che paruano un cāpo de gente darme: uerſo lequal luce mandorono. xxv. homini bene armati: & comando che non faciſſino extrepito alcun: liquali andati & compreſi eſſere gran multitudine de gente non uolſero per alcun modo diſturbarle: Ma diliborono aſpettare la mattina & poi intendere chi ſoſſero: fatto la mattina nel leuare del ſole mandorono poi in terra. xxxx. homini armati: liquali

Subito che furono da quelle gente uisti: quelli mandaro a lincontro de li nostri. 32. homini a modo loro armati de archi & freze: homini gradi & han la faza torua & crudele aspetto: & non cessauano de minazare a li spagnoli liquali quanto piu careze li faceuano tanto piu se demōstrauano esdegnosi & mai uolsero ne pace ne acordo: ne amicitia con loro: Vnde per alhora se ne tornorono a naue con animo la mattina sequente a combattere con essi. Ma quelli quamprimum apar se lanocte se leuorono nudi & andorono via. Quelli da le naue existimauano che quelle fossero gente che uan uagando cōe zingari o uer tartari che non hanno propria casa: ma uanno ozi in qua doman in la cō sue moglie & fioli. ma li matti spagnoli andarono alquanto sequendo loro traze. Et trouarono nel sabbione loro pedate essere molto mazor de le nostre: ymo do uolte mazore. Nauigando piu auanti trouorono un fiume: ma non de tanto fondo che le carauelle ui posse forzere: per laqual cosa mandarono a terra. 4. barche de le naue armati: lequale armate a terra se li fece incontro innumerabil numero de gente ignuda: liquali con cēni & acti demonstrauano molto desiderar el comertio de li nostri. Ma li spagnoli uedendo tanta turba non se asegurarono de acostarse. Ma al meglio che poterono gli gittaro una sonaglio & al incontro quelli gittarōo ali nostri un pezo doro. Adeo che uno de li spagnoli facendose a terra per tuore quello oro. Subito una turba de quella canaglia glie furono adosso per uolerlo prendere: ma quello defendendosi con la spada non posseua al gran numero reparare perche quelli non existimauano morire. Ita che saltorono in terra tutti li homini de le quattro barche & furono morti otto spagnoli: & li altri hebbero gran fuga ascampare & aretrarse ale barche ne li ualse essere armati de lanze & de spade che questa gente per molti che fussero morti de loro. non curauano: ma sempre piu arditi li seguiauano fino ne lacqua per modo che alla fine presero una de le quattro barche & amazorono el patron. El resto hebbe de gratia de scampare con laltre tre. Et andar sene a naue & far uelo & partirse de li: & cosi per alhora se trouorono mal contenti. Et presero el loro camin per tramontana che cosi se ingolfa quella costa:

Capitolo. xxxi

Ndati quaranta leghe trouorono el mar de aqua dolce: & inuestigando doue questa aqua uegnia trouorono una bocca che per quindese migla sboccaua in mare con grandissimo impetu. Dauanti dalaquale bocca erano molte insule habitate de humana & piaceuole & li non trouorono casa da contractare. Toisero. 36. schiaui: Dapoi che altro non trouorono da contractare con guadagno. El no-

me de questa prouincia se chiama *Marinatambal* diceua quella gēte de li sole che dentro a l'aterra ferma se trouaua grande quantita de oro. Dapoi partiti da questo fiume in pochi zorni scopersero la tramontana che era quasi alorizonte facto che le cinquanta leghe secondo la loro regula. Dicono che sempre sono scorsi per la terra payra: per che dapoi uennero alla bocca chiamata del dragone: che e una bocca che e in questa terra payra. Doue escorse lo ammirante per alchune insule de li, che stāno auanti questa payra in grande numero. Doue trouorono gran copia de uerzi: del quale carcarono le lor naue intra lequale insule erano molte de quelle desnabitate per paura de li Canibali. Et uittero infinite case ruinate. Et molti homini che fugiuano al monte trouarono etiam molti arbori de *Cassia fistula*: de laquale ne portarono i spagna: & li medici che la uittero diciuano che la farebe stata optima: si la fusse stata recolta al suo debito tempo: & li etiam sono arbori grandissimi & grossi tali che sei homini non li poterebbero trasengere. Doue etiam uittero un nuouo animale quasi monstroso che el corpo & muso de uolpe: & la Groppa & li piedi drierro de simia: & quelli dauanti q̄ si chome de homo: le orecchie come la notola: Et ha sutto el uentre uno altro uentre di fora come una tascha doue asconde suoi figlioli dapoi nasciuti: ne mai li lascia insire sino atanto che da loro medemi siano bastanti a nutrirse: & excepto quando uogliono lactare: uno de questi tali animali insieme con suoi figlioli. Fo portato de sibilā a granata ali serenissimi Re. Tamen in naue moritte isoli: & el grande in spagna: liquali così morti forono uisti da molte & diuerse persone. Questo uicentine as ferma hauer nauigato per costa de payra piu de. 600. leghe: & non dubitano che la sia terra ferma: ma sono quasi certi de li da payra partiti uenire alisola spagnola a di uinti e tre zugno. 1500. Et de li dicono essere andati continuo per ponente piu de quattrocēto leghe in certa prouincia: doue le quattro carauelle che haueano li salto una fortuna del mese de luglio che doi se somersero una sirope & piu per esser homini per si & elmariti che altro. La quarta stette ferma forta: ma non senza pocho trauaglio che haueuano perso za ogni speranza de salute. Et così stādo uitte una loro naue andare a seconda: perche era con pochi homini: de liquali dubbitandosi sumersar si buttareno a terra: & li stauanno in grandissimo dubio & paura de essere mal tractati da quella gente. Fecero deliberatione primo intra loro amazarse: & così stauanno in uarii & mali concepti circa a zorni otto. Doppo facendo bonaza uittero la loro naue che resto solum con desdocto homini: & li montarono: & insieme con quella altra che era saluata: & fecero uela ala uolta de spagna.

doue a di ultimo de Setēbrio ariuorno dapo costoro molti altri hano nauigato a questo uiazo per mezo di: & cōtinuo andati p la costa de la terra payra piu d̄ ciq; milia migla: & mai hāno trouato termie alcun ch̄ sia isola: & per q̄sto cadaun manifestamēte tiene effere terra ferma. Da la q̄le ultimamēte e sta porta cassia in tutta perfection oro: ple:uerzi de la sorte dicta di sopra: piper & canella: saluatici: herbe piante arbori animali de stranee & diuerse sorte che noi nō habiamo. Finis.

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Finisse el libretto de tutta la nauigatiõe del Re de Spagna de le isole & terreni nouamẽte trouati. Stampado in Venetia per Albertino Vercellese da Lisona a di.x.de aprile .M.cccc.iiii.

CON GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO

Christopher Columbus

THE LIBRETTO

A Little Book in Regard to All the Navigation of the King of Spain to the Islands and Newly Discovered Lands

"CHAPTER ONE

"CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a Genoese, a man of high and lofty stature, ruddy, of great intelligence, and with a long face, followed the Most Serene Sovereigns of Spain a long time, wherever they went, striving that they might help him by fitting out some ships; with which he offered to find towards the West, some islands near India; where there is an abundance of precious stones; and spice; and gold; which can be easily obtained. For a long time the King and the Queen, and all the dignitaries of Spain held this in ridicule. And finally after seven years and after many efforts, they agreed to his wish; and fitted out for him a ship and two caravels, with which about the beginning of September, 1492, he left the Spanish shores, and commenced his voyage.

"CHAPTER II

"First, from Cadiz he sailed to the Fortunate Islands which now the Spaniards call Canaries; formerly called by the ancients Fortunate Islands, in the Ocean-sea 1200 miles from the straits; according to their reckoning, which is 30 leagues. A league is four miles. These Canaries were formerly called Fortunate because of their climate. They are about like the climate of Europe towards mid-day. They are inhabited by naked people who live without any religion. Columbus went there to take water and supplies, before putting himself to such great effort. From there he followed the Western sun, sailing 33 nights and days continuously; during which time he never saw land. After that a man mounted in the cage [look-out's place] saw land: and they discovered VI islands, two of which were of exceptional size. One he called Spagnola: the other Joanna Mela.

"CHAPTER III

"He was not very certain that Joanna was an island, but when they arrived at Joanna, following along its coast, they heard in the month of November nightingales singing amidst very dense forests; and they found very large rivers of fresh water and very great and good harbours: and following along the coast of Joanna towards the north-west more than 800 miles, they did not find the end or a sign of the end: they thought that it was the mainland. He resolved to return; because the sea compelled them to this course; as he had gone so far through different gulfs that he had turned his prow to the north. Thus the north wind now commenced to give them trouble. Having therefore turned his prow towards the east, he returned to the island called Spagnola. And desiring to investigate the nature of the place from the northern side, he approached the land; when the largest ship struck upon a flat reef, which was covered with water, and

was opened; but the rock which was under the water being level, helped her so that the caravel was not submerged. The men escaped and having landed, they saw the men of the island, who, having seen them, fled suddenly to very dense forests: As if they were so many wild beasts followed by dogs [an unheard of race]; our people, following them, took a woman and brought her on board the ship: and being well fed with our food and wine and adorned with clothes—for they all go naked—they allowed her to go.

“CHAPTER IIII

“She went at once to her own people, for she knew where they were: having shown them the marvellous adornment and the liberality of our people, they all rushed to the shore together; thinking this to be a people sent from heaven. They threw themselves into the water and brought with them gold which they had: and they exchanged the gold for vessels of earth and cups of glass. Some gave them a string or a hawk’s bell or a piece of looking-glass, or some other similar thing: and they gave for similar things gold which they had, having already had a like traffic together. Our people, seeking to learn their customs, found by signs and gestures that they had a King among them; and our people advancing inland were received most honourably by the King, and by the men of the island and were well caressed. The evening coming and the sign of the Ave Maria being given, our people kneeling, they did the same: and seeing that our people adored the cross, they did likewise. Seeing also the aforesaid ship was broken, they went with their boats which they called canoes to bring to land the men and the supplies, with such charity as nothing exceeds. Their boats are of one piece of wood only, dug out with very sharp stones, long and narrow. There are some with lxxx oars each. They have no iron whatever, which caused our people to marvel greatly how they built their houses; which were marvellously constructed; and the other things which they had. Our people heard that they were all made with some very hard stones from the river; and very sharp. They heard that not far distant from this island there were some islands of very cruel men who ate human flesh. And this was the reason that in the beginning when they saw our people, they fled, believing them to be some of these men, whom they called cannibals. Our people had left the islands of these hateful men about the middle of the way on the south side.

“CHAPTER FIVE

“And the poor men complained that they are troubled by these cannibals not otherwise than wild beasts are troubled by tigers and lions. The boys that they take they castrate; as we cause castration; because they become fatter for eating: and the mature men also, when they take them they kill them and they eat them: and they eat the intestines fresh and the extreme members of the body: the rest they salt and leave them until the right time, as we do hams. The women they do not kill; but they save them to have sons; not otherwise than we do with hens for eggs. The

old they use for slaves. In the islands which we can now consider ours, the men as well as the women, as they foresee the approach of these cannibals, can find no other safety than flight; although they use very sharp arrows, they find they serve them little to restrain the fury and the passion of these cannibals: and they confess that x cannibals who find 100 of their people show themselves superior to them. Our people were not able to well understand that these people adore anything other than the heaven, the sun and moon. Of the customs of the other islands, the brevity of the time and lack of interpreters were the cause of our not being able to learn anything else.

“CHAPTER SIX

“The men of that island use in place of bread certain roots of the size and shape of turnips, although sweet like fresh chestnuts; which they call Ages. Gold among them is in some estimation. They wear it in the ears and attached to the nose. Still our people have remarked that they do not have any traffic from one place to another. Our people began to ask by signs where they found that gold. They heard that they found it in the sand of certain rivers, which flow from very high mountains. Without great fatigue they gather it in nuggets and afterwards make it into thin sheets. But it is not found in that part of the island where they were; as they afterwards learned by experience in going around the island; because after leaving this place they encountered by chance a river of great size, where having landed to take water and to fish they found the sand mingled with much gold. They say that they have not seen in this island any four-footed animal save three kinds of rabbits: and serpents of wonderful size and number which the island produces but which harm no one. They saw also wild turtle doves; ducks larger than ours; geese whiter than swans with the head red; parrots of which some are green, some with the body all yellow; others similar to those of India, with a red ruff. They brought xl of them, but of different colours. These parrots brought from there show that, either by propinquity or by nature, these islands are a part of India. Although [altogether] the opinion of Columbus appears to be contrary to the greatness of the sphere. Principally attesting this view are Aristotle in the end of the book of *Heaven and Earth*, Seneca and others who are not ignorant of cosmography, and who say that India is not far distant from Spain, separated by a long arm of the sea. This land produces naturally an abundance of mastic, aloes, cotton and other similar things; certain red grains of different colours more sharp than the pepper we have; certain cinnamon, and ginger of which they brought some.

“CHAPTER SEVEN

“Columbus, being pleased with this new land, found there signs of a new and unheard-of world. It being now the spring, he resolved to return: and he left with the King aforesaid xxxviii men who were to investigate the nature of the place and the climate, until he returned. This King was

called Guacranarillo, with whom a league and confederation was made for the life and safety and defence of those that remained: this King moved by pity, and looking at those remaining wept, and embracing them he showed that he would do everything for their convenience. And Columbus at this made sail for Spain and took with him x men of this island; from whom he understood that their language could be learned easily; which also can be written with our letters. They call the heaven 'turci,' the house 'boa,' gold 'cauni,' an honest man 'toyno,' nothing 'maxani.' Their other words they do not utter different from those of our Latin. And this was the result of the first navigation.

"CHAPTER EIGHT

"The King and the Queen who desired nothing other than to augment the Christian religion: and to reduce many simple nations to the divine worship: easily moved not only by Columbus but by more than 200 of their Spaniards who had been with Columbus,—received this Columbus with a most gracious aspect and rendered him very great honours: and allowed him to be seated in public before them, which is with them among the highest honours. And they ordered that he should be called Admiral of the Ocean-sea. And from what this Admiral affirmed, they hoped in the beginning to derive the greatest advantage from these islands; having more regard for the augmentation of the faith than for any other utility. Therefore their Most Serene Majesties caused to be prepared 17 ships among which were ships with large top-sails, and xii caravels without top-sails, with 1200 men with their implements, among which were smiths, hired artisans of all the mechanical arts, with some horsemen. Columbus prepared horses, hogs, cows and many other animals with their males; vegetables, corn, barley and other similar things, not only for living purposes but also for sowing; vines and many other plants from trees, which are not native there; because they did not find in all that island trees with which we have acquaintance: only pines and very high palms of marvellous hardness and straightness and height, due to the fertility of the ground; and others also which bear fruits that are unknown; as that land is the most fertile of any other under the sun. The said Admiral also prepared to carry with him all implements of whatever art: as well as all those things which were required for a town which he had established in the new country. Many faithful persons and subjects of the King enrolled themselves of their own will for this navigation; because of desiring new things and because of the authority of the Admiral. The 1st day of September, 1493, with a prosperous wind they sailed from Cadiz and the first day of October they arrived at the Canaries: and from the last of these called Fereta, Oct. 4, they sailed southward. News was not received from them until the winter equinox; when the King and the Queen being at table in the Camp, March 23, they received news by a courier, that xii of the ships had arrived at Cadiz: April 5, 1494, they heard of the arrival of these ships, by a certain brother of the nurse of the oldest son of the Most

Serene King, sent by the Admiral to their Highnesses, from whom, and from other trustworthy witnesses, they learned what is hereinafter contained.

“CHAPTER NINE

“The first days of October, the Admiral Columbus left the Canaries. He sailed xxi days on the sea, before he could find any land; but he went more to the left, towards the south, than the other first voyage. Thus he chanced upon the islands of the cannibals aforesaid: and on the first island they saw a forest thick with trees, so that they were not able to discover what it might be: and because it was Sunday the day they saw it, they called it Dominica: and agreeing with one another that it was inhabited, they did not stop in it, but went forward. In this journey of xxi days, they made, according to their judgment, 820 leagues. Up to this time the wind was favourable, from the north. After having left this island, at a short distance they chanced upon another filled with a great abundance of many trees which exhaled a wonderful odour. Those who landed saw no men nor animals of any other sort than lizards of unheard-of size. This island they named Croce. And it was the first inhabited land that they saw after their departure from the Canaries. This was a cannibal island; which our people afterwards learned by experience and by the interpreters from the island of Spagnola, whom they had with them. Circumnavigating the island they found many villages of from 20 to 30 houses each, which were all built in order in a circle around a circular place; which was in the centre. All were of wood, round in shape. First they place in the earth many high trees which make the frame of the house. Afterwards they put within some short beams near these long pieces, that they may not fall. The roof they make in the shape of pavilions; and thus all these houses have a sharp roof. Afterwards they intertwine these timbers with palm leaves and certain other similar leaves which are very secure from water, but within, they intertwine the short timbers with cords of cotton and of other roots which are similar to the Sparto. Some of their beds they have in the air; upon which they put cotton and straw for litter. And they have porches where they assemble for games. In one certain place our people saw two statues of wood, which were upon two posts: they thought they might be their idols. But they were placed only for beauty, because they adore only the heaven with its planets. As our people approached this place men and women took to flight abandoning their houses: xxx females and youths who were prisoners—which youths these cannibals had taken prisoners from some island to kill them, and the women to keep for slaves,—fled to our people. Our people entered into their houses. They found that they had stone vessels like ours, of all sorts. And in the kitchen human flesh boiled, together with parrots: and geese and ducks were on the spit to roast: and in the house they found bones of arms and human thighs, which they saved to make tips for their arrows; because they have no iron. And they found also the head of a boy dead a short

time before, attached to a beam; and yet dripping blood. This island has 8 very large rivers and they call it Guadipea because of being like the mountain of Sancta Maria di' Guadaluppi in Spain: the inhabitants call it Carachara. They brought from this island parrots larger than pheasants, much different from the others: they have all of the body and the shoulders red, the wings of different colours. They have no fewer parrots than we have cats. Although the forests are full of parrots nevertheless they feed them and afterwards kill them. The Admiral Columbus caused many presents to be given to the women who had fled to them; and ordered that with these presents they must go to find the cannibals, as they knew where they were. And when they went, the said women found a great number of them who came through greed for the gifts. But suddenly when they saw our people, either because of their fear or the consciousness of their wickedness, looking into each other's faces, they fled to the neighbouring valleys and forests. Our people who had gone to the island, returning to the ship, broke as many of their boats as they found. And they left this Guadaluppa to go and find their companions at the island of Spagnola. In the first journey they left at the right hand and at the left many islands. There appeared to them at the north a large island which those people whom the Admiral had brought with him from the island of Spagnola and who knew how to speak, and those who had been recovered from the hands of the cannibals, said was called Matinina; saying that in this island there lived only women who at certain times of the year mated themselves with the cannibals; as is said of the Amazons. And giving birth to males, nourished them and afterwards sent them to their fathers: and the females they kept with them. They said also that these women have certain great caves underground; into which no one is allowed to go at any other time of the year than the appointed time: and if any one by force or by deceit tries to enter they defend it with arrows which they shoot very well. At the time our people were not able to approach that island. Sailing from sight of this island fifty miles, they passed another island which the aforesaid people from the island of Spagnola said was very thickly populated and had an abundance of all the things necessary to human life: and that it was full of high mountains. They gave it the name of Monferato.

"The aforesaid people from the island of Spagnola and those recovered from the cannibals said that sometimes these cannibals went a thousand miles to take men in order to kill them. The following day they discovered another island, which because of being round in shape the Admiral called Sancta Maria Rotunda. Another farther on he called San Martino. But they stopped in none of these. The third day they found another which they judged to be near 41 miles long in diameter from east to west along the coast. The interpreters of the country affirmed these islands to be all of a marvellous beauty and fertility. And this last they called Sancta Maria Antiqua. Afterwards they found very many islands; but 4000 miles from there, one larger than all the others, which is called by the inhabitants Ay Ay: and our people called it Sancta Croce. There they

stopped to take water: and the Admiral sent xxx men from his ship on land that they might explore the island. These men found four cannibals with four women, who having seen our people, with their hands bound, appeared to ask for help: and who were freed by our people. The cannibals fled to the woods. And the Admiral remaining there two days made xxx of his men stay on land continuously in hiding. In this manner they saw a canoe come—which is a boat—with viii men and viii women: and at a signal our people attacked them: and they defended themselves with arrows, so that before our people could cover themselves with shields a Biscayan was killed by one of the women, who with an arrow wounded another very seriously: and our people discovered that the arrows were poisoned, that at the point they were greased with a certain poisoned ointment. Among these people there was a woman whom it appeared that all the rest obeyed as queen: and with her was a robust youth, her son, of cruel appearance and the face of an assassin. Our people fearing that they might be destroyed with arrows decided it was best to come to close quarters: and so [putting the oars in the water] with a boat from the ship they attacked the canoe and sank her. But in truth, they, men as well as women, swimming, did not desist from shooting, with as much force as if they had been in the boat. They placed themselves upon a rock covered with water, and there, fighting bravely, were taken by our people: and one was killed there: and the son of the queen had two wounds. Being taken before the Admiral they did not lose their atrocity and fierceness. As it is the custom of a fierce lion when he feels himself taken and bound, he roars the more and the more fierce he becomes. There was not a man who saw them who did not feel fear, so atrocious and diabolical was their appearance. The Admiral proceeding in this manner, now to the south, now to the southwest, now to the west, came upon a vast sea full of innumerable different islands. Some appeared wooded and pleasant, others dry and sterile, others stony and mountainous: others showed among naked stones crimson colours, others violet: others very white; therefore many thought they might be veins of metals and precious stones. They did not land because the weather was not good, and for fear of the density and multitude of so many islands. Fearing that the largest ship might strike some rock, they reserved until some other time the counting of the islands, because of their great multitude and because of their confusion. Nevertheless some caravels which did not require too much depth of water went among them and numbered xlvi. They called this place Arcipelago. Passing through so many islands, beyond this place in the middle of the way, they found an island called Bunchema where there were many who were freed from the hands of the cannibals; who said that it was very populous and cultivated; full of hogs and of forests; and its inhabitants continuously enemies of the cannibals. They do not have ships so as to be able to go to find the island of the cannibals; but in case the cannibals go to their island to devastate it and they are able to lay hands on them, they put out their eyes and cut them in pieces and roast them and devour them

for revenge. All these things the Spaniards understood from the interpreters brought from the island of Spagnola. Our people, in order not to be delayed, passed over this island, except a corner to the westward where they landed to get water. There they found a large house, beautiful in its way, with xii others, small but uninhabited; for what cause it might be, they did not understand: whether because of the season of the year, at which time they dwell in the mountains on account of the heat, or for fear of the cannibals. All these islands have one King only, whom they call Chacichio: and he is obeyed with very great reverence by all. The coast of this island extends towards the south about cc miles. During the night two women and two youths who were delivered from the hands of the cannibals, threw themselves into the sea and swam to the island which was their native country.

“CHAPTER X

“The Admiral finally arrived with his fleet at the island Spana [Española], distant from the first island of the cannibals cccc leagues; but with an unhappy circumstance, as he found all his companions dead, whom he had left there. In this island Spana there is a region which is called Xainana, from which place the Admiral wishing to return to Spain the first time, took with them x men of the island, of whom three only had survived: the others were dead from the change of air. Of the others, when they first reached San Theremo, which they thus called this coast Xainana, the Admiral caused one to be left there: the other two stealthily threw themselves into the sea at night and escaped by swimming. He did not care about this thing, thinking to find alive the xxxviii whom he had left. But having gone a little farther he encountered a canoe, or long boat of many oars, in which was a brother of the King Guaceanarillo: with whom when the Admiral departed he had made such a firm alliance: and to whom he had recommended his people. This man accompanied by only one other came to meet the Admiral and in the name of his brother brought him as a gift two golden images: and as was afterwards understood, in his own dialect, he commenced to tell of the death of our people; but for want of interpreters everything was not understood. The Admiral having arrived at the castle of wood and the houses which our people had constructed, found that all were destroyed and reduced to ashes; from which thing every one was greatly pained, yet in order to see if any of those who had remained behind were living, he caused many bombards to be discharged, so that if any one were near he might come forth; but all in vain, because all were dead.

“The Admiral sent his messengers to the King Guaceanarillo, who reported as much as they were able to understand by signs; that in that island there are many more powerful kings than he, two of whom having heard of the fame of these new people came there with a large army: and our people being conquered were killed, and they ruined the castle, burning everything: and that he [the King] wishing to aid them, had been wounded by an arrow: and he showed an arm which he had bound up, saying that

this was the cause of his not coming to meet the Admiral as he desired. The following day the Admiral sent another, Marchio¹ of Seville, to the said King; who, tearing the bandage from his arm, found that he had no wound or sign of a wound. Nevertheless he found that he was in bed pretending to be sick, and his bed was joined to seven other beds of his concubines. So the Admiral and the others commenced to suspect that our people had been killed by the advice and desire of this King. Nevertheless Marchio, dissimulating, agreed with him that the following day he should come to visit the Admiral: and he did so: and the Admiral prepared for them a good supper: and with many caresses. And the King excused himself much on account of the death of our people. Seeing one of the women taken from the cannibals, whom our people called Chatarina, he made a great demonstration and talked to her with much gallantry, which our people did not understand. After he departed with great show of affection, there were some who counselled the Admiral that he ought to detain him and make him confess how our people died: and make him bear the just penalty; but the Admiral considered that it was not the time to excite the minds of the islanders. The following day the brother of the King came to the ship and talked with the women aforesaid and prevailed with them, as the result showed; because the following night that Chatarina aforesaid, either in order to free herself from captivity or because of the persuasion of the King, threw herself into the water with vii other women, all allured by her: and they crossed perhaps three miles of sea. Our people, following them with the boats, recovered only three of them. Catharina with the other three went to the King, who early in the morning fled with all his family. Therefore our people understood that the xxxviii who had remained had been killed by him.²

“CHAPTER XI

“The Admiral sent the aforesaid Marchio directly after the King with ccc armed men; who seeking him, chanced to arrive at the mouth of a river, where they found a very noble and good harbour, which they called Porto Reale. The entrance is so tortuous that when a man is within it he cannot discern the point at which he entered. Yet the entrance is so large that three ships together can enter abreast. In the middle of the harbour there is a mountain all green and wooded, full of parrots and other birds that sing sweetly all the time. And into this harbour run two rivers. Proceeding farther they saw a very high house, and thinking the King might be there, they went to it: and on their approaching it a man came to meet them accompanied by one hundred men of most ferocious appearance, all armed with bows and arrows and spears, crying that they were not cannibals but Taynos—that is to say, nobles and gentlemen. Our people made them a sign of peace, and they having put off their fierceness, made great friends with each other, and so much so that these men descended

¹ The reader will recognise in this name, Melchior Maldonado.

² We make the total number of unfortunates left at *La Navidad* to be forty three men.

immediately without hesitation to the ships, where they were given many presents—that is to say, little hawk's bells and similar things. Our people measured their house which was xxxii great paces in circumference. It was round and there were xxx other small houses around it. The beams were cane of different colours, woven with marvellous art. Upon our people asking as best they were able for the escaped King, they informed them that he had fled to the mountain. And our people resolved to inform the Admiral of this new friendship. But the Admiral sent different men into different parts to search for the said King; among whom he sent Horeda and Gormaiano, noble and courageous young men. These men found iiii rivers; one on one side and the other on the other side; iii of which rivers flowed from a very high mountain: and it was in the sand that all those people of the island gathered gold. In this manner they thrust their arms into some ditches and with the left hand dug the sand and with the right gathered the gold and gave it to our people. And they say they saw many grains of the size of a sequin which were brought to the King of Spain: one nugget of ix ounces which was seen moreover by many persons.

"CHAPTER TWELVE

"But our people [having seen this] returned to the Admiral, because he had commanded under penalty of death that no one should do other than to make discoveries. Our people understood also that there was a certain King in the mountains from whence the rivers came, who was called Cazi-chio Cannoba—that is to say, Lord of the House of Gold; 'boa' meaning 'house,' 'canno,' 'gold,' and 'Cazichio,' 'King.'

"They found in these rivers most perfect fish and likewise eels. Marchio of Seville says that with the cannibals the month of December is equinoctial; but I do not know how that can be by reason of the sphere: and he says that in that month the birds make their nests and some already had young. Still being questioned about the height of the pole from the east, he says that in the country of the cannibals the whole of the Great Bear under the arctic pole was hidden: and the *Guardians had set*. No one came from the voyage who can be firmly relied upon, because of being illiterate men.

"CHAPTER XIII

"The Admiral took Locinfrone,¹ a place near a harbour, in order to build a town: and commenced to build; and construct a church: but the time was drawing near when he had promised the King to inform him of his success. So he sent directly back twelve caravels, with news of what we have seen, and also what had been done. The Admiral remained in the island of Spagnola which some call Offira,² assuming that it is that of which the Old

¹ This was the earliest native name of the city of *Isabella*.

² This is the first application of this name to the island of *Española*. Peter Martyr in his *Epistola CLXV* says Columbus regarded the island as the gold-producing Ophir of Solomon.

This name of *Española* in the form *Spagnola*, is found in the Ruysch map of [Ptolemy] 1508.

Testament in the 3rd Book of Kings makes mention. The width of which is 5 degrees to the southward, which makes cccxxxx miles. The pole rises xxv.i. degrees; and from the south, as it is said, about xxii degrees. The length from east to west is 880 miles. The shape of the island is like a chestnut leaf. The Admiral decided to build a town upon a hill in the middle of the northern part of the island, because there was a high wooded mountain near, with stones to make lime. Which town he called Isabella. And at the foot of this mountain there was a plain sixty miles long and twelve miles wide in some places and in some places narrower by vi miles, through which many rivers flowed: and the largest glides in front of the gate of the town at the distance of a bow shot. So that this plain is so fertile that in some gardens which they made in the sand of the river, they sowed different kinds of herbs such as radishes, lettuce, cabbages, *borasene*. Entirely within a period of sixteen days watermelons, cucumbers, pumpkins and other similar things were formed: in xxxvi days they were gathered, better than ever were eaten. During this time the Admiral, because of news he had from those islanders he had with him, sent thirty men to a province of this island, called Cipangi; which was situated in the centre of the island, mountainous, with a great quantity of gold. These men having returned reported the wonderful riches of that place: and that four rivers descended from the mountain, which divided the island in four parts: one called Suma goes towards the east: another towards the west, Attibiuco: the third towards the north, Iachem: the fourth towards the south, called Naiba.

“CHAPTER XIII

“But to return to the subject. The Admiral having built this town surrounded by a wall, started on March 12 with about four hundred on foot and horseback and took the road which leads to their province in the southern part: and after having passed mountains, valleys and rivers, came to a plain which is the beginning of Cimbago, through which plain there run some rivers with sands of gold. The Admiral therefore having penetrated lxxii miles into the island, and being a long way from his town, arrived at the bank of a large river, and there on a lofty hill he resolved to build a fortress that he might be able to more securely search for the secrets of the country: and he called the fortress S. Thoma. During the erection of this fortress many natives came to the Admiral to get hawk's bells and other trifles which he had: and he in exchange asked them to bring him gold. Therefore in a short time they returned and brought quite a large quantity of gold, among whom one brought a grain weighing an ounce. Our people marvelled at such a size. Nevertheless the natives showed by signs that larger ones yet were found; and especially in a country half a day's journey from there, grains of great weight were found, which because of not being worked and made up, they did not value much. From this place others brought larger pieces of x drachms each, and also affirmed that they were able to find larger. The Admiral sent some of his people to that place, who

found there much more than had been told them. The woods are full of spices; but they do not gather them except in so far as they wish to exchange them with the men of the neighbouring island for dishes and earthen basins, and wooden vases made in other islands which they do not have. They found in the month of May wild grapes, very ripe. This province, notwithstanding being rocky, is full of trees and all green. They say that it rains there a great deal, therefore there are many rivers and streams with sands of gold: and they believe that that gold descends from those mountains. And they are a very idle people. In winter they shiver from cold: and they have forests full of cotton, of which they do not know how to make clothes.

"CHAPTER XV

"Having searched as has been told, the Admiral returned to the fortress Isabella where he left some of his people for the government. And he started with three ships in order to go and discover a certain land which he had seen and thought might be the mainland: and which is lxx miles and no farther from the said island Spagnola. Which land the natives call Cuba. Having passed through there by the south side he started towards the west, and the farther onward he went the farther the shores stretched away. And he went on entering a gulf towards the south so that every day he found himself farther to the south, so much so that he arrived at an island called by the natives Iamaica, but, as he says, it is called by the cosmographers Ianna Major; which is larger than Sicily: and has one mountain only in the centre, which commences to rise from all parts of the island, but it ascends so gradually to the centre of the island that it appears not to ascend. This island both on the coasts and in the centre is most fertile and full of people who are keener-witted and of greater intelligence than all the other islanders: skilful at trading: and warlike. And the Admiral, wishing to land in different places, they ran armed and did not let them land: and in many places they fought with our people: but they were beaten and were afterwards friends. Having left this Iamaica they yet sailed westward seven days along the coast of Cuba, so that the Admiral thought he had gone as far as the Golden Chersonese, which is near our east and believed he had found xxii of the xxiii hours of the sun. Although he suffered great distress in this navigation yet he decided to go so far forward, as he wished to see the end of this Cuba, whether it was the mainland or not: and he sailed 1300 miles toward the west, always along the coast of Cuba. And in this navigation he named 700 islands; but he passed more than 3000. And he found many things worthy of commemoration, sailing along the coast of this land Cuba. And first, shortly after he commenced to sail, he found a very fine harbour capable of accommodating a great number of ships; where some of his people having landed found houses of straw without any one within; yet they found spits of wood by the fire with about 100 lbs. of fish and two serpents of eight feet each: and seeing that no one appeared they commenced to eat the fish: and they left the serpents which were shaped like

crocodiles. Afterwards they commenced to search a forest near there and they saw many of these serpents bound to the trees with cords: and having gone a little farther they found about lxx men who had fled to the top of a very large rock in order to see what our people would do. But our people made them so many compliments by signs, showing them hawks' bells and other trifles, that one of them recovered himself so as to descend to another rock nearer. One of the islanders from Spagnola, who from a child was brought up with the Admiral, approached this man, and spoke to him, for their language was almost the same: and reassured him: and he and the others all came to the ship: and they made great friendship with our people. And they declared that they were fishermen who had come to fish for their King who was making a feast for another King: and they were very much pleased that our people had left their serpents which they were saving for the person of the King himself as a very delicate repast. The Admiral [having the information which he desired] let them go. And he pursued his journey towards the west: and examining this part he found it very fertile and full of very mild people, who without any suspicion ran to the ships: and brought our people some of their bread which they use and gourds full of water: and invited them most kindly to land. Passing onward they encountered a multitude of islands of an almost infinite number, which all appeared to be inhabited and full of trees: and very fertile on the side of the mainland, according to those of the coast. In the coast which they examined they found a navigable river of water so warm that they were not able to hold their hands in it. Afterwards they found farther onward some fishermen in certain of their boats of wood excavated like *zopoli*, who were fishing. In this manner they had a fish of a form unknown to us which has the body of an eel and larger: and upon the head it has a certain very tender skin which appears like a large purse. And this fish they drag, tied with a noose to the edge of the boat, because it cannot endure a breath of air. And when they see any large fish or snake, they loosen the noose and this fish at once darts like an arrow at the fish or at the snake, throwing over them this skin which he has upon his head; which he holds so firmly that they are not able to escape and he does not leave them if they are not taken from the water; but as soon as he feels the air he leaves his prey and the fishermen quickly seize it. And in the presence of our people they took four large *calandre* which they gave our people for a very delicate food. Our people having asked them how far this coast extended towards the west, they replied that it had no end. Having left that place and travelled still farther onward along the coast, they found a great variety of people, and near this land an island where they did not see any person, because all had fled. But they only saw two dogs of very ugly appearance and they did not bark. They saw geese and ducks. Between the island and the coast of Cuba they found such a narrow passage and with so many whirlpools and so much foam, that many times the ships grounded: these whirlpools continued xl miles: and the water was so white and thick that it appeared as if flour was scattered all through it. lxxx miles beyond the

whirlpools they found a very high mountain where they landed some men to get water and wood. An archer who had walked into a forest met a man clothed in white down to the ground who was upon an eminence beyond him, without his seeing him. In the beginning he believed it was a friar whom they had with them in the ship. But suddenly behind this man there appeared two others clothed in the same manner. And looking thus, he saw a band of about xxx, seeing whom, he suddenly commenced to fly. And those people went behind him making signs for him not to fly, but he the more quickly succeeded in reaching the ship: and made the Admiral understand what he had seen, who sent many men on land by different ways: but no one was able to find anything. They saw many clove-gillyflowers hanging from the trees and many other spice trees. Going forward they found many other people of different languages, whom the people from the island of Spagnola who were with the Admiral, did not understand. And coasting along this land of Cuba, they entered the gulf more and more every day; now to the south; now to the south-west: and passing through the sea full of islands and many coasts so that more times the ships grounded and the water entered: and spoiled sails, shrouds and biscuit, and they were obliged to return by the way that they came. And because in going they had made friendship with all the people, in returning they were well received; and in this manner they reached the island of Spagnola.

“ CHAPTER XVI

“Where they found that a Monsignor Margarita and many other gentlemen had departed, being angry with the Admiral: and had returned to Spain. And the Admiral also decided to come, doubting not but they would speak evil of him to the Most Serene King: and in order to ask for people and supplies. But first he sought to conciliate some of the King's people, who were also excited against them [the Spaniards] because of the insolences and thefts, rapine and murders which the Spaniards committed before their eyes: and first he reconciled and made friends with a King Guarionexio: and married the sister of the King to a man of the island whom he had taken on his first voyage and made his interpreter. Afterwards he went to the mountain where he had built the fortress called S. Thomaso, which having already been besieged by a King xxx days, he delivered it, and took that King who besieged his fortress. And he also resolved to go farther subjugating those Kings; but he heard that the natives were dying of hunger and that already an infinite number were dead: and this by their fault because in order that the Christians might suffer, they had dug up the roots of which they make bread and sustain themselves; thinking that for this reason the Christians must abandon the island, but the evil did not affect them because our people were assisted with provisions, by the King Guarionexio, as in his country there was not such need. And for this reason the Admiral relinquished the journey commenced. And in order that his people might have more means of defence in that island for all occasions, he built between the fortress of San

Thomaso and the Kingdom of the King Guarionexio, another fortress upon a mountain, and called it La Conceptione. The islanders, seeing that the Christians intended to maintain that island, sent Ambassadors from different parts to the Admiral, entreating him by the love of God, to bridle his people, who under pretext of finding gold, went through the island and worked a thousand evils; offering to give them tribute of those things which were found in their provinces: and thus it was concluded and agreed. The inhabitants of the mountains supplying the gold, obliged themselves to give every three months, which they call every three moons, a certain measure full of gold, and to send it to the town. The others where the spice and cotton grew obliged themselves to give a certain quantity of that.

“CHAPTER XVII

“Yet this agreement was broken because of hunger; because their roots failing, they underwent great labour going all day through the forests searching for something to eat; yet some kept it: and at the time agreed they brought part of the obligation, excusing themselves from the remainder: and they promised that as soon as they were able to recover themselves, they would pay double. At this time there was found in the mountains which supplied gold a piece of gold of xx ounces, by a certain King who lived a long way from the bank of the river, which piece of gold was also carried to Spain to the Most Serene Sovereigns, as many people saw it. Fields of cabbages were found and many other useful things. And because many wondered saying how the caravels went to Spain loaded with cabbages, as they should sooner go loaded with gold, there being such a quantity of it, —to this the Admiral replied that although a large quantity might be found compared with other places, nevertheless it was not gathered without great fatigue, and that the men he had with him were indisposed to undergo fatigue: and more addicted to idleness and lasciviousness, not disposed to the pacification of countries and rather scandalous: and by their evil habits they rebelled against this same Admiral. And more than this, the men of the island, whom they knew to be of a barbarous nature, were unsubdued, and much more irritated by the bad behaviour of the Spaniards. So that up to the present time the profit hardly equals the expenditure. Nevertheless in this year 1501, they have in two months gathered 1200 lbs. of gold of viii ounces per lb.: and other revenues and profits, as we shall say hereafter, if it pleases God, without being diverted from our purpose. In that year there came such a fury of wind that the trees were uprooted and carried into the air, and three ships of Columbus which were in port were submerged: and the water increased so much that it rose over all the land more than a fathom. Wherefore the islanders thought that the Christians were the cause, because of their sins, as they had come to disturb their tranquil life. Because there was not any one who had ever seen or heard of a similar thing. The Admiral having come to the port, immediately caused two caravels to be built, as he had with him very skilful builders.

"CHAPTER XVIII

"In the meantime he sent Bartholomew Columbus his brother, whom he had constituted Captain of the island, with some men well armed and trained, to the mines of metal in the mountains where they dig the gold, which are 60 leagues distant from the fortress Isabella, in order to thoroughly investigate the nature of those places. The said Captain,—or Adelantado, as he is called in his language,—having gone, found very deep and old caves, from whence it is judged King Solomon dug his treasure, as may be read in the Old Testament. The masters whom the Captain had with him, surveying the surface of the land over these caves, saw that it extended about 16 miles, and judged that there was a sufficient quantity of gold so that each master might easily dig three ounces of gold every day. Of which, the Captain immediately informed the Admiral, who having heard it, resolved to return to Spain. First he constituted his brother Captain and Governor of the island, and he departed at the beginning of March, 1495, for Spain. In the meantime, the Captain who remained, called Adelantado, by advice of the Admiral, his brother, built a fortress near the caves of gold aforesaid: and called it Aurea, because in the earth of which they made the walls they found gold mixed. He spent three months in building and in constructing implements for labour and in gathering gold: but hunger disturbed him and he was constrained to leave the work incomplete: and he departed from there and left x men to guard the fortress with as much as he could spare of the bread of the island, and a dog to catch rabbits. And he returned to the fortress of La Concepcione in the month that Guarionexio and Manicantexio, the Kings, were to pay the tribute. And remaining there all June he received the entire tribute from these two Kings: and the things necessary for the maintenance of himself and his people who were with him, who were about 400 men.

"CHAPTER XIX

"And about the first of July three caravels arrived with corn, oil, wine, pork and beef salted, all of which things were divided and each one given his portion. By these said caravels the Most Serene Sovereigns of Spain sent a command to their men who were on the island that they must go and dwell in the central part, nearest to the caves of gold: and that they must send to Spain all the Kings of the island who had killed Christians, with their subjects. And the orders being fulfilled, 300 islanders were taken with their Kings and sent to the Most Serene Sovereigns. And also towards the southern part of the island, according to the command, they built on a hill near a very good and beautiful harbour a fortress which they called San Domenico; because on Sunday they arrived there. Into the harbour flows a river of very healthful waters, with a great abundance of different kinds of fish; upon which river the ships sailed 12 miles towards the fortress Aurea. In the fortress Isabella they left only the sick and some builders who were building two caravels. All the rest came to this fortress

Christopher Columbus

of San Domenico. After having built this fortress, the Captain left xx men to guard the said fortress and departed with the remainder to go and explore the interior of the island towards the west.

“CHAPTER XX

“And having started on the way he found the river Naiba, 120 miles distant, which, as has been said above, descends from the southern side of the mountains which supply gold. And having passed that, he sent two Captains with some people into the province of some Kings in the Southern part; who had many forests of brazil-wood, of which they cut a great quantity and put them in the houses of those islanders to keep until they returned to take them with ships. And thus exploring, the said Captain on the right hand, not far distant from the river Naiba, found a powerful King who had established a camp in order to subjugate the people of these places. But the kingdom of this King is on the summit of the island, to the west, which is called Saragna, 30 leagues distant from the river Naiba. The country is mountainous and rough, and all the Kings of that region render him obedience. The Captain, going forward, came to parley with this King, so that he induced him to pay a tribute of cottons, hemp and other things which they had, because gold is not found in that region. And after having made the agreement, they went in company to the house of that King, where they were highly honoured; and all that people came to meet them with great feasting, and among others were these two spectacles. The first that there came to meet them were 30 beautiful young women of the King, all naked, except the private parts which they had covered with a certain cotton cloth, according to their usage and custom for girls: but those who are corrupted go with all the body uncovered. Each one had an olive branch in her hand, all with their hair over their shoulders, but the forehead bound with a band. Their colour was olive but very beautiful. Leaping and dancing, they each gave the olive branch which they carried in their hands to the Captain. Having entered the house, a very magnificent supper was served them according to their custom, and afterwards they were all lodged according to the quality of each one. And the following day they were conducted to a house which they use in place of a theatre, where many games were performed and quiet dances. After this there came two troops of men, one from one side and the other from the other side, fighting together so fiercely and roughly that they appeared to be actual enemies; with darts and arrows; so that four were killed by it: and a great number were wounded, and this to give entertainment to the King, and to the Captain. And more would have been killed, but the King having given his signal, they ceased immediately.

“CHAPTER XXI

“And the third day he left there and returned to Isabella where he had left the sick. And he found about cc dead from various diseases, because of which he was ill-pleased: and much more so that he did not see a ship

appear from Spain with provisions, of which he was in great need. At length they resolved to divide the sick among the castles by the sea-shore. From Isabella to San Domenico by the direct road from west to north, they built these castles: First xxxvi miles from Isabella the fortress Speranza: and xxiiii miles from Speranza, Sancta Catharina: xx miles from S. Catharina, San Iacomo: from San Iacomo another xx, La Conceptione: another between La Conceptione and San Domenico they called Bono Anno, from the name of a King near there. Having left the sick in these castles they went away to San Domenico collecting their tributes from those Kings: and remaining thus some days, because of the thefts and evil behaviour of the Spaniards, many of those Kings rebelled: and made the King Guarionexio their Captain and had agreed upon certain days to assault the Spaniards with xv thousand men, armed in their manner: and the Captain having a presentiment of this, forestalled them: and one by one, conquered them all; not however without great labour and trouble. And here we will leave him and return to the Admiral Columbus.

"CHAPTER XXII

"The Admiral Columbus the xxviiith day of May, 1498, having started from the castle of Barameda near Cadiz with eight loaded ships, went the usual way, by the Fortunate Islands: and this also for fear of some French corsairs: and he went to the island of the Madeira, and from there he sent five ships by the said way to the island of Spagnola: and he kept one ship with him, and two caravels with which he started to sail towards the south with the intention of finding the Equinoctial line, and then from there to turn toward the west: and in order to investigate the nature of some other regions: and he found himself in those regions in the middle of his journey at the Islands of Cape Verde. Departing from there he sailed to the south-west 480 miles with such fervid heat (as it was the month of June) that the ships were almost burned: and likewise the casks burst, so that water and wine and oil flowed out: and the men were raging on account of the heat. viii days they remained in this distress: and the first day was serene, the others cloudy and rainy; so that they repented many times having gone that way. The viii days having passed the wind commenced to blow from the stern and they went away continuously to the west, finding the air of a better temperature; so that the third day they found the air very agreeable. And the last day of July from the cage of the large ship three very high mountains were discovered. Because of which thing they rejoiced not a little, as they were ill pleased because of the water which commenced to fail them by reason of the casks having burst from the unbounded heat. With the aid of God they approached land, but the sea being all full of sand-banks they were not able to reach land. They well understood that the land had many inhabitants; because from the ships very fine gardens were seen and meadows full of flowers which sent very delightful odours as far as the ships. Twenty miles from there they found a very good harbour but without a river,

because of which they went farther: and finally found a harbour very well adapted for shelter and to take water, which they called *Ponta de Erena*. They did not find any dwelling near the harbour but many traces of animals shown by footprints. And the next day they saw come from afar off a canoe, which is a boat of their kind, or rather a *zoppolo* of ours, with xxiii young men armed with arrows and shields: and they were naked, only the private parts being covered with a cotton cloth, the hair long. The Admiral in order to attract them to him caused them to be shown hawk's bells and bright copper vases, and other similar things; but they, the more they were called, so much the more suspected being deceived, and continually withdrew themselves the more, all the time regarding our people with great admiration. The Admiral seeing that they could not be attracted with these things ordered that in the cage of the ship tambourines, bag-pipes and other instruments should be sounded; and that there should be singing, to prove if by such allurements they could be tamed. But they, thinking they might be sounds which invited them to battle, all immediately took darts and arrows in their hands, thinking that our people wished to assault them: and having gone away from the larger ship, trusting to the quickness of their oars, they approached a smaller ship: and they approached so near that the masters of the ship threw a jacket and a hat to one of them: and by signs they agreed to go ashore to speak together. But the Master of the ship having gone to ask permission of the Admiral, they, fearing some deception, put their oars in the water and went away, so that our people had no other knowledge of this land. And not very far from there they found a stream of water from east to west, so swift and impetuous that the Admiral says that never since he has sailed (which is since his childhood) has he been more afraid. Having gone somewhat farther in this stream they found a certain passage which appeared to be the entrance to a harbour where this stream went: and from the entrance to this passage another terrible stream issued of fresh water, which joined the salt water. Having entered this gulf they found at length very fresh water and good: and they say that for xxvi leagues continuously they have found fresh water: and the farther west they went, the fresher it was. They afterwards found a very high mountain where they landed and saw many cultivated fields, but they saw neither men nor houses: and from the west side of the mountain they saw there were some plains: and by many signs they comprehended that this land was called *Paria*, and was great and very populous toward the west. They took from there in the ship, four men: and they went following that coast to the westward. One day, drawn by the agreeableness of the place, they landed a little before day; where they found a greater number of men than in any other place: and they found Kings, whom they call *Cacih*, who sent Ambassadors to the Admiral with great offers by signs and signals, inviting them to land. The Admiral having refused to do this, they sent to the ships a great number of boats with a great multitude of men adorned with chains of gold in the Oriental manner on the arms and around the

neck: and being asked where they gathered those pearls and gold, they replied by signs that the pearls are found on the shores of the sea near there. They signified also that they are very easily found in abundance; also that among them they are not greatly valued: and they offered some of them to our people. As he wished to remain there some time and as the corn in the ships was spoiling, the Admiral resolved to defer this trade until another time: and then sent two boat-loads of men on land to investigate and learn the nature of that place. Having then landed, they were received very kindly. Every one ran to see them as a miracle. Two of the natives of more importance than the others came to meet them. One was old, the other, a young man, was his son. Having saluted them according to their custom, they conducted them to a house, round in shape, before which there was a great square. Having entered this house they caused certain chairs of very black wood and carved with great skill to be brought, to sit down. And our people having been seated together with these chiefs, many attendants came all loaded with different kinds of fruits (unknown to us) and with white and red wines, not from grapes, because they have no vines, but from different fruits very sweet and pleasant. Having then taken breakfast in the house of the old man, the young man conducted them to his house, where many women stayed, all separate from the men; who all go naked except the private parts which they cover with certain veils woven in various colours. And being asked whence they procured what they brought, they replied by signs that it came to them from certain mountains which they showed: to which our people ought by no means to go, because men are killed there; but our people were not able to understand whether they said by wild beasts or by cannibals. They showed annoyance at not understanding what we said, and also that they were not understood.

“CHAPTER XXIII

“Our people having then remained on land until mid-day, returned to the ships with some necklaces of pearls: and the Admiral immediately started with all the ships, because of the corn, which as we have said was spoiling: and he did this with the intention of returning another time. And proceeding forward he continually found less depth of water and for many days it caused great trouble to the larger ship. And for this reason they sent forward a smaller caravel with the plummet which sounded the way for the others. Having gone many days in this manner believing this to be an island and hoping to be able to find a way and return to the northward towards the island of Spagnola, they arrived at a river of xxx cubits depth and of unheard-of size: from whence, being xviii or xx leagues wide, a little farther on, yet towards the west but a little more to the south, as that shore thus engulfed itself, they saw the sea full of grasses, although it appeared to flow like a river. And over the sea some seeds were blowing, which seemed to be those of lentils: and the grass was so thick

that it hindered the sailing of the ship. The Admiral says that here in this place during all the year there is a very mild air: and that the days all the year are almost equal and do not vary much. And seeing this gulf almost impassable and not finding an exit to the north to go to the island of Spagnola, he turned his prow where the stern had been, and returned by the way he had entered. And instead of passing by way of the grasses he took his straight course to the north. Some say that this may be the mainland of India. Nevertheless the Admiral did not find another cape: but having returned somewhat backward to the north, choosing his way with the aid of God, he arrived at the island of Spagnola, according to his fixed purpose, the xxviiith of August, 1498.

“CHAPTER XXIII

“The Admiral Columbus having arrived at the island of Spagnola found everything in confusion: and a Roldano who had been his favourite, with many other Spaniards, had rebelled. And the Admiral wishing to conciliate him, not only was he not pacified but he wrote to the Most Serene Kings so much evil of the Admiral as it is never possible to tell: and also of his brother who remained Captain in governing the island of Spagnola. Accusing him of being wicked, dishonest in every way, very cruel and unjust; because for every little thing he caused men to be hanged and killed: and that they were haughty, envious and full of intolerable ambition: and because of this cause they had rebelled against them, as against wild beasts which enjoy shedding human blood: and they were enemies of his government as they do not seek anything else than to usurp the rule of the island. These argued on the supposition that they did not permit any one save their favourites to go to the caves of gold. The Admiral likewise informed the Most Serene Sovereigns concerning the nature of these gluttons and thieves: declaring also that they occupied themselves only in ravishings and assassinations: being thoroughly unbridled, for which reason they feared to be punished if they did not rebel: and they went through the island violating, robbing and killing: given all day to sleep, idleness and lechery, and that for delight they went hanging the poor men of that island. And while these accusations were made the Admiral sent to conquer one who had rebelled who was called the King of Cigiani, who had about six thousand men all armed with bows and arrows, but naked: and they have their bodies painted in various colours from head to foot, grouped in various ways: These after much trouble were conquered and made to render obedience.

“CHAPTER XXV

“In the meantime the Very Serene Sovereigns received the letters of the Admiral and his enemies and seeing that because of this dissension, little utility was derived from such a quantity of gold, they sent their own Governor, who was to inquire who was in error; to punish them or to send them to Spain that they might be punished: And this Governor having arrived at the island of Spagnola, by subornment and fraud of those wicked

Spaniards and also by reason of the great envy he felt toward the Admiral and his brother, resolved to take the Admiral and his brother, who were sent to Spain in irons. And they having arrived at Cadiz, the Most Serene Kings hearing this, ordered them set at liberty: and willingly caused them to go to Court, where they are yet found at the present time.

"CHAPTER XXVI

"After the Admiral Columbus came into such reproach, many of his pilots and sailors who had been with him continually on the aforesaid navigations, resolved among themselves to traverse the ocean to discover new islands: (and having obtained permission from their dear master) they fitted out ships at their own expense: and they departed by different ways with orders not to approach within 1 leagues of where the Admiral had been: and one Pietro Alonso, called the Negro,¹ with a caravel armed at his expense, started towards the south and arrived at that land called Paria, of which we have already made mention above, where the Admiral found an abundance of pearls: and going 1 leagues farther forward along the coast, in order to obey the Sovereigns, he arrived at a province called Curtana by the inhabitants, where he found a harbour similar to that of Cadiz. Having entered this harbour he saw a town of lxxx houses and having landed he found 50 naked men, who did not belong at that place but at another very populous place iii miles from there; with whom they exchanged hawks' bells and other trifles: and in exchange he received from them (although in the beginning they resisted) xv ounces of pearls which they wore at the neck, after many prayers: and the following day he took the ship and went to their town. Having arrived there, all the people, who were infinite in number, ran to the shore with gestures and signs, praying them to land: but the Negro Alonso (seeing such a multitude) was afraid to disembark: also because they were not more than xxxiii men; but by signs he made them understand that if they wished to buy something they must go to the ship, Therefore a great number of them with their *zoppoli*,² carrying with them a quantity of pearls, went to the ship; so that for some little trifles which were worth little money, they received from them 50 lbs. of pearls. But after Alonso, the Negro, saw them so mild, and after remaining there 20 days, he resolved to land, where he was received very kindly. Their dwellings are made of wood, covered with palm leaves, and their common food is shell-fish, from many of which they extract pearls. They have stags, pigs, boars, rabbits, hares, pigeons, turtle doves in great abundance. The women raise geese and ducks like ours. In their forests there is an abundance of peacocks, not as well feathered as ours, as the male is hardly different from the female. They have pheasants in abundance. These people are very fine marksmen. They send the arrow precisely where they wish. In that place Alonso, the Negro, with his company during the time he remained, conquered them.

¹ Pero Alonso Niño, whose first voyage was from the summer of 1499 to April 1500. He was pilot of the *Santa Maria* on the voyage of discovery.

² Canoes made from single logs of wood.

They got loaves of bread for four nails each: for one, a pheasant: also turtle doves, geese, pigeons. They spent also as money, glass rosaries and needles. And asking by signs and gestures for what purpose needles were used, replies were made in the same manner by gestures, to take care of the teeth and to take thorns from the feet, because they go barefoot. And for this reason the natives valued needles greatly. But above all the hawks' bells pleased them. And having gone somewhat farther into the island, they saw forests of very high and thick trees where they heard the roaring of animals, which filled that country with strange noises. Nevertheless they judged them not to be dangerous animals. And this because those people went in safety, almost naked through those forests without any fear, with their bows and arrows. They had, when it pleased them, stags and boars as many as they wished. They have neither oxen nor goats nor sheep: they use bread of roots and millet, almost like the people of the island of Spagnola. They have black and coarse hair and half curled, but long. And in order to have white teeth they keep in the mouth continually a certain herb. And when they throw it away they wash the mouth. The women attend more to agriculture and to household matters than the men: but the men occupy themselves with hunting, games and feasts and other amusements. They have pipkins, pans, vases and other similar vessels of earth, bought in other provinces. They have among themselves fairs and markets, where all the other neighbours gather and bring different merchandise according to the variety of the province: and they barter and exchange one thing for another as they please. They have birds and other animals which they keep and domesticate for their amusement; which wear collars of gold and pearls. But they do not find that gold in that province, but they get it by barter from another province; which gold is of the same purity as that of the Royal gold florin. The men wear a skin in place of breeches and the women wear similar, but the greater part of the time they stay in the house. Those people being asked by signs and gestures if at the end of that coast the sea is found, showed that they did not know; but by the kinds of animals which are found in those regions, the Spaniards firmly believe it to be the mainland: and also much more so because they have sailed along this coast to the west more than 4000 miles, and never have found the end, neither any sign of the end. And then the natives being asked from what place they get that gold and from what part it came, they made them understand that it came from a province called Canchiete distant from there vi days' journey towards the west.

"CHAPTER XXVII

"Whither, Alonso the Negro resolved to go. And about the first of November, 1500, he arrived there at this Canchiete; where he arrived with the ship: (it having suddenly been seen) the people of the country came to the ship without any fear: and brought what gold they then had, although it was little and of the quality aforesaid. They found many beautiful parrots of many colours. The air was very mild there without

any cold: and it was in the month of November. That people are very good-natured. They are without any suspicion. All the night with their boats they came to the ship in security as if in their house: but they are jealous of their women, whom they compel to remain behind: and many remained. They have also a great quantity of cotton which from its planting grows without any culture; from this cotton they make their breeches. After having left there and travelled along this coast more than x days, he saw a most beautiful place with houses, also many castles with rivers and gardens; so that he never saw a more beautiful place. Wishing to disembark in this place, there came to meet him more than 2000 men armed according to their custom; who in no way in the world desired peace or friendship or any agreement. They showed a very great rudeness and more, they appeared almost savages; notwithstanding that, they were fine men and very well proportioned, their bodies brown in colour and unusually lean. For this reason, Alonso the Negro satisfied with what he had found, resolved to return by the way he had come.

"CHAPTER XXVIII

"And sailing thus, with the aid of God, he arrived at the province of the pearls, called Curiana, where they then remained xx days for pleasure. And in a place not far distant from the province, before arriving there, they met xviii Zoppoli,¹ or canoes, or boats of the cannibals, who are the people who live on human flesh. These cannibals having seen the ship boldly attacked it, and surrounding it, with their bows and arrows commenced to fight: but the Spaniards with their cross-bows and bombards frightened them greatly, so that they all commenced to fly. And they with the boat armed followed them, so that they took one of their boats; from which many of those cannibals threw themselves into the water and escaped by swimming; but they took only one, who was not able to escape; who had three men tied by the hands and feet, as he wished to eat them as he wanted. When our people understood this they untied the bonds and bound the cannibal, and gave him into the hands of the prisoners for them to take what vengeance pleased them: and the latter immediately with fists, kicks and sticks gave him so many blows that they left him almost dead, remembering that he had eaten their companions: and the following day likewise he wished to eat these others: and furthermore being asked about their customs they said that these cannibals were making incursions through all those islands and all those provinces, and that as soon as they land they make a palisade with poles and go stealing. In this province of the pearls there are very large salt pits: and they say that when a man of note dies, they put him upon a certain support under which they make a certain slow fire: so that little by little all the flesh falls away and nothing remains except the skin and bone; thus they preserve him to his honour. And the xiiith day they left this province to come to Spain with 96 lbs. of pearls of viii ounces per lb., bought at an expense of very

¹ Here in the original it is spelled Zoppuli

few pennies. In xvi days they arrived in Galitia. The pearls which they brought are Oriental, although not well pierced: and by what many merchants who already know them say, they are of little value.

“CHAPTER XXIX

“Vincentianes called Pinzone and Aries his brother, who were with Columbus on his first voyage, in 1499 fitted out iiii caravels at their own expense: and the xviiith of November they started from Palos to go and discover new islands and lands. In a short time they were at the Canary Islands: and afterwards successively at the Cape Verde Islands; from whence they started and having taken the way to the south-west, they sailed with that wind 300 leagues. In which journey they lost the north star, when (as soon as lost) they were attacked by a very terrible tempest of the sea with rain and very fierce wind. Nevertheless following their way continuously to the south-west, not without apparent danger, they went forward 240 leagues and the xxth of January at a distance they saw land. Approaching this land, all the time they found less depth of water. They threw the sounding line and found xvi fathoms of water: and finally having reached land they disembarked: and remaining there two days, where no one ever appeared, they departed by day and having gone farther forward, they saw at night many lights which appeared to be a camp of armed people. Towards this light they sent xxv men well armed and ordered them not to make any noise. These men having gone and having understood that there was a great multitude of people, they did not wish to disturb them in any way: but they resolved to await the morning and then learn who they might be. The morning having dawned, at sunrise they sent on land xxxx armed men. As soon as they were seen by that people, the latter sent to meet our people 32 men armed according to their manner with bows and arrows: tall men and with stern faces and of cruel appearance: and they did not cease to threaten the Spaniards, of whom, the more they flattered them, the more disdainful they showed themselves, and never desired either peace or concord or friendship with them. Therefore, for the time, they returned to the ship with the intention of fighting with them the following morning; but they, as soon as the night fell, arose naked and went away. The people of the ship surmised that they might be people who go roving about, like gypsies, or Tartars, who have no houses of their own, but go here to-day, to-morrow there, with their wives and children. But the incensed Spaniards went following their traces for some time, and found in the sand their foot-prints to be much larger than ours, indeed twice as large. Sailing farther forward they found a river but not of sufficient depth so that the caravels could float there. For this reason they sent on land four armed boats from the ships; which having reached land, armed, encountered there an innumerable number of naked people, who by signs and gestures showed themselves very desirous of trading with our people. But the Spaniards seeing such a crowd did not feel themselves secure in approaching. But

as best they could they threw them a hawk's bell and in exchange the others threw our people a piece of gold. One of the Spaniards having landed to take the gold, suddenly a number from that crowd threw themselves upon him, wishing to take him: but he defended himself with his sword, not being able to oppose the great number, since those people did not think it anything to die. Accordingly all the men from the four boats jumped on land and eight Spaniards were killed: and the others made a great flight to escape and withdraw to the boats, neither did it profit them to be armed with lances and swords as these people, however many of them might be killed, did not care; but always bolder they followed them into the water, so that finally they took one of the four boats and killed the Captain. The rest had the good fortune to escape with the other three boats, and to reach the ship and make sail and get away from there. And thus for the time they were ill pleased. And they took their way to the north, as thus extends that coast.

"CHAPTER XXX

"Having gone 40 leagues they found the sea to consist of fresh water: and investigating to find from whence this water came they found a passage [mouth] which for fifteen miles rushes out into the sea with very great force. Beyond which passage there were many islands inhabited by mild and pleasing people and there they did not find anything for which to traffic. They took 36 slaves, since they found nothing else to bargain for, with profit. The name of this province is called Marinatambal. Those people of the islands said that inland on the mainland a great quantity of gold was found. After having left this river, in a few days they discovered the north star which was almost on the horizon, having accomplished fifty leagues, according to their calculation. They say they always coasted the land of Payra, because afterwards they came to the mouth called the Dragon, which is an outlet and which is in the land of Payra: the Admiral passed through some islands there, which are situated off the coast of this country in great number, where they found a great quantity of brazil-wood with which they loaded their ship. Of these islands many were uninhabited for fear of the cannibals. And they saw an infinite number of ruined houses and many men who fled to the mountains. They found also many Cassia Fistula trees, some samples from which they carried to Spain, and the physicians who saw them said that they would have been of the best quality if they had been gathered at the proper time. And there also are very tall and large trees, such as six men would not be able to encircle. They also saw there a new animal almost monstrous, with the body and muzzle of a fox, and the rump and hind feet of an ape, and the fore feet almost like those of a man, the ears like a bat, and under the belly it has another belly outside, like a pocket, where it hides its young after birth; and never lets them come out until such time as they may be able to feed themselves and excepting when they wish to suckle. One of these animals together with its young was carried from Seville to Granada to

the Very Serene Sovereigns. Nevertheless the young died in the ships and the old one in Spain; which being thus dead were seen by many different persons. These two Vincentianes affirm that they sailed along the coast of Payra more than 600 leagues and do not doubt that it is the mainland, but are almost certain of it.¹ Having left Payra they came to the island of Spagnola the twenty-third of June, 1500. And from there they say they went continuously towards the west more than four hundred leagues in a certain province; where the four caravels they had were attacked by a tempest in the month of July, so that two were submerged, one broken, and which discouraged and disheartened the men more than anything else. The fourth remained firm and strong, but not without requiring a little labour, as they had already lost all hope of safety. And in this condition he saw one of their ships floating with the stream: as she had few men, who, thinking they would be submerged, threw themselves on land, and remained there in very great doubt and fear of being badly treated by those people. They deliberated at first among themselves about killing each other: and thus remained in vacillating and unhappy thoughts about eight days. After the weather had become fair they saw their ship which survived with only eighteen men: and they went on board and together with the other ship that was safe, they made sail for Spain, where they arrived the last day of September. After these [Vincentianes] many others have sailed on expeditions toward the south and have gone continuously along the coast of the country Payra more than five thousand miles: and never have found any end to it as would be the case were it an island: and because of this each one thinks that it is manifestly the mainland. From which there has recently been brought cassia of great perfection, gold, pearls, brazil-wood of the aforesaid kinds, pepper and cinnamon, wild herbs, plants, trees, animals of strange and different kinds, which we have not.

“*Finis*”

“TABLE

“Chapter I. About Columbus and how the Most Serene Sovereigns of Spain fitted out iii ships for him.

“Chapter II. How Columbus started and sailed many days and found unheard-of islands.

“Chapter III. How Columbus arrived at the two large islands,—that is Zouanna Mela and Spagnola.

“Chapter IIII. How Columbus tamed the people of the island of Spagnola: and of the condition of the said island.

“Chapter V. About the customs of the cannibals.

“Chapter VI. About the customs of the islanders of the island of Spagnola.

“Chapter VII. How Columbus resolved to return to Spain: and to leave men on the island to make explorations.

¹ The table of contents shows that it was intended to have a chapter xxxi., and it doubtless should begin at this point.

“Chapter VIII. How Columbus returned to Spain: and was received with great honour by the Very Serene Sovereigns: and how he prepared a new fleet to return to his voyage: and they called him Admiral.

“Chapter IX. How the Admiral started with xvii ships and returning to the islands found the islands of the cannibals and the other different islands.

“Chapter X. How the Admiral returned to the island of Spagnola where he found his men, whom he had left there, dead.

“Chapter XI. How the Admiral sent his brother to search for the King who had killed his men, and various things which befell him.

“Chapter XII. How those men who searched for the King for vengeance, having found the rivers of gold and other things, returned to the Admiral to inform him of it.

“Chapter XIII. How the Admiral commenced to build a town or rather a castle and sent to explore the island.

“Chapter XIII. How the Admiral started on the way to find the mines of gold: and built the fortress of San Thoma.

“Chapter XV. How the Admiral started with three ships to discover other new islands: where he found marvellous things.

“Chapter XVI. How the Admiral returned to the island of Spagnola: and made all those Kings tributary.

“Chapter XVII. How many Kings rebelled because of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards: and about a great tempest that came.

“Chapter XVIII. How the Admiral sent his brother to the mines of gold: where he built a fortress called Aurea: where after being constrained by hunger only iiii men remained, the others having returned to Isabella.

“Chapter XIX. How three ships arrived from Spain with supplies: and with some commands that they should dwell at the caves of gold and send to Spain the Kings who had killed the Christians.

“Chapter XX. How the Captain left in the fortress Aurea xx men: and with the remainder went through the island: and made tributary to him that great King, who also made many festivities.

“Chapter XXI. How the Captain returned to his fortress to see his men again: and how many Kings rebelled because of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, and how all the Kings were conquered.

“Chapter XXII. How the Admiral left Spain to take his way again, went and found new islands and a variety of people and countries, where they were very well received and caressed.

“Chapter XXIII. How the Admiral after having received many caresses and gifts from those people went to the island of Spagnola.

“Chapter XXIII. How the Admiral found the island of Spagnola badly disposed: as many Spaniards had rebelled: and had written great evil about the Admiral to the King.

“Chapter XXV. How the King of Spain having heard of the disturbance on the island sent a governor, who afterwards sent the Admiral and his brother in irons to Spain: and having arrived at Cadiz they were liberated.

"Chapter XXVI. How Alonso the Negro, a companion of the Admiral, sailing, found new islands and unheard-of countries with different customs.

"Chapter XXVII. How Alonso the Negro went to Canchiete: and other very beautiful places: and about the customs of different nations.

"Chapter XXVIII. How Alonso the Negro left there, having found places with many pearls, to go to Spain: and how he fought with cannibals and conquered.

"Chapter XXVIII. How Pinzone, a companion of the Admiral, sailing in order to find similar new islands: and found various peoples: and how he fought with some.

"Chapter XXX. How Pinzone arrived at the sea of fresh water: and found a variety of islands, animals, trees and different things.

"Chapter XXXI. How Pinzone went to the island of Spagnola and from there sailed to the west: and after a great tempest returned to Spain.

"Here ends the Little Book in regard to all the navigations of the King of Spain to the islands and newly discovered lands. Printed in Venice by Albertino Vercellese of Lissone, April 10, 1504.

"With Grace and Privilege."

CHAPTER LXXXVII

SABELLICUS

THERE was published at Venice, in the month of October in the year 1504, six months after the publication of the *Libretto*, a continuation of his history of the world composed by Marcus Antonius Coccio Sabellicus. It was entitled:

“Secunda Pars Enneadum Marci Antonii Sabellici ab Inclinatione Romani Imperii usque ad Annum M. D. IIII cum Epitome Omnium Librorum et Indice Librorum rarum Ordine Digesto.”

The above title occurs on the recto of *aa1*; on the verso of folio CXCI (unmarked by signature) is the colophon (all on one line):

“Impressum Venetiis per Magistrum Bernardinum Vercellensem Anno M.D. IIII Die XX Octobris.”

The book is a large folio 59 lines to a full page, six leaves of synopsis and index, and 191 numbered leaves; on the verso of the last are the colophon and registrum.

Marcus Antonius Coccio Sabellicus was a native of Vicovaro, where he was born about the year 1436. Vicovaro was in the ancient territory of the Sabines, and it thus came about that our author distinguished himself, or permitted himself to be distinguished, by the old form of the name of the Sabines.¹

¹ Sabellicus is said by Paulus Jovius, in his *Elogia Doctorum Virorum*, to have been the son of a farrier or blacksmith, and to have taught a school at Tivoli before

He was the librarian of St. Marco, and Ferdinand Columbus, followed by Humboldt, justly names him the Titus Livy of his time. His great work, entitled *Enneades ab Orbe Condito ad Inclinationem Romani Imperii*, is a résumé of the history of the world from its creation until the year of our Lord 1504. It is composed in the form of *Enneades*, each, as the word suggests, consisting of nine books. There are eleven in all, but the last has only two books. The first seven take the work to the capture of Rome by the Goths and the succession of Theodosius II. as Emperor of the East on the death of his father, Arcadius, in the year 408. This book was printed at Venice by Bernardinus Venetus and Matthæus Venetus associated together under the name *Li Albanesoli*, in the year 1498.¹ In

he had grown a beard. He attended the lectures of Pomponius Lætus at Rome, who, on admitting him into his academy, gave him the name of Sabellicus. Sabelli, the most ancient name of the Sabine people, was contracted from *Sabinuli* from *Sabini*. It is so used by Virgil, *Georgica*, 2, 167, and by Horace, *Satiræ*, II, 1, 36; *Epistolæ*, 1, 16, 49. He again taught school at Udine near Aquileia. From there he went to lecture on philology in the city of Vicenza, and from there it was a natural and easy advancement to Venice, whither he was called by the Senate to write the history of the ancient city. Julius Cæsar Scaliger, the father, has severely criticised his *Enneades*, or universal history, charging him with publishing or suppressing things for money, and these charges are embodied in five Latin lines:

“Venalis item penna Sabellii latronis,
Qui dat, adimitque, ut libitum, cuique quod vult.
Falsa qui rogatus, undenam tot effat aufus?
Monstrans Venetum perditus aureum nomisma,
Te, inquit, quoque lux hæc faceret loqui fi haberes.”

“The hired Sabellicus a venal pen must use,
Who gives and takes from whomsoe'er he choose.
When asked how dare he be so passing bold
And publish lies in each *Enneas* told,
The villain answers, 'T is a golden ducat—
And the same would buy *you*, were't in your pocket.”

Paulus Jovius also criticises Sabellicus, not for inserting falsehoods and withholding facts, but for so crowding a multitude of memorable events into a single volume that these heaped-up things have not their true proportions, *sed exiguis tantum punctis & lineis annotata designentur*. He is said to have been gifted with a peculiar power of vision, similar to that attributed to the Emperor Tiberius, enabling him to distinguish objects in the dark; and Paul Freherus, in his *Theatrum Virorum*, asserts that at night without a candle he could see his books as he walked about his library.

Paulus Jovius declares that Sabellicus miserably died of the Gallic disease at the age of seventy, which would make him survive the publication of the last portion of the *Enneades* but two years.

¹ This is the only issue from the press of these printers, and thus has a bibliographical value aside from its historical claims. Examples of both parts, 1498 and 1504, are in the Lenox Library and also in the Author's collection. There are two

October, 1504, Bernardinus Venetus de Vitalibus printed the second part of this work, beginning with the first book of the

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E L O G I A

M. Ant. Coccius Sabellicus.



eighth Enneas, after the fall of the Roman Empire, and continuing through to the period in which the book was published.

copies in the British Museum, one of which is imperfect. The book is sufficiently rare to have escaped the personal observation of writers on Columbian history, and many have thought that the first part, printed in 1498, contained a biographical account of Columbus. As this treats of events previous to the fifth century, such an account would have been out of place.

It is a wise historian who can place a contemporaneous event in its true perspective. Accustomed, in his long recital of the world's affairs, to see a circumstance in the true relation to its causes, watching the slow unwinding of its movements, beholding its accomplishment and the multitude of its effects reaching out into countless threads to perform their appointed work of change and consequence, how should Sabellicus see in the happy finding of an island in the Western Ocean the most stupendous incident, with a single exception, falling within his sweeping view? At the beginning of this *secunda pars* the author has placed a synopsis of the principal events recorded under each book, together with a full index of names and subjects, yet in neither is attention called to Columbus or his discovery by the use of his great name. In the synopsis of Book Eight in the tenth Enneas is noticed *Lusitanorum Longinqua et Nova Navigatio*, which the text discloses as intended to indicate the first Spanish voyages rather than any made under the Portuguese flag. On the recto of leaf CLXXI begins an account covering the last six lines of that page and forty-seven lines on the verso of that leaf.

“Chriftoforus cognomento columbus: uir rei maritimæ affuetus: primus omnium rem temptare eft aufus: is octauo abhinc anno: qui nonagesimus fecundus fuit fupra millefimum ac quadringentefimum humanæ falutis: regum impenfa: cum tribus nauibus profectus Gadibus ad fortunatus infulas eft primo delatus: Hifpani Canarias uocāt: diftant a Gaditano freto duodecies centum milla paffuum. Infrequens hominum cultus: cæterum temperies tanta: ut nudi agitent infularum indigenæ. Hinc claffis digreffa: trium & triginta dierū noctiumq̃ irrequieta nauigatiōe: in Fauonium tendens: quafdam eft demum infulas adepta: ex his duas præcipua magnitudine nominibus notarunt Hifpanam hanc dixere: alteri (omen credo fecuti) Joannæ nomen indiderūt: huius oram multum diuq̃ præteruecti Hifpani: quia finem affequi non contigit: longiorem nauigationem pertefi: Hifpanam decreto petūt: Appulfa huc claffe infulani: qui ad primum ignotæ claffis appulfum refugerant in filuas: & deuia loca: fpe pacis: nouiq̃ commercii ad littus fenfim pellekti: mirari nouum genus hominum: mirari naues: & omnia quæ in his erant: fecuta inde ridicula permutatio: ingerere illi certatim aurū nautis: quum ipfi interim uafa uitrea pro auro cupide acciperent: fcortecas ligulas: fpecula aliaq̃ puerilia oblectamēta: mirari omnia gens rudis: ubi aliquid ineffet: artificii & ingenii: ex auri profufione creditum eft infulam auro abundare: nudi uulgo agitant: habent regem: cælum adorant: folam & lunam: ut nutu & fignis uifi funt præ fe ferre: repetita eft non multo poft hæc infula fpe

auri: & multo maiore classis apparatu: funtq̃ in ea aliquot loca communita ab Hispanis: reperta interim grandia flumina: & in his ramenta auri: funtq̃ annuo spatio ad regem hinc delata mille pondo eiufmodi metalli. Alit infula serpentes miræ magnitudinis: fed innoxios: anferes filueftres: turtures & anates: Hispanis anferibus ampliores niuali candore: capite puniceo: habet & pfitacos uirides: croceique coloris quofdam: habet & Indicis fimiles: fert fua fpõte Mafticem: Aloen: Gingiberim: & Cinnama: fed Æthiopis non conferenda: duo inibi genera arborum uulgo uifuntur: pinus & Palmæ: duritie & pceritate uifenda. Mira funt nec fine rubore referenda quæ de feracitare infulæ ab Hispanis traduntur. Raphanos lactucas brafficas: quindecim dierum spatio a fatu maturefcere: pepones & cucurbitas fex & triginta dierum: uitem intra annum frugiferam effe factâ: triticum (ne non oia experirentur) principio Februarii humi conditum ad idus martias maturuiſſe. Proceſſit Hispana claffis: Columbi ductu: ad Canibalum infulas: quæ ad bis & terdecies centum millia paſſuum diſtant a Gadib?: genus id hominum durum & deteſtabile: ueſcitur humanis carnibus: funtq̃ ob id terrori finitimis: Latrocinium longe lateq̃ exercent: captiuos mares cum pueris interficiunt: cæſorum carnibus re-centibus & fale reſpſis ueſcuntur: ſceminæ ad ſœturam ſeruantur: ex his genitos ut agnos hedoſq̃ adhuc lactêtes diris epulis apponunt: ex horum fuga: quum Hispani uacua domicilia irrupiſſent: ī manifeſta argumenta corum: quæ phama ferebantur: inciderunt. Stabant menſæ inſtructæ: & in his patinæ noſtris fimiles pfitacis: phafianarum auium magnitudine: humaniſq̃ carnibus plenæ: pendebat & in proximo humanum caput: recenti adhuc cruore madēs. Hâc Hispani infulam Guadalupeam dixere: a montium fimilitudine: qui in Hispania funt ad Guadalupeæ uirginis phanum: multæ in hoc tractu infulæ: & in his una magnitudine inſigni: ad ſeptentrionem recedens: quam a mulieribus teneri cognitum eſt: hic more amazonum ad ſobolis pcreationem cœunt: uirilem prolem in uicinas ablegant infulas: fui ſexus ſtudio alunt & inſtituūt: uim omnem arcant a ſuis littoribus ſagittarum multitudine: ſic captiuæ quædâ mulieres ex Canibalis receptæ memorabant. Quod ſi ſic eſt non abſurdum ſit credere: quod a ficulo diodoro de ueteri ſceminarum regno in his locis agentium proditur in hitoriis. Memorabant qui in ea expeditione fuerunt: in Canibalum infulis Decembri menſe obſeruatas a ſe nidificantes aues: quædam etiam uiſæ pullos alere: tanta eſt locorum temperies: negât inde cerni maiorem uſam minori ad iacet in qua polus eſt mûdi: funt inde Hispana ſigna ad occidentem ſolem: eodem ductu: longe lateq̃ euagata: atque obiter obſeruata ad tria millia infularum: nomina ſeptingentis indita: & in his unam reptam: quam indigenæ Iamaicam uocant: Sicilia maiorem. Enauigata eſt interem ſeptuaginta diebus cubæ ora: ſic enim terram uocant: non multum ab Hispana infula ad occaſum repoſtam. Cæterum quia extremi fines non funt reperti: continens terra credita eſt: plariq̃ inde Hispani generis: regum permiſſu: nauib? priuata impenſa inſtructis: phamæ cupidi: ac ſpe quæſtus alii alia ad meridiem loca ſerutati. Proceſſit Petrus cognomento Alonſus in Curtanam terram: quam iccirco con-

Christopher Columbus

tinentem arbitrati sunt: quia ad quadragies cētum milla passuum per oram eremigata: tota lustrari non potuit. Indigenæ terræ huius nudi agitant: ex radicibus panem conficiunt: ut in Hispana infula: nigro capillo & fubcrifpo: celebrant choreas: ludunt: nundinantur: fagittandi peritiffimi: tanta uel hominum simplicitas uel rerum copia: ut Hispani Pauonem quaternis acubus emerent: duab? phasianā auem: anferem una: alii in Aphricū pgressi in genus hominum inciderunt numidæ more uagum: arcu & fagittis instructum: Dayræ est terræ nomen: quæ & ipfa per oram ad sexagies centum millia passuum enauigata: merito cōtinens credita est: ex his locis arctici poli cōspectus est Hispanis omnino ademptus qua coniectura adducor hos esse quos ueterum plæriq? Antipodes dixere: aut certe nō multum ab his distare."

"Christopher Columbus, a man of experience in navigation, was the first who ventured upon the undertaking.

"In the eighth year after this, which was the 1492d year of Our Lord, the funds for the expedition having been furnished by the Sovereigns, he sailed with three ships from Cadiz; and came first to the Fortunate Islands, which the Spaniards call the Canaries. They are distant about 1200 miles from the Strait of Gibraltar. The inhabitants seldom wear clothing, for the climate is so mild that the natives of the islands generally go naked.

"When the ships departed from the Canaries standing to the westward, after thirty-three days and nights of anxious navigation, they came at length to certain islands. Two of these, which were larger than the rest, they designated by Spanish names. One they called Española, to the other (having followed some omen, I suppose) they gave the name of Joanna. The Spaniards sailed along the shores of this a long time, and for a great distance, but because they did not succeed in finding the end, and becoming weary of the long voyage, they decided to return to Española.

"On the return of the ships, the natives, who at the first approach of the strange vessels, had fled to the woods and the wilderness, attracted by the hope of peace and a new kind of trading, began by degrees to come to the shore. The strange race of men, the ships and everything on board filled them with wonder. Soon an amusing change took place in their conduct. They eagerly poured forth gold on the sailors and enthusiastically exchanged their gold for glass vessels, leather straps, mirrors and other childish toys. For a primitive race wonders at every object of art or mechanical skill. From the great quantity of it which they possessed it was believed that an abundance of gold was to be found in the island. The natives commonly go without clothing. They have a king. They worship the sky, the sun and the moon, as they seem to signify by signs and gestures. This island was visited again not long afterwards in the hope of finding gold,—and with a larger fleet better equipped [for exploring]; and certain places in it were fortified by the Spaniards. In the mean time large rivers were discovered; and in the sands of these rivers grains of gold were found. In the space of one year one thousand pounds of this metal were sent to the

king from this source. The island produces serpents of wonderful size, but harmless; wild geese, doves and ducks. The geese are larger than those of Spain, white as snow, with red heads. The island produces also green parrots, and some of yellow color; some also resembling those of the Indies.¹

“Mastic, aloes, ginger and cinnamon grow wild, but they are not to be compared with those which are found in Ethiopia. Two kinds of trees are to be seen everywhere,—pines and palms of great height and of very hard wood. Many wonderful things, difficult to believe, are related by the Spaniards about the fertility of this island. Radishes, lettuce, and cabbages are full grown fifteen days from the time of planting the seed; melons and squashes in thirty-six days; and the vine bears fruit within a year. Wheat (they have not yet tried to raise everything) sown at the beginning of February is ripe about the middle of March.

“The Spanish ships, under the command of Columbus, proceeded to the cannibal islands; which are about 2600 miles from Cadiz. The inhabitants are a savage and detestable race of men. They feed upon human flesh. On this account they are regarded with great dread by their neighbours. They also rob and plunder far and wide. When they take prisoners they kill the men and boys and feed upon the flesh of the slain, both raw and sprinkled with salt. They keep the women for breeding; and make the children born of them, while still nursing at the breasts of their mothers, as if they were lambs or kids, a part of their dreadful feasts. When the Spaniards had entered their vacant houses, from which the occupants had fled at their approach, they came upon certain unmistakable proofs of this practice, which is reported by the general assent of those who were present. Tables stood there set for a meal; and upon them were dishes like ours, some full of parrots and of other birds the size of pheasants; and others filled with human flesh. A human head hung near by with blood still dripping from it. This island the Spaniards called Guadelupe, on account of the resemblance of its mountains to those which are near the shrine of St. Mary of Guadelupe, in Spain. There is a great number of islands in this group, and among them one much larger than the others, extending towards the north, which is known to be inhabited by women [only]. Here, like the Amazons, they assemble for the procreation of children. They send away the male children to neighbouring islands; those of their own sex they support and bring up with great care. They defend their shores from the invasion of their enemies by the shooting of a multitude of arrows. [The Spaniards] say that they were told this by certain women rescued from the cannibals. And if it is true [that they heard it from these women] it is not unreasonable to believe it; since the same thing is told by Diodorus Siculus in his history about the ancient kingdom of women living in those parts. Those who were in that expedition say that in the Cannibal islands birds were seen building nests in the month of December; some

¹ This allusion to the *Indies*, the *East Indies*, shows that the Venetian historian distinguished between the two countries.

also were seen feeding their young broods,—so great is the mildness of the climate in that region. They say also that the pole of the sky in which the Great Bear lies close by the Little Bear cannot be seen. From thence westward the constellations are those seen in Spain. In this same expedition they explored a large part of this region, and as they passed along, about 3000 islands were observed. They gave names to 70, and among these one was found which the natives called Jamaica; it is larger than Sicily. During this voyage they sailed along the coast of Cuba 70 days—for thus they call the continent; it lies towards the west not far from Española. But because the end of the coast line was not found, the land is believed to be part of a continent.

“From this time forward a great many Spaniards, desirous of glory, by permission of the King fitted out ships at private expense, and in the hope of gain explored many places towards the south. Pero Alonzo [Niño] reached the shore of the land of Curtana; which was believed to be part of a continent, because, although he sailed along the shore about 400 miles, he was not able to explore the whole of it. The natives of this land go naked. They make bread of roots, as they do in Española. Their hair is black and slightly curled; they celebrate festivals by dancing; are fond of sports and eager for trading; and are very skilful in the use of bows and arrows. So great is their simplicity or else the abundance of food, that the Spaniards bought peacocks [guinea hens] at four pins each, pheasants for two pins, and geese for one.

“Another party advancing towards the south found a race of men nomadic like the Numidians, skilful with the bow and arrow. The name of the country is Dayra¹; and this also they explored along about 600 miles of the shore. And it was believed with good reason to be part of a continent. Here the Spaniards wholly lost sight of the northern pole; by which I am inclined to believe that the inhabitants of those parts are they whom many of the ancients called Antipodes,—at least that they are not far off from them.”

The reader will see how little foundation there is for calling this a biographical sketch of the great Genoese. He is simply alluded to as “Christopher Columbus by name, a man accustomed to maritime affairs.” He is not even referred to as a foreigner. We confess to a curiosity as to where Sabellicus obtained his knowledge of the New World. The *Libretto* was published in April, 1504, while Sabellicus published his book in October of the same year. If he had read the account taken by Trivigiano from the letters of Peter Martyr, it would seem that he must have noticed that Columbus was a Ligurian, and he naturally would have mentioned the fact in his own work. The account he gives of the voyage of Pero Alonzo (Niño) is

¹ Sic for *Payra*, *Paria*.

evidently taken from the eighth book of Peter Martyr's *First Decade*, describing the voyage to Curiana, which he calls *Terra Curtana*. He says, "the Spaniards bought a peacock for four pins," which is exactly the language of Peter Martyr in speaking of the people of Curiana.

By far the most important item of information is the contemporaneous declaration of Sabellicus that,

"A great many Spaniards desirous of glory, by permission of the King, fitted out ships at private expense and in the hope of gain explored many places toward the south."

It confirms in different language the same fact stated in the *Libretto*.

Gomara, in his *Historia*, printed in 1553, is the next authority in point of time for the sailing of these private expeditions, but he adds the information that they were private explorations of King Ferdinand. Americus Vesputius distinctly says that his first voyage was undertaken at the command of King Ferdinand,—not under authority or for the profit of the Crown of Castile,—and thus, perhaps, may be explained the strange fact that the Spanish Archives contain, so far as we know, no documentary proof of the Florentine explorer's first voyage.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

FULGOSUS AND THE "PAESI"

THE Doge Baptista Fulgosus was the author of the following work, not much known, but which is an essential item in an American library:

*Baptistæ Fulgosi de dictis factis
q̃ memorabilibus col
lectanea: a Camil
lo Gilino lati
na fa
cta.*

[Title recto folio 1.]

This is a folio with 366 unnumbered leaves. The colophon, consisting of thirteen lines, is found on the recto of the last folio (uuvi), from which we learn that *Jacobus Ferrarius Mediolani X kl' Iulas a Redemptione Christiana Anno M.D.VIII Impressit*: "Jacobus of Ferrara printed this book at Milan on the twenty-second of June in the year 1509 of the Christian redemption." This work of Fulgosus is a most rich *omnium gatherum* of historical facts and legends. On the verso of signature llii occur two most interesting passages, which close chapter xi., of Book VIII. The first is a paragraph of twelve lines, entitled *De Cutembergo Argentinensi*, devoted to a praise of Johannes Gutenberg, a citizen of Strasburg, to whom the world owes the invention of printing, by means of which art, as Fulgosus says, more can be printed in one day than a pen can write in a year.¹ Directly beneath this passage glorifying the invention of printing happily occurs the passage on the Columbian discovery, and which he crowds into ten short lines. Thus the greatest two events of the fifteenth century,—the greatest

¹ Fulgosus tells us that the art was first practised by Johannes Gutenberg (not at Strasburg, as might be inferred, but at Mayence). Nor was printing begun in 1440, as he says, but probably some ten years later, when the *Biblia Sacra* was given to the world in type, the first book to be printed. The first book printed with a date was the *Psalter* of 1457, and was the product of the second Mayence press, that of

two events since the beginning of the Christian era, separated as they were by only two and forty years,—are described together as if they belonged by themselves to a class of events whose glory should be shared by no other occurrences.

"De Christophoro Columbo.

"Mirus etiam nauticæ artis ac Cosmographiæ effectus fuit:quem Christophorus Columbus natiõe genuenſis anno ſalutis quadringentefimo nonageſimo tertio ſupra mille oftendit: uno ac triginta diebus in indiã a gadibus p oceanũ proſectus: quemadmodum ſe facturũ eſſe predixerat: & ſæpius coram Ferdinando Caſtulonenſi rege diſputarat: ei enim tandem rationibus perſuaſit non fieri modo poſſe: uerum etiam eſſe perſacile a gadibus recto curſu in indiam nauigare: quod tamen ante eum nullus ea breuiore uia fecerat alius: quanquã perrari quoque illi fuerint quæ per ethiopiæ littora ac meridionalem oceanum magno tempore ingentibuſque periculis uix ad primos indiæ fines peruenerint."

"There also occurred a wonder of the art of navigation and of cosmography, which Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, displayed in the year of our salvation 1493: in going by the ocean from Cadiz into India in thirty-one days: which thing he had predicted he would do: he had often debated it in the preſence of Ferdinand, the King of the Caſtilians: for he had perſuaded him with arguments that not only would it be poſſible but actually an eaſy thing to ſail into India from Cadiz by a direct route: which, notwithstanding, no other perſon before him had attempted a ſhorter way: and indeed there were not often found thoſe who had penetrated to the extremity of India with a long journey and great dangers by way of the coaſts of Æthiopia and the Southern Sea."

PAESI

1507

*Paesi Nouamente Retrouati.
Et Nouo Mondo da Alberico
Vesputio Florentino Intitulato.*

[Recto of leaf 1.]

*Stampato in Vicentia cõ la Impenſa de Mgrõ
Henrico Vicentino: & Diligente Cura & Induſtria de Zamaria ⁊ Suo Fiol Nel M.CCCC.VII. A
di III de Nouembre.
Cum Gratia &
Privilegio.*

[Colophon.]

Johannes Fust and Petrus Schoiffer. The earliest printed book with a date owned in America is the second edition of this *Psalter*, printed by Fust and Schoiffer in 1459, and especially prepared for the church of Saint James in Mayence. It was bought by Bernard Quaritch, who sold it for about \$25,000, to go into a private library in New York.

¹ The name of the son was Johannes Maria, as we find from an imprint made by both father and son in the year 1509. (See Panzer, vol. viii., p. 563.)

"WITH PRIVILEGE.

"Countries newly found and the new world of Albericus Vesputius called the Florentine. Printed in Vicenza at the expense of Master Henricus Vicentinus and by the diligence, care and industry of his son Johannes Maria, November 3, 1507. Permission and privilege being granted." ¹

This book is a small quarto printed in Roman type, with twenty-eight lines to a full page, six preliminary leaves, followed by one hundred and twenty leaves not numbered.

This book presents one of the earliest collections of voyages. It is divided into six books, reproducing accounts of voyages which had before been printed:

Libro Primo—Chapters i. to xlviii.—contains the voyage of Aloysius de Cadamosto to Cape Verde and Senegal, on the coast of Africa.

Libro Secundo—Chapters xlviii. to lxi.—includes the voyage of Vasco da Gama, extending from July 8, 1497, to July 10, 1500, and that of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, which began on March 9, 1500, and ended in July, 1501.

Libro Tertio—Chapters lxi. to lxxxiii.—continues the account of the Cabral voyage.

Libro Quarto—Chapters lxxxiii. to cxiii.—reproduces the *Libretto* of Albertino Verellese, and here the interest it has for us lies in the printed account of the first three Columbian voyages. While it is simply a second edition of the *Libretto*, we may see what delight these descriptions of early voyages gave their readers, calling for new editions and their insertion in any collection of the most important voyages.

Libro Quinto—Chapters cxiii. to cxxv.—contains an account of the third voyage of Americus Vesputius, "translated from the Spanish tongue into the Italian."

Libro Sexto—Chapters cxxv. to cxliii. inclusive—presents in chapter cxxv. a letter from the Portuguese Critico written to the Venetian Republic concerning the voyage of Cabral; chapter cxxviii.—wrongly numbered—follows with a letter concerning the treaty of peace between the Kings of Portugal and of Calicut; chapter cxxvi. contains a letter from Peter Pasquaglio,

¹ A copy is in the Lenox Library. Harris finds a difference between the copies examined by him in this country and those in European libraries, in that the colophon has five lines more in the latter copies. In the former the colophon ends with the word *privilegio*. The Carter-Brown example contains the additional five lines.

the Venetian Ambassador, giving an account of what was probably Gaspar Cortereal's second voyage,¹ begun in the early summer of 1500, in which he explored the east coast of Newfoundland; chapter cxxvii. gives a letter from Francis de la Sarta to Pasquaglio² concerning the voyage of John de Nova to the East Indies, made between March 5, 1501, and September 11, 1502; chapters cxxix. and cxxx. give a relation of a converted native, Joseph Camanor by name, who was brought by Cabral to Portugal and afterwards exhibited in Rome and Venice; chapters cxxxi. to cxlii. inclusive contain a description of Calicut and Carangonor; chapter cxliii. concludes the book with the letter written by the King of Portugal to Pope Julius II. concerning the Portuguese discoveries and explorations in Asia.

Humboldt in his *Examen Critique* thinks that the author of this collection of voyages is Alessandro Zorzi, a skilful maker of maps in Venice. There was found a manuscript note in a copy of the *Paesi* preserved in the Magliabecchiana Library³ to the effect that Bartholomy Columbus, who had been in Rome

¹ The letters patent to Cortereal are dated May 12, 1500, and in them is an allusion to a previous voyage which was unsuccessful, by which we may understand that the expedition did not reach the land or lands for the discovery or exploration of which it was organised.

² This Pasquaglio appears to have been of the same family as Lorenzo Pasquaglio, whose letter to his brothers Alvise and Franceseo, at Venice, written from London, August 23, 1497, is the earliest recorded account of the first voyage of John Cabot. History owes much to the activity of the Venetian Ambassadors and the Venetian merchants employed abroad at the time of the discoveries made in the New World.

³ The present National Library in Florence is the union of the two great Italian collections known as the Palatina and Magliabecchiana. When the famous Strozzi library was broken up in 1784, the copy of the *Paesi* here mentioned went into the Magliabecchiana.

This example of the *Paesi* is in two volumes, one marked Conti, the other Alberico. The Conti was at some date removed to the Laurentian Library, but as its notes relate only to voyages made to the East, its present location is of no consequence to us in the present study. The Alberico is composed of two parts, the one containing printed matter exclusively, the other containing only manuscript additions. Some of the notes are in the hand of the Abbé Follini, who was librarian of the Magliabecchiana in 1820. There are thirty-five small 12mo pages filled with manuscript notes, covering four different subjects: First, copies of a letter written by Simon del Verde the Florentine, from Cadiz in January, 1498, to Mateo Cini, a Venetian merchant, and which we have already reproduced. It relates the return of some ships which *eight months* before set out with Columbus on his third voyage. Therefore the date of this letter should be January, 1499; second: Relation of Bartholomy Columbus on the navigation west and south-west of Veragua in the New World; third: On the superstitions and customs of the island of Española, written by Messer Zoane de Strozzi; fourth: Description of discoveries made by Castigliani, in a treatise from 1500 to 1510, by different expeditions in these ten years.

in 1505, had given an account of the first voyage of his brother *accompanied by a map of the first discoveries*, to a canon of St. John of the Lateran,¹ and which in turn the priest presented in Venice to Alessandro Zorzi, *his friend and compiler of this relation*. Upon the slender foundation of this manuscript note Humboldt ascribes the compilation of the work to Zorzi. It would seem that the person making the note simply intended to say that Alessandro Zorzi gathered the material incorporated in the inserted manuscript leaves, and perhaps prepared the charts and maps to serve as illustrations. There is no doubt as to the identity of the compiler, whose name was Francanzo da Montalboddo, a learned man and professor of literature in Vicenze. He was a native, as his name indicates, of Monte Alboddo. His book is dedicated to Giammaria Angiolello of Vicenze.²

As we have said, it is in the fourth book and in chapter lxxxiii. that the student of American discovery finds his chief interest. Here the *Libretto* is copied in describing the person of Christopher Columbus, and we are told he was of a lofty stature,³ with a long visage, ruddy in complexion:

“COME IL RE DE SPAGNA ARMO II. NAUILII A COLÔBO. CAP LXXXIII.

“Chriftophoro Colombo zenouefe homo de alta & procera ftatura roffo: de grande ingegno & fa za longa. Sequito molto tempo li Sereniffimi Re de Spagna in qualunq̃ parte andauauo: procu rando lo aiuttaffero ad armare qualche nauilio: che fe offeriua attrouare per ponente in fule fini time de la India: doue e copia de pietre preciofe: & fpecie: & oro: che facilmente fe porriano confe quire. Per molto tempo el Re & la Regina: & tut ti li primati de Spagna: de cio ne pigliauão giocho: & finaliter da po fette anni: & dapo molti trauagli. Compiaceteno a fua uolunta

¹ The foremost church in Italy, since it takes precedence of St. Peter's, the first duty of a new Pope being officially to assume possession of the Lateran Basilica.

² His fame as a scholar, accurate and painstaking, must rest on some other performance than this, for he simply copied verbatim the relations of others and even perpetuated their errors, as, for instance, where he follows the ludicrous mistake of the *Libretto* of 1504 in regard to the island of Zoana-Mela.

³ The adjective “procerus” may well have been applied to a tall soldier or one of an adventurous life. There were Roman soldiers who received their class-name from their great size, and we find in a mural inscription one described as *Veteranus ex Procerioribus*, a grenadier of a stature to have suited the great King of Prussia.

& li armano una Naue & doe Carauelle con le quale circha ali primi giorni de Septembre. M.cccxcii. fe parti da li liti Hifpani & in cominzo el fuo uiazo."

"CHAPTER 84.

"HOW THE KING OF SPAIN FITTED OUT TWO VESSELS FOR COLUMBUS.

"Christopher Columbus, a Genoefe, a man of tall and lofty stature, and ruddy, of great genius, and with an elongated face, followed the Most Serene King & Queen of Spain for a long time, wherever they went, endeavouring that they should aid him in fitting out some vessels. He offered to find islands for them to the westward, near India, where there is an abundance of precious stones, and spices, and gold which may easily be obtained for them. For a long time the King and Queen and all the nobility of Spain amused themselves with this idea: and finally after seven years and after great efforts, they complied with his will and fitted out for him a ship and two caravels with which, about the first days of September 1492, he left behind him the shores of Spain, beginning his voyage."

CHAPTER LXXXIX

THE "BOOK OF PRIVILEGES"

THE *Book of Privileges*, as compiled in manuscript at the instance of the Admiral himself, is one of the most precious of Columbian relics. While arranging for his fourth voyage, the Admiral caused the several documents containing his titles, rights, privileges, concessions, and powers to be copied and placed together in the form of a book. At the hour of vespers on the fifth day of January in the year 1502, in the dwelling-house of Columbus in the city of Seville, in the parish of St. Mary, were gathered the Admiral, Stephen de la Roca and Peter Ruys Montero, Alcaldes of Seville; Martin Rodrigues, public scrivener; Gomez Nieto, and other witnesses. Before these officials and citizens Columbus brought his above-mentioned documents and asked permission that Gomez Nieto, a public notary there present, might make copies of these and have them duly authenticated. This permission was granted and four copies were made and executed, three on vellum or parchment and one on paper. As we have seen elsewhere, the originals of these several documents were preserved in the monastery of Nuestra Señora de las Cuevas in Seville until the litigation over the honours and estate of the Admiral in the seventeenth century brought them into court. It is our purpose here to follow the fate of these four copies of the *Book of Privileges*.

On September 27, 1501, Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal was appointed agent for the Admiral. It was his duty to watch over the administration of the property and rights of Columbus and to receive whatever was due him. With the Inspector of the Sovereigns he was to see to the melting and marking of the gold and silver found in the islands and continental lands, and,



**Artae Preuilegios
et dulas y
otras Escrituras de
Don Xpoual Colon**

Almirante Mayor
del Mar Oceano
porrey y Governador de
las Islas y Tierra Firme

Fac-simile Title-page, "Book of Privileges." (From the Paris Codex.)

in conjunction with the Royal Factor, to attend to the management of the merchandise. For the exercise of this function the agent must hold proper credentials, and hence the *paper copy* of the *Book of Privileges* was remitted to Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, and doubtless travelled with him to the shores of the New World. It has never been found.

Under date of March 21, 1502, the Admiral wrote from Seville to his friend, Nicolò Oderigo, in Genoa, who, in the year 1501, had been in Spain as Ambassador from the Republic of Genoa, and whose acquaintance the Admiral had made and cultivated to such an extent that he speaks of his knowing more of his affairs than he himself.¹ In this letter the Admiral says:

"I gave the book containing my writings to M. Francisco di Rivarol² that he may send it to you with another copy of letters containing instructions. . . . Duplicates of everything will be completed and sent to you in the same manner by the same M. Francisco. Among them you will find a new writing [or deed]."

Under date of April 2, 1502, he wrote to the Bank of St. George in Genoa: "I have sent him [Nicolò de Oderigo] the copy of my privileges and letters." Again, under date of December 27, 1504, Columbus wrote to Nicolò Oderigo:

"Also at that time [his departure] I left with Francisco di Rivarol a book containing copies of letters and another Book of my Privileges in a case of red Cordovan leather with a silver lock: and I left two letters for the office of St. George to which I assigned the tenth of my revenue. . . . Another Book of my Privileges like the aforesaid I left in Cadiz with Franco Catanio, the bearer of this letter. . . ."³

It is evident from this letter that the Admiral altered his arrangements for forwarding the second copy to Oderigo, sending

¹ See our reproduction of the letter of Columbus to the Bank of St. George, No. XVIII.

² Francisco di Rivarola, or Rivarol, was a native of Genoa, and was more or less in Seville in the interests of his banking house. On February 4, 1500, the Sovereigns issued a cedula directing Conde de Cifuentes (see Document XIV.), the Royal Orderly, in Seville, to arrest Francisco Rivarol for having with his partner, Juan Sanchez, equipped two caravels without the authority of the Sovereigns (see Navarrete, vol. iii., p. 513). This document declares that Rivarol was a citizen of Seville, but later, March 19, 1501, this banker endeavoured to have his taxes remitted on the ground that he was a citizen of Genoa. As the reader will see in the chapter on "The Handwriting of Columbus," Diego, in December, 1504, had a draft from the Admiral endorsed by this same Genoese-Seville banker.

³ This entire letter will be found in Chapter CXXI, "The Handwriting of Columbus" (see No. XXXIII.).

it by the hand of Franco Catanio from Cadiz. Thus two of these vellum copies were sent to Nicolò Oderigo in Genoa. We know that another copy on vellum was deposited in the monastery of Las Cuevas and formed part of the precious contents of the iron coffer or chest there preserved for so many years. We will thus distinguish these four cartularies:

No. 1. Vellum copy in the hands of Oderigo.

No. 2. Vellum copy in the hands of Oderigo.

No. 3. Vellum copy in monastery of Las Cuevas.

No. 4. Paper copy taken to America by Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal.

Nicolò Oderigo, on his return to Genoa, gave the Bank of St. George the letter, dated April 2, 1502, and intended for its officials. He retained possession of the two cartularies, or vellum transcripts, of the *Book of Privileges*, where they rested in the family archives until, in 1670, his descendant, Lorenzo Oderigo, presented them to the city of Genoa. While the presentation was a gift, it is evident from the correspondence between Lorenzo Oderigo and his son, Giovanni Paolo, and the Most Serene College of the Republic of Genoa, that favours were to be exacted in return, and that the price of the so-called gift was to be public and political promotion. In 1805 a celebrated scholar, Sylvester de Sacy, on an errand to the Genoese capital from the French Institute, saw one of these cartularies in the archives of the city. He did not see the other vellum transcript, for if he had it is natural he would have mentioned a fact of such importance. The copy seen by Sylvester de Sacy we will distinguish as No. 1. In the month of June, 1816, the heirs of Count Michael-Angelo Cambiaso offered for sale in Genoa his valuable library. Item No. 1922 of the sale catalogue bore the title *Codice de' Privilegi del Colombo*. Such a title was sufficient to excite the interest of the Genoese archivists, and they recognised it as one of the copies given the city by the heirs of Nicolò Oderigo. It was bought by the King of Sardinia, who caused a copy to be made, which he placed in the Royal Archives at Turin. Then, in the true spirit of intelligent giving, the King sent the original to the city of Genoa as a gift. It is now lodged in the municipal building of that city, together with three holograph letters of Columbus, as well as the bag of Cordova leather which once held the copy. This bag has no

longer its silver clasp,¹ but in itself it constitutes one of the few relics we have of the great Discoverer. In this Genoese cartulary we have accounted for the vellum copy No. 2.

What became of the vellum copy No. 1, once seen by Sylvester de Sacy in 1805? Governments as a rule are not very careful in guarding their archives, and if public attention be drawn to their value and interest they generally swing to the other extreme and make difficult any access to their treasures. Then, too, there are certain archivists and writers who, having obtained entrance to the treasure house, selfishly hinder others from enjoying a similar privilege. In France, about the year 1874, there arose a popular clamour that the French public archives might be made accessible to the scholar. It required several ministries before, under M. de Freycinet, the doors were really opened, and in May, 1880, Henry Harrisse gained entrance to the archives of the Palace on the Quai d'Orsay in the city of Paris. There, amidst a mountain of papers and documents, he unearthed the other of the two vellum cartularies sent to Nicolò Oderigo by Christopher Columbus. It was a memorable discovery, a fitting recompense for years of patient research among the archives of half the capitals of Europe. This, then, is No. 1. of the transcripts of the *Book of Privileges*, and the copy seen in Genoa in 1805 by Sylvester de Sacy.

How came it in Paris? Ask the shade of the first Napoleon. No emperor, no marshal, no corsair, no Bedouin ever spoiled more thoroughly or pillaged more effectively. Treasury vaults any conqueror would open, but Napoleon directed his hordes of archivists and secretaries to sweep ruthlessly through galleries and libraries, and the loss of Italy, Austria, Spain, and the Low Countries became the inexpressible gain of the Empire of France.² These treasures were carried to Paris, and chief

¹ Gio. Batista Spotorno published in 1823, under the title of *Memorials of Columbus*, the contents of the *Book of Privileges*, No. 2, and in this work he mentions that at that time the leather bag had two silver ornaments on the sides, but that the silver lock was missing.

² The first Napoleon understood the value of documents and papers belonging to the past. His comprehension of that fact is an evidence of the greatness, if not of the virtue, of his mind. He dreamed of making Paris the great repository of the archives, not only of France, but of all the world that had come under his sway. The highways of Europe led to Paris. This great man acted out his dreams, and, as the first decade of the nineteenth century was closing, the roads from Italy, Spain, Austria, and Holland were black with waggons bearing to the heart of France the

among the documents was the *Book of Privileges* of Christopher Columbus. As we have said, this collection of original documents has been given to the world, and the student will find in English every claim and title, every right and privilege which the Admiral thought had been bestowed upon him.¹

The very elaborate title-page is here reproduced in facsimile. It derives interest from the interpretation some writers

manuscript treasures of the world. Two thousand two hundred and six great cases of documents were sent from Vienna, 933 from Austria, 12,147 from Rome, with countless lots from Simancas, Genoa, Placentia, and every town of importance into which the hand of the spoiler could reach. General Kellerman announced in October, 1810, that there had been despatched from the archives of Simancas thirty great waggon-loads with a number of smaller vehicles, and that it would take at least five hundred vans to transport the documents they proposed to appropriate. These boxes were in some instances unpacked and stored in the Soubise Palace at Paris. In many instances they never left the wooden libraries in which they had come to the French Capitol. Napoleon had in Pierre Claude François Daunon, the Archivist, an official so enamoured of his work that he was obliged to admonish him for his rapacious zeal and request a little more moderation.

Toward the close of the year 1812 Daunon reported to the Emperor that there had been deposited on the shelves of the Hôtel de Soubise 292,739 packages of registries and other important foreign documents, and he was awaiting some 58,813 more for which space had been reserved. When to these are added the far larger quantity which never left their boxes, the extent of the spoliation may somewhat be imagined. Napoleon was cutting a magnificent coat to the rich cloth he had pilfered. By a decree dated March 21, 1812, we know that the Emperor contemplated the erection of an immense palace in which these archives were to be deposited. We know also that his architects had given him their plans as early as 1810, when he showed them to the Austrian Metternich. This building had reached nearly ten feet above the ground when, on the falling of the Emperor's star, the work had to cease.

Back of all this pillage lay a grand scheme for realising a profit on the work. It was calculated that every nation in Europe would have agents continually employed at Paris searching and copying extracts from documents on which depended family interests and titles to estates, and that the taxes and revenues from these would be enormous. First the title-deeds to a man's estate are forcibly taken from him, and then he is heavily assessed for inquiring as to their contents.

Once, when this remarkable man (Daunon), was taking down from the walls of the Vatican the marvellous papyri which ornamented the Hall of the Archives, a storm of protest arose against this act of vandalism, and Daunon was informed that their removal would cause a universal grief in Rome. Daunon replied: "Toute la question est de savoir si Sa Majesté n'aimera pas mieux que ces chartes soient déposées dans ses archives, leur asile naturel, plutôt que d'être délaissées dans un palais romain."

How deliciously bibliomaniacal is this *asile naturel*! When we consider the character and the opportunities of Daunon, we can only say, as Lord Clive said of himself, we are astonished at his moderation.

¹ *Christopher Columbus, His Own Book of Privileges*. Photographic Fac-simile of the Manuscript in the Archives of the Foreign Office in Paris, now for the first time published, with expanded text, translation into English and an Historical Introduction. The transliteration and translation by George F. Barwick, B.A., of the British Museum. The Introduction by Henry Harris. The whole compiled and edited with Preface by Benjamin Franklin Stevens. London, 1893.

have given the face, which is drawn in profile in the initial letter of the last word, and which they imagine may be intended for a portrait of Columbus.

The Paris and Genoese cartularies, or Nos. 1 and 2 respectively, have an elaborate coat-of-arms represented on the folio immediately preceding the first page of the text. It is painted in water-colours, on vellum twenty centimeters wide by twenty-nine high. The page containing the escutcheon is bordered by a painted twisted cord in green and red. In the upper dexter corner is a castle of gold, surmounted by three towers also of gold on a field of red: in the upper sinister corner is a lion, brown, white field, rampant, but without the lion's tongue being painted green, as in the Royal coloured arms. In the lower dexter corner are islands of gold, and what is interpreted by Harrisse as a continent emerging. To our mind there is no more reason for discovering a representation of continental lands to the north than there is to the east and west. If there is a mainland anywhere in the quarter, it is to the south, where Columbus found it.¹ In the lower sinister corner on a field azure are five anchors of gold, lying flat and placed two above, then one followed by two more. Finally, there is a division containing the charges and enamels, supposed to be the Admiral's conception of what his family, the wool-workers, might have had in the form of arms if some generous monarch had awarded them the favour of bearing them,—a field of gold with a bend azure on a chief gules.

On May 20, 1493, the Spanish Sovereigns granted the Admiral the right to bear arms, and they specify what the arms shall be:

" . . . el Castillo de color dorado en campo verde, en el cuadro del escudo de vuestras armas en lo alto á la mano derecha, y en el otro cuadro alto á la mano izquierda un Leon de púrpura en campo blanco rampando de verde, y en el otro cuadro bajo á la mano derecha unas islas doradas en ondas de mar, y en el otro cuadro bajo á la mano izquierda las armas vuestras que solíades tener, las cuales armas sean conocidas por vuestras armas, é de vuestros fijos é descendientes para siempre jamas."

" . . . the Castle of gilded red in a green field in the right hand upper quarter of the shield of your arms, and in the other upper quarter

¹ It is interesting to note that while the islands all are made to run north and south in the Coat-of-Arms adopted by Columbus, in the present use by the Duke of Veragua they run east and west, their actual territorial elongations.

at the left hand a Lion purpure in a white field rampant [*langued?*] ¹ green, and in the other quarter at the bottom on the right hand gilded islands in waves of the sea, and in the other quarter at the bottom on the left hand your arms which you have been accustomed to bear, which arms shall be known as your arms and the arms of your sons and descendants for ever after."

We give three reproductions of the Columbus Coat-of-Arms:²

First, the Coat-of-Arms as granted by the Sovereigns in the Royal Cedula of May 20, 1493.

Second, the Coat-of-Arms as adopted by the Admiral Christopher Columbus and included in his *Book of Privileges*.

Third, the Coat-of-Arms as used to-day by the Duke of Veragua, the present representative of the Columbus family.³

The *Book of Privileges*, as facsimiled by Stevens, presents forty-four documents, in some instances repeating themselves, as in the first Capitulation, and sometimes inserting papers of no legal significance, as the letter to the nurse of Prince Juan. The chronological order of the documents gives way to the order of their importance.

Document I. is the letter of the Sovereigns, dated April 23, 1497, commanding Ferdinand de Soria to give Columbus an authenticated copy of the letters patent constituting the Discoverer as Admiral, with the same privileges as were possessed by the High Admiral of Castile. In any orderly arrangement it should come after the Articles of Capitulation, as it describes fully Article I. In this Columbus was created:

"Admiral of all those islands and mainlands which by his activity and industry shall be discovered and acquired in the said oceans during his lifetime, and likewise after his death, his heirs and successors one after the other in perpetuity with all the pre-eminences and prerogatives appertaining to the said office and in the same manner as Don Alfonso Enriquez, the High Admiral of Castile and his predecessors in the said office held it in their districts."

¹ Navarrete has supposed that the adjective *verde* should here have a substantive understood, meaning that on a white field there should be a lion in purple, rampant, with a tongue green.

² We also reproduce the Coat-of-Arms from the Genoa Codex. The difference in treatment of the Castle and the Lion Rampant will be seen. The islands in the Genoa Codex have the dark cross lines which we feebly discern in the Paris Codex.

³ The Coat-of-Arms as now used by the Columbus family is reproduced from an original presented to Major Harmon Pumpelly Read of Albany, N. Y., by the Duke of Veragua. It was executed in water-colours by the nephew of the Duchess of Veragua, the Marquis of Villalobar.



*The Coat-of-Arms as Granted by the Spanish
Sovereigns, May 20, 1493.*



The Coat-of-Arms as at Present Used by the Duke of Veragua.

This article vouchsafed, or seemed to promise, Columbus not only honours but emoluments. It was the foundation stone on which he builded his claim for one third of the revenues and one third of the territorial rights and jurisdictions. Not only was he to have one third of what he secured by the sea or on the sea, but he claimed the broad interpretation of a right to *one third of the whole*. In a document dated at Madrid, April 10, 1495, the Sovereigns decreed in relation to the settlers and colonisers in Hispaniola:

"And further we Will and it is our pleasure that if they go to the said island of Española by licence of those who shall have and hold our authority to grant it, they may have for themselves the third part of the gold which they may find and obtain in the said island provided that it be not by barter; and the other two thirds shall be for us."

This seems to dispose of the whole of the gold found and to be found. There was no share here for the man who discovered the island in which the gold is found. It serves to show the interpretation the Sovereigns placed on the rights of the Admiral as Admiral.

This Document I. the reader should read in connection with Document XLII., the legal opinion as to the Admiral's rights.

King John of Aragon, grandfather of John II., was born August 24, 1358, succeeded his grandfather, Henry II., in May 30, 1379, and died October 9, 1390. Henry III. of Castile, the son of John I., and father of John II. was born October 4, 1379, succeeded his father, October 10, 1390, died December 25, 1406.

John II., born March 6, 1405, succeeded his father, Henry III., under care of his mother, in 1406; defeated King John of Navarre and others in battle at Olmedo in 1445, and died July 21, 1454.

Don Alfonso Enriques, the High Admiral, was the uncle of King John II.

On April 4, 1405, in the city of Toro, King Henry III. created Don Alfonso Enriques his High Admiral of the Sea, with the same powers, privileges, revenues, rights, and jurisdictions which belonged and ought to belong to the office of High Admiral, as formerly held by Don Diego Furtado de Mendoza. By this Patent the King commanded all prelates and masters, counts, grandees, knights, and esquires, and all counsellors, alcaldes, bailiffs, justices, prestameros, provosts, and other justices of the city of Seville and of all other cities, towns, and

places of his kingdoms and dominions, and captains of the sea, the Superintendent of the fleet, and the masters and boatswains of his galleys, and the masters, mariners, merchants, and other persons who traverse and navigate the sea, to receive and obey the said Don Alfonso Enriques, as High Admiral of the Sea, and to pay and cause to be paid to him all the revenues and dues which by right of said office belong and ought to belong thereto. The same patent further recites:

"I give you my full and complete power in order that you may be able to exercise and may exercise a civil and criminal jurisdiction which belongs and ought to belong to the said office of Admiralty in any manner whatsoever in all the rights of the sea, both to issue letters of marque and to judge all the suits which may arise at sea and also in the harbours and their environs as far as the salt water enters and vessels navigate, and that you, the said Admiral, may have the power to appoint and may appoint your *alcaldes*, bailiffs, scribes and officers in all the towns and places of my kingdoms which are seaports and that they may take cognisance of, and may decide all the suits criminal and civil, which may arise at sea and in the river where the currents rise and fall, in accordance with the manner in which the other former Admirals most fully and completely appointed them and in which you will appoint them in the said city of Seville. And by this, my patent, I command the members of my Council and the auditors of my chamber and *alcaldes* of my Court, and all the other justices of said towns and places of the seaports, and of my Kingdoms not to intermeddle in taking cognisance of and deciding the said suits, nor to disturb you or your said officers belonging to your said jurisdiction, whom you may appoint in your stead to take cognisance of the said suits in the manner aforesaid."

King John II. on August 17, 1416, in the city of Valladolid at the request of Don Alfonso Enriques, his uncle, confirmed the above patent as to all the civil and criminal jurisdictions and powers pertaining to the said Admiralty, with the power to punish on the spot any disobedience of his commands. He then proceeds to grant a further privilege :

"And I ordain that of all the gains which my said High Admiral may receive or make in my fleet or at sea, I shall receive two parts and the said High Admiral the third part, he going in his own person in the said fleet even though the said fleet or part thereof may go away by his order or without his order, and likewise in the case of all galleys which I may order to be equipped apart from the fleet for the purpose of making gains, that of the gain which I may receive I am to have two parts and the said Admiral the third part.

"Likewise I order and command that in the case of all galleys, ships, galleots, vessels and other foists whatsoever which may be equipped, for other parts whereof the fifth part is payable to me, I am to receive two thirds of the said fifth and the said Admiral one third thereof. Likewise I ordain that whenever my said Admiral shall fit out a vessel by my command, he may have power to take and may take any four men who may be under arrest, being accused of any crime whatsoever for which they ought to be condemned to death, who may go and come embarked or to embark in the said city of Seville and any other ports of my kingdoms and dominions, that my said Admiral may be able to place to his own account the third part for such person or persons according to the price or prices at which they may come embarked or to embark."¹

A penalty of two thousand Castilian doblas of fine gold and of just weight for each and every violation of the rights of the High Admiral was fixed by the King in the same patent.

On June 6, 1419, King John II., in the city of Segovia, confirmed again the privileges, powers, and jurisdictions belonging to the office of High Admiral.

Document II.—This presents the Articles of Capitulation, granted April 17, 1492. It has already been given in full.² It was confirmed by another document dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, and this was published in printed form, but not, as Harrissee seems to think, at the time. It is evident that Queen Isabella was no longer living when the book was printed, and therefore it must have been subsequent to the year 1504.

Document III.—This document contains the Letters Patent of April 30 and of May 28, 1493, as confirmed by the Royal declaration of April 23, 1497. It begins with the same preamble as is found in the preceding document. It is not published in Navarrete's *Voyages*.

Document IV.—This document is dated June 12, 1497. It was drawn up and granted to the Admiral as a temporary adjudication of the differences between the Sovereigns and himself as to his revenues and the method of determining them. This provides that the eighth part of the gross revenues or returns shall be deducted and handed over to the Admiral; that

¹ The reader will notice that the proportion of gains, that is to say the Admiral's share of one third, is to come from gains or profits made in the Royal fleet or at sea. Predatory maritime expeditions were in mind. The boy king, John II., never contemplated gains from islands and mainlands. Nor was civil jurisdiction to be exercised by the High Admiral except on the sea and in tidal rivers.

² See our Chapter LIII.

the remainder shall be charged with the costs and expenses, after which the tenth part shall be given to the Admiral. Thus he gets one eighth of the whole and after that one tenth of the net profits. This arrangement was to hold for the term of three years. The Admiral had claimed this interpretation of the Articles of Capitulation. The Sovereigns claimed under the said Articles that first the expenses were to be deducted, then the tenth part and then the eighth were to go to Columbus. The Sovereigns in this instrument also permit Columbus for the voyaging they were then equipping to receive his eighth share without contributing his eighths of the costs and expenses, out of a desire to do him favour. It likewise seems to release him from certain costs and expenses which he apparently has not borne, but on condition that he does not demand or levy on any part of what has been up to this time brought from the islands, by reason of the eighth or tenth shares due him of the movables of the said island, and the Sovereigns make him a present of what he has so far received. Nothing is said about the *third part* which the Admiral afterward claimed to be his. The fact that the shares were to be paid from movables indicates thus early the position assumed by the Sovereigns, or for them by their legal advisers. The third part was due to Columbus, if due at all, under Article I. of the Capitulation, where he was to have the rights and privileges of an Admiral, similar to those of the former High Admirals of Castile. As we have already seen, King John II., on August 17, 1416, granted that, "of all the gains which my said High Admiral may receive or make in my fleet or at sea, I shall receive two parts and the said High Admiral the third part." The Sovereigns seemed to regard the claim of a third part to extend only to things captured or received by the fleet or at sea, or, in other words, only the movables on the high seas and harbours and navigable streams. Lands, together with their mineral resources, were not denominated in the bond. At all events, on this particular occasion the contention of the Admiral in regard to his interpretation of the eighth part and the tenth part seems to have been accepted, temporarily at least, and in addition he is exempt from contributing his eighth share of the partnership expenses with the chance of receiving his eighth part of the partnership profits.

Document V.—This document relates to the selection of



*The Coat-of-Arms as Adopted by Christopher Columbus in January, 1502.
(From the Genoa Codex.)*

Administrators, both by the Sovereigns and by Columbus, to keep watch over the costs, the expenses, the returns, and to apportion to the Crown and to the Admiral their respective shares. In the book lately published by the Duchess of Alba, and here reproduced, is a document of Columbus,¹ in which he reasons out the proportion of his share in the following manner:

"A gentleman fits out a ship and tells one of his men, 'I appoint you Captain and you are to have one third of the gains after deducting the costs.' To another he says 'I appoint you to be the mate and you shall have one tenth.' To a third he says, 'You will be purser, with one eighth.' The ship returns to port bringing profits amounting to 1000 crowns. The Captain then asks for a third of these 1000 crowns, and the gentleman gives them to him. The mate claims one tenth of these 1000 crowns and he receives it. Thirdly the purser demands one eighth of the 1000 crowns and he gets that amount."

Thus, if the gains amounted to \$2400 for a ship, Columbus would expect to receive first, \$800 for his third; next, \$300 for his eighth; and lastly, \$240 for his tenth, making in all \$1340, receiving more than the Crown. But if the Admiral was entitled to receive one third of the total gains, the Sovereigns were entitled to receive their two thirds, and this, under such a distribution, they never could have received. It is evident that the provision for this one third Admiral's share was intended to apply on gains made in war, or upon unfriendly nations and by their ships on the high seas. The expenses of maintaining the ships had to go on under any circumstances, and the money, goods, and ransoms coming from successful expeditions were genuine gains, which the King could well afford to divide liberally. When the Admiral's rights and prerogatives were conferred on Columbus, they were intended, in our judgment, to be those of honours, powers, and jurisdiction rather than financial and commercial gains.

Document VI.—This is an undated document relating to the third voyage of Columbus, and is supposed to be of the date April 23, 1497. The Admiral first of all is to co-operate with the Bishop of Badajos in the conversion of the Indians; he is to select 330 persons to go with him, whose rank and occupations he shall determine, and he is authorised to increase this

¹ It is in the proper hand of Columbus but is copied from an opinion delivered by some lawyer. See our Chapter CXXI., No. XVI.

number to 500 if he chooses; he is to erect another stronghold on the other side of Española where the gold mine was; a farm and plantation were to be established near the said proposed settlement or close to the old one,—Isabella,—and to such as desired to cultivate it fifty cahices of wheat and barley were to be loaned for sowing, and up to twenty yokes of cows and mares and other beasts for tilling; arrangements are made for paying the salaries and wages of the 330 persons who accompany the Admiral; skilled persons, dies, and implements are to be taken for the purpose of melting and coining the gold which may be obtained in the Indies into excellentes of Granada; those Indians who had agreed to pay the tribute imposed were to wear about their necks a piece or token of brass or lead money, and this piece was to have on it a figure indicating the money paid each time.

There are no specimens of this coinage known to-day. The provision for dies and the employment of skilled persons certainly suggest the early coining of the metals in the New World. As the coins were to be like those coined in the mother country, they would be, if so coined, difficult to distinguish from those coined in Spain. For reasons given elsewhere we do not believe any metal was coined in the New World until long after the death of Columbus. In any event this is the first mention of distinctively American coin money, and soon after wampum and beads and almonds were to have a rival.

Document VII.—This document gives an interesting picture of the commercial conditions of the times, when the laws of supply and demand were as inexorable as they are to-day. The Indies—the new lands—were not to bring fortunes only to the adventurers who sailed away from the port of Cadiz. Those who remained at home must reap their profits as well. And so it came about that merchandise of every kind went up in price; and merchants, dealers, farmers, and agents refused to sell at ordinary prices victuals, provisions, implements, ironware, casks, butts, and other wooden things, cattle and beasts, seeds and cereals. So this edict was published, compelling owners and agents to sell whatsoever things were necessary for provision or for habitation or for navigation to the Indies at the customary value of all such things in Spain upon pain of the Royal displeasure and a fine of ten thousand maravedis for

every infringement of the law. This document is dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497.

Document VIII.—This document is dated at Medina del Campo, June 15, 1497. It apportions the 330 persons which under Document VI. were to be selected by Columbus to go to the Indies, as follows: forty were to be esquires, one hundred were to be foot-soldiers, thirty seamen, thirty midshipmen, twenty gold-workers, fifty labourers, ten gardeners, twenty officers of different grades, and thirty were to be women. Whereas Document VI. authorised the increase of this number to 500, the present document expressly limits the total number to 330. Provision is made for sending out ironware and implements, cows and mares and asses for tillage. Authority is given to purchase an old ship to transport provisions and articles to the proposed new settlement on the other side of Española,—the future San Domingo,—and to use the timbers, nails, and other parts of the said ship in constructing the new city. Field-tents are to be provided, doubtless to be employed in excursions and explorations. Friars and priests of good repute are to be found and persuaded to go to the Indies to convert the Indians to the Holy Faith. There are to go a physician, an apothecary, and a herbalist, as well as some instruments of music for the amusement of the people who are to live there.

One hundred and thirty-three years afterward there was to go from a more northern people of the Old World to a more northern coast of the New World a band of colonists into whose life of solemnity and dulness there was lawfully to enter no sound of music, no touching of instruments, no song, no revelry. Both northern colony and southern colony had the same problem to work out in human sums,—the same mission of the progress and advancement of humanity. No pure-blooded Spaniard works or plays or dances in Española to-day. Its first city—Isabella—lay abandoned, desolate, and forgotten for nearly four hundred years. One half of the island is in the hand of the black man, the descendant of African slaves who were forced to toil when the natives were exhausted. There is not much hope of moral progress there. The problem never will be worked out on that beautiful island in Spanish brain or by Spanish pencil. To the north, the great questions of life, of

government, of liberty have been answered by Anglo-Saxon voices, and the spirit of the age says, All very well. Music and revelry will entertain, but the song is one of amusement and not instruction, and whatever place they may have in life, we know that a great nation was planned and begun without their charm and without their solace. Life in New England was cold and close, but it was clear and clean.

Document IX. chronologically should be placed earlier in the book, for it is dated at Medina del Campo, June 2, 1497. It contains and confirms another important document, dated from Madrid, April 10, 1495, from which we have already quoted the passage giving to the finder one third of all the gold found on the island, and reserving for the Sovereigns the other two thirds. This inclosed document provides that all vessels must sail from, and return to, the port of Cadiz. The enwrapping document confirms the provisions of the inner, and particularly cautions against the infringement of the same.

Document X. is dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, and exempts all provisions and other things shipped from Seville and Cadiz to the Indies by the Sovereigns or by Columbus, or whatsoever shall be brought from the Indies, from paying for the first sales thereof any customs duty, market toll, or any other duty, either for the year 1497 or from then thenceforth until further notice. The colonies certainly were encouraged and the infant industries were nourished.

Document XI.—This document, dated at Burgos, May 6, 1497, also should have had a previous entry in the *Book of Privileges*. It has reference to the regulations concerning duties on articles brought back to the Old World from the Indies, and provides that these shall be unloaded without the import duty, customs, road toll, admiralty dues, or any other duty or any market duty for the first sales that may be made of them. Those who are to purchase goods to send or to take to the Indies are to pay no export duty, customs, road toll, admiralty dues, or any duty for loading. All that is required is that the purchaser shall exhibit a certificate signed by Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the said Indies, or by any person having his authority. Security must be given that the goods shipped shall really go to the said Indies and to no other parts. The

exemption is to be observed from January 1, 1498, as well as in the year 1497, and to run until further notice.

Document XII.—This document is dated at Medina del Campo, June 22, 1497. It has relation to the third voyage of Columbus, and recites the fact that since the Sovereigns have ordered him to return to Española and to the other islands and continental lands for their conversion and settlement, and as the persons who are to go with him for a certain time are not sufficient for the settlement of the said lands, therefore any man or woman subject of the Sovereigns who may have committed any murders and blood-sheddings or any other crimes of whatsoever sort or kind they may be, except heresy, lese-majesty, perduliones, treason, disloyalty, murder committed by fire or sword, uttering base coin or sodomy, or who shall have taken from out the kingdoms coin or gold or silver or other things prohibited by the Sovereigns, and who shall go and serve in the island of Española,—those who have incurred the death penalty for two years, and those who have incurred any less penalty, even if it be the loss of a limb, for one year,—shall be pardoned upon being presented before the Admiral, and they shall serve as the Admiral shall direct. After accepting this proposal of pardon, they shall not be liable to be arraigned for their crimes and no proceedings shall be taken against them or against their property.

Document XIII.—This document was also issued at Medina del Campo on June 22, 1497. One would think that this document as well as the next might well have been incorporated in the preceding. It provides that those whose crimes may fitly be punished by banishment shall be sent to the islands to labour or serve in the mines according as the Admiral may direct. The reader will notice how fully the powers and jurisdictions of the Admiral are observed as he starts on this his third voyage, and then he will recall the Admiral's home-coming from that same voyage in gyves and chains.

Document XIV.—This document is addressed to the Count de Cifuentes, Chief Standard Bearer and Assistant of the city of Seville, and is dated from Medina del Campo, June 22, 1497. It is to be his duty to receive all those who are banished to Española and other islands, and to keep them safely in the prison at Seville until such time as they shall be handed over to

the Admiral, who is here called the "Admiral of the Indies of the Ocean."

Document XV.—This document, also dated at Medina del Campo on the same day, June 22, 1497, relates to the same voyage, and is directed to some official whose name is not in the document, but who is authorised to impress any ship or caravel the Admiral may require for the settlement of the islands, and to arrange with the owners for reasonable payment.

Document XVI.—This document likewise is dated from Medina del Campo, June 22, 1497, and authorises the Admiral, or any person presenting his order, to take freely and load on board ship five hundred and fifty cahices of wheat and fifty cahices of barley for the victualling and provision of the islands of the Indies, for the term of five months from the date of the document and in as many journeys as he shall please. A measure of cahices, or cahiz, was equal to eighteen bushels, so that Columbus had the free exportation of over ten thousand bushels of grain on each ship going to the said Indies.

Document XVII.—This is a warrant issued to Francesco de Soria commanding him to give Don Christopher Columbus an authenticated transcript of whatever patents of favours and privileges are belonging to the office of High Admiral of Castile, and which are held by Columbus whereby he and others may levy and collect the dues and other things pertaining to him in the said charge. This document was most important to Columbus, and he did well to enter it in his *Book of Privileges*. It recognises not only honours and prerogatives, but the actual *touching*, as the French say, of money, and if of money, then manifestly the proportion was that allowed the High Admiral of Castile,—*one third*,—no more and no less. The document is dated from the city of Burgos, April 23, 1497.

Document XVIII.—This document, dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, is simply the authority found in the first paragraph of *Document VIII*. It relates to the trade and occupation of the 330 persons authorised to be taken by the Admiral to Española.

Document XIX.—In this instrument, dated from Burgos, April 23, 1497, the Treasurer of the Indies is authorised to pay the salaries, wages, and other moneys to the persons entitled to receive them, and for other things needful for the housing and settling of the people residing and going to reside in the

said Indies, according to lists signed in the name of Don Christopher Columbus or his lieutenant.

Document XX.—This document, signed at Burgos, May 9, 1497, authorises the chief accountants to pay to Don Christopher Columbus, Admiral of the Ocean, such sums of money as he has loaned to certain persons in the Indies.

Document XXI.—This document is dated April 22, 1497, and is similar to Document VI.

Document XXII.—This instrument is dated from Medina del Campo, July 22, 1497. It authorises and directs Don Christopher Columbus, the Admiral of the Ocean and the Viceroy and Governor in Española, to distribute among persons on that island and of others who may go there, the lands, hills, and waters by him considered proper for sowing corn and other seeds, planting orchards, cotton trees, flax, vines, trees, sugar-canes, building houses, mills, and machines for the said sugar and other buildings profitable and necessary for their livelihood; these grants are to be made to such persons according to their rank, their service to the Sovereigns, and the condition and quality of their persons and estates: boundaries and marks are to distinguish each person's parcel, and this he may have, hold, and possess for his own, and may occupy, plant, and cultivate, with power to sell, give, grant, exchange, alienate, mortgage, retain, and do therewith and therein whatever he may please and think fit, as with his own property, for life, by a just and legal title: there is reserved to the Crown the brasil (wood) and likewise any metal of gold and silver and other metal which shall be found in such lands.

With this document commence the first individual titles to land in the New World.

Document XXIII.—This document is dated the same day and from the same place as the preceding. It approves and confirms the appointment of Don Bartholomew Columbus as Adelantado of the islands newly found, and directs that there shall be observed toward him all the honours, graces, favours, pre-eminences, and prerogatives which according to the laws of their kingdoms are due and ought to be done and observed toward our other adelantados of the said kingdoms as well within their governorship as without.

Document XXIV. is dated at Alcalá de Henares, December

23, 1497, and addressed to Don Christopher Columbus. It directs that he shall pay to the persons who remain in the said Indies the money due them for wages, provisions, and freighting, any such payment being first certified by the Bishop of Badajos and by Columbus.

Document XXV. is dated at Alcala de Henares and on the same day, December 23, 1497, and is addressed jointly to the Bishop of Badajos and Columbus. It recites the fact that they, the Bishop and the Admiral, have reported to the Sovereigns the cause of the delay in starting the expedition,—the third voyage of Columbus,—and that this cause is the inordinate price of provisions and the refusal of merchants to sell at the market price; the instrument then proceeds to authorise and direct them jointly to seek trustworthy persons who shall find provisions and fix such prices therefor as shall seem to them—the Bishop and Columbus—just and reasonable.

This document and the preceding are to be read together, for they associate the names of the two most prominent persons connected officially with the said Indies. History has been teaching that a deadly feud existed between these two men, Christopher Columbus,—the Discoverer of the new lands, the Admiral of the Ocean-Sea, the Viceroy of the Indies,—and Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos,¹ afterward Bishop of Palencia, the supreme head in Spain of the Department for Indian Affairs. The reader will remember the interview Andreas Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios, had with the Admiral when the latter returned to Spain after the second voyage, and when he was a guest in the good curate's house. There was a second guest there at the same time,—this same Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca,—and they were all three on the most friendly and confidential terms, since Columbus, in the presence of Fonseca, gave Bernaldez certain papers and writings to read and copy.

¹ Badajos is a town in Estremadura, in the western part of Spain, 132 miles by rail east of Lisbon, and but five miles from the frontier of Portugal. Marshal Soult took it in 1811, and the following year it was captured by Wellington. It was once the seat of an important conference when the rival claims of Portugal and Spain to the Moluccas and the Philippines were considered. Like many another Council, its conclusions were never reached. Geographers are agreed that both the island groups of the Philippines and the Moluccas, fruits of Magellan's voyage, lie within the Portuguese Line of Demarcation; but while Charles V. practically gave up his claim to the Moluccas in 1529, the title of Spain to the Philippines remained untouched until it passed into the outstretched hands of the United States of America.

Ferdinand Columbus, in his *Historie*, is particularly bitter against Fonseca, and charges him with open hostility to his father in that he purposely delayed the preparations for the third voyage. He says:

"Ma tornando alla fua partita dalla Corte per Siuiglia, dico, che ancor quiui per colpa, e mal gouerno de' ministri regali, & fpécialmente d'un D. Giouanni di Fonfecca Archidiacono di Siuiglia, s' intertenne lo fpaccio dell' armata molto più di quel, che conueniua. Da che nacque, che detto D. Giouanni, il qual poi fu Vefcouo di Burgos, portò continuatamente mortale odio all' Ammiraglio, & alle fue cofe; & fu Capo di coloro, che lo metteano in difgratia a' Re Catolici."¹

"But returning to his departure from the Court for Seville, I say, that the despatch of the armada was also delayed there much longer than was suitable, through the fault and bad government of Royal Ministers, and especially of one Don John de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville. From which it resulted that the said Don John, who was afterwards Bishop of Burgos, continually bore a mortal hatred against the Admiral and his affairs: and he was at the head of those who caused his disgrace with the Catholic Sovereigns."

Fortunately for the Bishop of Badajos, this second document acquits him of this specific and only charge. Both he and Columbus communicated to the Sovereigns the fact that the delay was due to the impossibility of purchasing provisions at regular or reasonable prices. Columbus accepts any blame attached to this situation as well and in the same measure as Fonseca. Neither could control the rapacity of the Castilian merchant or the greed of the Andalusian farmer. The high prices were due to the natural desire of the settler to reap a profit in the unexpected opening of new markets and the necessitous demands of new customers.

Shortly after the Admiral returned from his fourth and last voyage, he wrote, on January 18, 1505, to his son Diego, then with the Court:

"If the Bishop of Palencia ² is arrived or when he does come, tell him how much I rejoice in his prosperity and that if I go there [Scgovia] I will

¹ *Historie*, p. 151. Edition of 1571.

² This was Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, and not Diego de Deza, as some assert. In the same letter reference is made to the Archbishop of Seville,—Diego de Deza,—proving conclusively that he was alluding to two separate persons. Fonseca was absent in Flanders on a mission, where he was to see Queen Joanna at Gand, but his uncle, Alonzo de Fonseca, took possession of the bishopric in his name early in January, 1505.

stop with him at his house whether he wishes it or not, for we ought to return to our first brotherly affection and he will not be able to refuse this since my efforts will bring about this result."

This is the language of pleasantries to an old friend, not such a message as would be sent to a bitter enemy who for thirteen years had persecuted him and thwarted or delayed most of his plans. Las Casas represents Fonseca as an enemy of the Admiral, and his shading of the Bishop's character has thrown an unpleasant colour about his memory. Injustice and perfidy are fruits which their tree produces continually, and not for one wayfarer alone. All who pass that way find the same fruit, and it tastes bitter to all alike. This tree stood for thirty years honoured and sustained in the courtyard of Spain, and if its produce had been so deadly it would have long before been cut down and destroyed. That Fonseca was a strong, dominating spirit is doubtless true. No weak or doubtful soul could have filled the position he occupied so long. That he and the Admiral had differences is also more than probable. Each was clothed with powers and privileges lapping over into the territory and jurisdiction of the other. The one represented Spain in the Indies. The other managed the Indies in Spain. Divided responsibility is likely to breed trouble. We should naturally look for differences and disputes, but that Fonseca was the personal enemy of the Admiral is not proven by any official or reliable documentary evidence, while such as we have indicates a friendly feeling on the part of the Admiral incompatible with a sense of one suffering wrong and persecution.

Document XXVI.—This document is issued to all men, of whatever condition they may be, who have been or who shall be in the islands, commanding them to submit to, and to obey, Don Christopher Columbus, who by Letters Patent has been named by the Sovereigns Admiral of the said Indies and Viceroy and Governor thereof. It is dated at Segovia, August 16, 1494.

Document XXVII.—This document is dated from Barcelona, May 28, 1493, and is addressed to captains, masters, owners, mates, and mariners of ships, caravels, and other vessels, and to all other persons of whatsoever condition whom these patents may concern, to hold and obey as the Captain-General of the ships going on the Second Expedition, and as

governors of the said lands situated in the regions of the Indies, Don Christopher Columbus, and it is expressly stated by the Sovereigns that

"neither our said Captain General, Don Christopher Columbus, our Admiral, Viceroy and Governor, nor you nor any one of you shall go to the mine which is held by the Most Serene King of Portugal, our brother, or intermeddle with the trade thereof, for it is our will to observe and to cause to be observed by our subjects and liegemen, what we have stipulated and agreed upon with the said King of Portugal respecting the said Mine; and this we command you so to fulfil under pain of our displeasure."

The reader will observe there is no line of demarcation restricting discoveries and possessions to the westward. Caution only is to be observed concerning the Mine of Gold discovered, occupied, and possessed by the Portuguese far to the southward.

Document XXVIII.—This instrument, dated from Barcelona on May 28, 1493, authorises Columbus, in the further exercise of the powers conferred upon him of granting charters and decrees patent in and for the management of the islands and mainland in the name of King Ferdinand and Doña Isabella, sealing the said patents, charters, and decrees with the Royal seal, and in view of the fact that he may not always be present in the islands to perform the act, as he is likely to be away discovering other islands and lands, to name and appoint some one in his place to issue decrees and charters and to seal with the Royal seal.

Document XXIX.—This document is likewise issued from Barcelona on the same day as the two preceding, May 28, 1493. In the original Articles of Capitulation the Admiral had the right to name three persons for the appointment to any office or position in the islands and continental lands, and from this list of three the Sovereigns were obliged to select the appointee. It is exactly the authority and restriction governing the civil service in our country to-day. Columbus was assigned the duty of ascertaining the fitness of individuals to hold positions of trust, and the Sovereigns—the real appointing power—were restricted in the selection to one of three persons designated by Columbus, and competent and desirable for the office. But this civil service flashes out on the fresh and first government in the New World and then is gone for four hundred years. In

this very document Ferdinand and Isabella withdraw their claim to the final selection and leave all appointments with Columbus.

Document XXX.—This important instrument, dated at Burgos, April 23, 1497, we have already carefully considered in a former chapter. It authorises the creation of the Majorat, upon which to Columbus hung the law and the prophets. Next to the Articles of Capitulation, this is the most vital patent granted the Admiral. While the Articles conferred on his heirs and successors the title, pre-eminences, and prerogatives of the office of Admiral in all those islands and continental lands which by his activity and industry he might discover, it required further definite authority to entail his rights, and this was specifically given in this present instrument.

As the preceding document introduced civil service into America, this introduced the doctrine of entail. When Columbus, under authority of this instrument, created his Majorat and once determined the entail, the properties under it were to be *inalienable and indivisible for ever*. No crime was able to lose them save that of lese-majesty or perdulione or treason or the crime of heresy. After authorising the placing of the entail in Diego, the son of the Admiral, the Sovereigns say:

“ . . . and it is our pleasure that all this be done, notwithstanding that *your other sons who are able to inherit*, and your other relatives, kinsmen, descendants and collaterals may be wronged in their portions and allowances which appertain to them.”

This document antedates the fragment quoted in a previous chapter and apparently a rough draft of the letter written to the former nurse of the Prince, in which Columbus himself speaks of having left behind him, when he and Diego departed from Portugal, *a wife and sons*. It is therefore to be taken as evidence that, at the time of the execution of the instrument, April 23, 1497, there were still living in Portugal *other sons*, brothers of Diego, and consequently sons of Philipppa Moñiz.

Document XXXI.—The King and the Queen addressed the following letter to the Admiral, directly they knew of his arrival at Palos:

“*Don Christopher Columbus, Our Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor of the islands which have been discovered in the Indies: we*

have seen your letters and have had much pleasure in learning what you wrote to us therein, and that God has granted you so good an end to your labour, and guided you favourably in what you have begun, wherein He will be greatly served, and we likewise, and our Kingdoms will receive such great advantage. May it please God that, besides serving Him in this matter, you may on account thereof receive many favours from us, which, rest assured, will be conferred upon you as your services and labours deserve. And because we will that what you have begun may, by the aid of God, be continued and carried forward, and we are desirous that your coming should be speedy, it being for our service that you should make as much haste as you possibly can in your coming, in order that everything that is needful may be provided in time; and because, as you see, spring has begun, and lest the season for returning thither should pass by; try whether anything can be got ready in Seville or in other quarters for your return to the country which you have discovered; and write to us at once by this courier, who has to return quickly, in order that immediate provision may be made for what is to be done while you are coming hence and returning, so that upon your return from here everything may be in readiness. From Barcelona, the thirtieth day of March in the year ninety-three. I the King. I the Queen. By command of the King and of the Queen, Ferdinand Alvares."

And on the back is inscribed:

"By the King and the Queen, to Don Christopher Columbus, their Admiral of the Ocean, and Viceroy and Governor of the islands which have been discovered in the Indies."

The reader will be somewhat puzzled to know upon what theory as to order Columbus caused these documents to be introduced into the *Book of Privileges*. The document is dated from Barcelona, March 30, 1493. It is the first communication from the Sovereigns to the Admiral after the news of the discoveries reached them. Its importance to Columbus is obvious. We find here an explanation of why the Admiral delayed so long in going to the Court. The Sovereigns were moved by two conflicting emotions: they wanted to look upon the countenance of Columbus and hear from his own mouth the story of his discoveries, but they had been apprised of the abstract fact that the discovery was made, and they recognised that the next step was to return to the new lands, to which end they desired him who best knew what were the requirements to stay a little time in Seville and commence preparations. They tell him they desire him to come to them speedily, but first he is

Christopher Columbus

to try if anything can be got ready in Seville or in other quarters for his second voyage, and in the meantime he is to write by the courier who is to return quickly. It was a beautiful curbing of Royal desire and the restraint of curiosity in the interest of affairs. Pleasure at Barcelona waited on business at Seville.

Document XXXII.—This document is a letter of Queen Isabella to Columbus, written from Barcelona, September 5, 1493, and which the Admiral received at Cadiz, or, perhaps, to be more exact, at Puerto de Santa Maria. The Admiral had left Barcelona on May 28, 1493, leaving with the Queen a book—most certainly in manuscript form, else it would not have been a matter of so much secrecy—of which her Highness had caused secretly a transcript to be made and in two handwritings, that it might be done the sooner. The Admiral had promised to prepare for the Queen a chart of navigation, and this had not yet been received and her Highness desires it may be finished and sent her at once. She adds:

“In the affair of Portugal no determination has been taken with those who are here: although I believe that the King will come to terms therein, I would wish you to think the contrary, in order that you may not on that account fail or neglect to act prudently and with due caution, so that you may not be deceived in any manner whatever.”

Document XXXIII.—This is a letter written to Columbus by the Sovereigns from Medina del Campo, April 13, 1494. Antonio de Torres, who returned with twelve ships, has had an audience with the King and Queen and delivered the Admiral's letter, which greatly pleased them, and they renew their promises of favours, honours, and advancement. They will immediately despatch vessels with such things as were mentioned in the requisitions of the Admiral. The latter is requested to send home Bernal de Pisa, and his place is to be filled temporarily by some person acceptable to Columbus and Father Bernardo Buil.

This Bernal Diaz de Pisa was one of the inferior judicial officers for the Court, and had been designated as Treasurer for the Second Expedition. He is to be remembered as the head of the first rebellion in the New World.

Document XXXIV.—This letter of the Sovereigns is dated

from Segovia, August 16, 1494, and discloses that Antonio de Torres had made a voyage to the new lands and a return between the date of the last document, April 13, 1494, and the date of this, August 16, 1494. It serves to illustrate the rapid and continuous communication early inaugurated between the Old and New Worlds. The Sovereigns in this letter urge the Admiral to give them the number of islands thus far discovered, with the name of each, since the Admiral, while he has named some, has not given names to all. They also desire to know how far these islands are from each other, and what the seasons are like. The Sovereigns say: "Some are desirous that it should be stated whether there are two winters and two summers there in one year." They want the Admiral to send falcons and birds of all kinds that they may see them. They propose that, in order to hear from the new lands frequently and likewise that needful things may be sent from Spain, one caravel should depart from Spain for the islands and another one from the islands for Spain each month. As to the city of Isabella on the island and its management, everything is left to the Admiral. The Sovereigns wisely say:

"And respecting the settlement which you have made, there is no one who can give a certain rule therein, or correct anything from hence, for were we there present we should take your counsel and opinion therein, and how much more being absent. Therefore we refer it to you."

Then the Sovereigns refer to the disputes with Portugal, saying:

"And respecting the disputes with Portugal, a certain convention has been agreed on with her ambassadors, which seemed to us to be most free from disadvantage: and in order that you may be well informed thereof at large, we send you a transcript of the articles which were drawn up thereupon, and consequently it is not needful to dilate upon it here, except that we command and charge you to observe it fully, and to cause it to be observed by every one, just as it is contained in the articles. And in the matter of the boundary or limit which has to be made, because it appears to us a very difficult matter, and one requiring much knowledge and trustiness, we would wish, if it were possible, that you should be present there, and that you should make it with the others who are to act therein on behalf of the King of Portugal. And should there be much difficulty in your going on this business, or should it entail any inconvenience in what you are there for, see if you have your brother or some other person out there who may be acquainted with it, to give them the fullest information in writing, and

by word of mouth, and even by drawings, and by every other means by which they can best be instructed, and send them hither to us at once by the first caravels that come: so that we may send others from hence with them against the time which is agreed upon. And whether you are to go on this business or not, write to us very fully all that you know about this matter, and what you may think ought to be done, for our information, and in order that every precaution may be taken in fulfilment of our service: and act in such wise that your letters and the persons whom you have to send may arrive soon, in order that they may be able to repair to the place where the boundary has to be made, before the expiration of the time that we have agreed upon with the King of Portugal, as you will see by the capitulation."

Document XXXV.—This document is dated from Barcelona, May 24, 1493, and is addressed jointly to Don Christopher Columbus and Don Juan de Fonseca, Archdeacon of Seville, members of their Council, to whom Letters Patent are issued authorising and commanding them to purchase or seize vessels, ships, caravels, or fustas;¹ and cause them to be freighted. This is the beginning of that famous establishment, the *Council of the Indies*. John de Soria, Secretary of the Prince Juan, is appointed as Deputy of the Chief Accountants, and all matter relating to the proposed new fleet is to be passed upon by him, and the Deputy of the Royal Scrivener is associated jointly with De Soria.

Document XXXVI. is the Papal Bull No. II. (Bull B), and the first of the two dated May 4, 1493. It is important to Columbus, not because it mentions a Line of Demarcation, which was withdrawn the same day in Bull No. III. (Bull C), but because it has the Holy Father's recognition of Columbus as

" . . . our beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man of worth and much to be commended, and well fitted for so great an enterprise . . . ; who at length, by Divine assistance, very diligent search having been made, sailing on the great ocean, discovered certain very remote islands and also continental lands, which up to that time had not been found by others."

Document XXXVII.—This, as the *Book of Privileges* says, is a transcript taken from a declaration and two warrants and a letter, dated from Granada, September 27, 1501. In this document an attempt is made to right the wrong done Columbus by Bobadilla and to restore him his rights and emoluments.

¹ The *fusta* was a small vessel with lateen sails. In the English translation of the *Book of Privileges* it is called *Foist*.

The Admiral is to be relieved in some instances from the charge and expenses, and still to receive his full one tenth part. His cattle, the garniture of his person and household, his corn and wine, and all that Bobadilla took from him are to be restored, or he is to have their equivalent in money. Bobadilla is to make a declaration of the pieces of ore which contained gold, the number and size, taken from the Admiral, and these are to be restored to him. As to the complaint of the Admiral that he no longer makes appointments of captains and officers to the ships which go to the island of Española, thereby suffering injury, it is ordered that henceforth appointments shall be made conformably to the said Articles of Capitulation. The Admiral is permitted to bring from Española three quintals of Brazil wood on account of his one tenth part of one thousand quintals of that commodity.

The money paid by Bobadilla as wages and salaries not authorised by Columbus is not to be chargeable to him.

Of the gold and jewels taken from the Admiral and his brothers by Bobadilla, the ten parts are to be divided, one tenth to be returned to Columbus and nine tenths to go to the Sovereigns.

The Admiral is directed to maintain in Española a person to keep an account of his affairs, and Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal, Contino of the Royal Household, is designated for this position.

As the Admiral has farmed out the offices of bailiff and notary of Española for a certain term, the profits of said offices shall go, the one tenth to the Admiral and the nine tenths to the Sovereigns.

The books and writings taken from the Admiral are to be returned him.

Document XXXVIII.—This is addressed to Commander de Lares, Nicolas de Ovando, and is dated from Granada, September 28, 1501. It directs him to see that the instructions concerning the restitution of the property and rights of Columbus be faithfully fulfilled.

Document XXXIX.—This is interesting as bringing to mind an incident which records the losing of his temper for a moment by the Admiral. The document is written by the Sovereigns to Ximeno de Briviesca, and is dated from Granada, September 27, 1501. It reminds Ximeno that the Sovereigns have

agreed with the Admiral that he may supply the eighth part of the merchandise going to the said Indies, and he is ordered to furnish the Admiral with an account and copy of all the merchandise, that if he so wishes he may contribute the eighth part.

This is the person immortalised by Las Casas as having been subjected to personal punishment by the Admiral on the occasion of his departing for his third voyage.

“Pârece que uno debiera de, en estos reveses, y por ventura, en palabras contra él y contra la nagociacion destas Indias, más que otro señalarse, y segun entendí, no debiera ser cristiano viejo, y creo que se llamaba Ximeno, contra el cual debió el Almirante gravemente sentirse y enojarse, y aguardó el día que se hizo á la vela, y, ó en la nao que entró, por ventura, el dicho oficial ó en tierra cuando queria desembarcarse, arrebatoló el Almirante, y dále muchas coces ó remesones, por manera que lo trató mal; y á mi parecer, por esta causa principalmente, sobre otras quejas que fueron de acá, y cosas que murmuraron dél y contra él los que bien con él no estaban y le acumularon; los Reyes indignados proveyeron de quitarle la gobernacion. . . .”

“It seems that under these reverses, one person had to distinguish himself more than any other against him [the Admiral] in the affair of these Indies, and according to what I understood it could not have been an ‘Old Christian,’ and I believe that he was called Ximeno; against whom the Admiral felt deeply affected and displeased and he awaited the day of sailing and either on the ship which the said official entered, by chance, or on land when he wished to disembark, the Admiral seized him and violently kicked him and plucked out his hair, many times, so that he treated him badly; and in my opinion, principally from this cause, more than from other complaints which proceeded from here and things which those who were not even with him murmured about him and against him and added to them,—the indignant Catholic Sovereigns prepared to take away the government from him.”

Las Casas does not give his full name, but simply calls him Ximeno,—*no Debiera ser Cristiano Viejo*,—a figure of speech for indicating a converted Jew or Moslem. He does, however, call him an official, and we know that Ximeno de Briviesca was an important official in the Department of the Indies. The fact that he is important enough to receive orders directly from the Sovereigns—although three years lapse after the incident—does not make the story very probable. Las Casas was writing in old age of scenes that took place years before, when he was quite young, and when, so far as we know, and unlike Oviedo,

he kept no notes coincident with the events themselves. A coarse attack, even under provocation, would have been the subject of a grave inquiry. Even Ferdinand Columbus does not mention it.

Document XL.—This is a letter from the Sovereigns to the Admiral, dated from Valencia de la Torre, March 14, 1502, and is an answer to one from him written on February 26, 1502, and which is not now in existence. The Admiral mentioned in his letter that he wished to go by way of Española, and the Sovereigns reply that

"it is not advisable that in this voyage, whereon you are now going, any time should be lost, you are to go, in any case, by this other way; but on your return, God willing, if it shall appear to you to be necessary, you may return by passing there, because, as you see, it will be convenient that when you have returned from the voyage upon which you are now going, we should be immediately informed by you in person of all that you shall have discovered and performed therein, in order that by your opinion and advice we may provide therefor what may best fulfil our service and that the things needful for barter may be provided from hence."

Instructions are then given as to his conduct should he meet with Portuguese captains, each being provided with letters from their respective Sovereigns requesting the good treatment of the other's subjects and that all shall act as friends.

Don Ferdinand Columbus, the son, is permitted to go upon the voyage, and the allowance due him to is be given Don Diego.

The Admiral is permitted to take one or two persons who know Arabic.

The men who go with him are to receive the same wages and profits as those who have previously gone.

"As to the ten thousand pieces of money which you mention, it has been agreed that they should not be made for this voyage until more is seen." As the letter of Columbus is lost, we cannot hope to understand this allusion. It cannot refer to the coining of money in America, for which dies, presses, and the necessary tools were already in Española, because the Admiral was instructed not to go to that island.

"Respecting your statement that you could not speak to Doctor Angulo and the Licentiate Capata on account of your

departure, write to us very fully and in detail." This item of the letter presents another mystery which only the lost letter of Columbus might reveal. The Sovereigns express extreme regret that he suffered the indignity of imprisonment, and assert that directly they knew of it they ordered it remedied. Assurances are given that he and his sons shall enjoy all the honours and privileges conferred upon the Admiral, and, if necessary, these will be conferred anew.

On the recto of folio LIIJ,¹ in the margin of the leaf, drawn in red ink, is a hand pointing to the very clause in the document expressing the distress of the Sovereigns at the imprisonment of the Admiral. It is believed that this hand with its open index finger was drawn there by Columbus himself.

Document XLI. is a repetition of the Articles of Capitulation, issued April 17, 1492, and given in full elsewhere.

Document XLII.—This document is undated and appears to be a legal opinion by counsel for Columbus as to his privileges, and particularly as to his rights to the third, eighth, and tenth parts of gains and profits. This we have already discussed.

Document XLIII.—This is a document of the same character as the preceding. It is entitled:

"The Declaration of what belongs, and can and ought to belong, to the Lord Admiral of the Indies by virtue of the Capitulation and agreement which he made with their Highnesses, which forms the title and right that the said Admiral and his descendants have to the Islands and continental lands in the Ocean."

Then the five Articles are considered seriatim. This document is remarkable as presenting the first use we have met with of the term *West Indies*. It occurs in the ninth and final paragraph of the *Fourth Article*, and is as follows:

"And even from the person of the said Admiral it follows that the said provision ² is just: because according to the quality of the said *West Indies* which were unknown to all the world, it was necessary to appoint *on this side* a judge of sure experience to give just judgment, for who would have had more experience of them [the Indies] or would have surer knowledge

¹ In the original vellum copy of the *Book of Privileges*, folios I to LIII inclusive are written upon both sides, while the folios, numbered LIV to LXII inclusive are blank on both sides, as if the Admiral expected to insert some other matter.

² The powers of the *Jurisdiction Clause* in the prerogatives of an Admiral, particularly as to suits.

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r. v. sus alados en pronchier al q. churruar al q.
 offro. vladis. d. p. f. n. s. d. m. f. e. n. d. a. g. r. a. m. o. d.
 f. o. n. o. a. l. g. e. n. u. l. l. d. p. a. m. t. i. p. r. o. n. d. e. r.
 e. g. f. m. t. m. r. a. t. u. m. p. o. v. i. n. s. y. m. b. d. l. y. l. i. d. y. s. l. o. c.
 y. t. r. a. s. d. n. d. e. l. r. e. m. t. i. t. u. b. i. m. o. d. a. d. m. y. r. a. g. f. o. r.
 m. e. n. t. h. a. l. l. i. d. a. s. v. i. m. a. s. y. t. r. a. n. d. a. s. c. o. m. p. o. d. u. s. t. i. l. a.

[illegible]

Fac-simile of Verso of Folio LXVII from "Book of Privileges," Showing First Use of Term "Indias Occidentales." (From the Paris Codex.)

of the nature of the suits than that Admiral who has constantly resided in them, and miraculously found them through his great skill and knowledge of the sea and by exposing himself to much danger by the sea? "

The hand is the hand of a lawyer, but the voice is the voice of Columbus. His use of the expression, *on this side*, suggests that the original of the document may have been drawn up while he himself was in the Indies. It was supposed that the suits would necessarily be passed upon in the new settlements.

After four centuries this document possesses a vital interest for us. It comes as an important witness to rescue the fame of Columbus from the charge of ignorance and from an inadequate comprehension on his part of what he had himself accomplished. It is true it is the opinion of the legal adviser of the Admiral, but as the latter placed the document in the *Book of Privileges*, it becomes his own and the one important, essential, vital expression in it is without doubt the Admiral's very own and is simply repeated by the man of law. This expression is the naming the new lands discovered on the three voyages the *Indias Occidentales*, the "Western Indies." The Western Indies manifestly were not the Eastern Indies. They were a distinct geographical designation. The document declares that these lands were *unknown to all the world* before they were discovered by Columbus. Was Cathay unknown? Was China unknown? Was India unknown? Then were these lands no part of Cathay, or of China, or of India. Columbus knew that when he found himself in the East—on the shores of Cathay—he would behold marble cities, innumerable fleets, signs of wealth and civilisation related by Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, by travelers and merchants for generations. These men knew Cathay and China, but they had never known any of the lands discovered by Columbus. Nor had any Andalusian or Biscayan pilot ever been driven upon its shores to reveal on his return the way thither to the Genoese discoverer. The newly found lands were declared by Columbus, through the mouth of his legal adviser, to be absolutely *unknown to all the world*, and to be situated in the *Western world*,—the very designation which separates it from the Eastern Indies. How can history deny the greatest sailor of his time the possession of geographical knowledge deduced from his own experimental voyages, demonstrated by his own daring exploits, and grant that knowledge to his cotemporaries?

Columbus knew the lands he had found were up to that time unknown to all the world, and he knew he was still in Western seas and on Western lands. And this knowledge, already possessed in the first days of the year 1502, was to be confirmed to him before that year should close, when, on the shores of Veragua, there was revealed to him the significance of his continental discovery.

Document XLIV.—This is the famous letter to the nurse of Don Juan, the young Prince who died at Salamanca, October 4, 1497. She was Donna Juana de Torres, sister to Antonio de Torres, who commanded the second expedition. The letter is a remarkable production. It was written, as the beginning of the transcript informs us, during his return voyage from his third expedition, when he came in disgrace and chains. The entire letter will be found in the present Work under the account of the Third Voyage of Columbus.¹

(The *Book of Privileges*, No. 1., that preserved at Paris, ends on the verso of folio LXXV.)

The four Codices or cartularies here described are enumerated by the Admiral himself. If there were other copies made of these documents, so essential for the establishment of his rights, he made no mention of them. The mere fact that he was careful to number these, that the copies were made with notarial care and formality, that their locations were particularised, will in a measure justify us in assuming that in his time no other copies were made. When, however, the family came to enter into litigation with the Crown, when the several Fiscal inquiries were prosecuted, it is possible his heirs caused a copy or several copies to be made.

There are preserved in America² two other Columbian Co-

¹ See our chapter lxxxiv.

² The following note by Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library, describes what may be termed the Florentine Columbus Codex:

“THE FLORENTINE CODEX

“This manuscript was bought at Florence by the Hon. Edward Everett, in November, 1818, apparently for one sequin, equivalent to about \$2.18. It was mentioned by him in a note on pp. 64, 65 of his Oration delivered at Plymouth, December 22, 1824 (Boston, 1825), and a few particulars were added on page 429 of an article in the *North American Review* for October, 1825, supposed to be written by Mr. Caleb Cushing. For many years the manuscript seems to have been forgotten: and when in 1892 or thereabouts inquiries were addressed to Dr. William Everett, it could not be found. Subsequently, in July, 1897, it was discovered in an unused bookcase, and in February, 1901, it was purchased from Dr. Everett for the Library of Congress at Washington.

dices, ancient if not contemporary, the one known as the Florentine or Everett Codex now in the Congressional Library at

"The volume is small folio in size, containing forty-seven vellum leaves, of which four are blank, and in addition there is an inserted document on paper in two leaves. When bought by Mr. Everett, it was described by him as 'in binding once very rich, but now worn.'

"He had it rebound in brown calf or russia, with blind panelled tooling on the sides. The following title is on the first leaf:

" 'Treslado de
Las Bullas del Papa Alexandre 6º de laconecssion de
Las Indias y los titulos, Privilegios y cedula Reales q̄ se diçrõ
a Xpoual Colon

Es dela camara del Rey y decono [?]

cimiº dela birbresca

[Large notarial E, with flourishes.]

[Below, in modern hand:]

" 'Florence Bought [price erased and nearly illegible] Nov. 7, 1818.'

"Following the title is an inserted sheet of paper in two leaves, containing the Papal Bull *Dudum squidem*, dated 1493, Sept. 26 (*sexto kl octobris*), filling three pages, and endorsed on the fourth page:



" 'Carissimo inxpo filio fer
dinando Regi et Cari
ssime In xº filie Elisabeth
Reginc. Castelle Legionis
Aragonũ et granate Illus
tribus.'

"This document was originally folded twice like a law paper, and it still shows the lines of the folding. According to Berchet, *Fonti Italiane per la storia della scoperta del nuovo mondo*, Roma, 1892, tom. I., p. 15, note, the original text of this Bull is not found in any of the printed collections of Bulls which had been examined or even in the secret archives of the Vatican. It is printed, however, in Solorzano Pereira, *De Indiarum jure*, Matriti, 1629, tom. I., p. 613, and from this source it is reprinted by Berchet. A Spanish version, made 'en romance por el secretario Graciano,' August 30, 1534, is preserved in the Simancas Archives, and is printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion de los viajes*, tom. 2, p. 404.

"The contents of the vellum book are as follows:

"Document I, the Papal Bull *Inter cetera*, dated 1493, May 4, and beginning with the word *Alexander* in large letters filling the whole of the first line. This document is the same as Paris Codex XXXVI and Genoa Codex XXXVII, except that it contains neither the authenticating preambles of the Bishop of Barcelona, *In dei nomine Amen*, and *Petrus garsie*, nor the supplementary authentication *Quibus quidem*, which are in the others. The Bull begins on folio 1 recto and ends in the middle of folio 1j verso. Documents II to XXXVI follow on folios 1j verso to xliij verso, corresponding to Paris Codex I-XXXV and to Genoa Codex I-XXXI, XXXIII-XXXVI. Documents II-VIII have marginal titles, but the other documents have none. The caption of Document II is as follows; *Este es traslado de dos escripturas escriptas en// pargamino de cuero la vna Abtorizada de ciertas celldulas y cartas y titulos del almirant~ de las yndias Ante//ciertos allds y firmadas y sygnadas de martin rodriguez//escruiano publico de Seuilla En thenor delas quales vna// en pos de otra es este q se sygue.*

"Document XXXVI is the last in the volume. In the final paragraph, beginning *E asi presentadas*, there are some variations from the Paris and Genoa Codexes, as noted below:

"Paris Codex (Stevens, p. 179), *fortituyto*, is the same in this manuscript, instead of *fortuyto* as in the Genoa Codex.

"Paris Codex (Stevens, p. 179), the sentence *mādase . . . mādase* reads *mā-dasen . . . mādase* in this manuscript.

"Paris Codex (Stevens, p. 179), the words *E luego los dhõs allds*, which are not in the Paris Codex, are in this manuscript as well as in the Genoa Codex.

"Paris Codex (Stevens, p. 179), the last few words on this page, *E de todo esto como paso*, read in this manuscript *E de todo esto en como passo*, more like the Genoa Codex.

"Paris Codex (Stevens, p. 180), the words *el qual va firmado e signado de mj el dhõ escuano puco*, read in this manuscript *el qual va firmado e signado dloş dhõs allds e de mj el dhõ escriº puco*, both differing somewhat from the Genoa Codex, which according to

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Washington, the other in the Carter-Brown Library¹ at Providence, R. I. These are described in the accompanying notes with

Spotorno (p. 228) reads: *el qual va firmado de los dichos alcaldes e de cada uno dellos, e firmado e sygnado de mi el dicho escrivano publico.*

"The notarial signatures and flourishes which are subscribed to Document XXXVI in the Paris and Genoa Codexes are not in this manuscript, but the names and attestations are all given in plain writing in the last eight lines, of which five lines are at the foot of folio xliij recto and the remaining three at the top of the verso, as follows:

" de sevilla enl dño dia e mes
e Año Susodhos. pero ruyz.||
alld. estevã dela roca alld.
Yo gomes njato escrjº de selvilla
fuy present a la abtoridad e mandamjº
dlos dñs allds||E so testigo.
Yo alfonso lucas escrjº
de seujlla fuy present||a la
abtoridad e mādāmº he los dñs
allds e so testigo.||
[Folio xliij verso:]
Yo mñn rodrigũs escriuano publico
de seujlla fise es qe viz||estas
escripturas e fuy present ala dñã
abtoridad e mã||damjeto dlos dñs
allds e fise aq mjo signo E so
testgº||"

"The manuscript ends as above. Four more leaves follow, all blank except the following words in a modern hand on the lower part of the last page:

" *Ferdinando Becheroni Portiere di*
Casa il Duca di Albaniccho
Sig^a Luigi Cacciatore"

"It is interesting to note that the attestation of Martin Rodrigues in this manuscript is fuller than in the two other manuscripts. The Paris Codex (Stevens, p. 180) reads: *E yo mñn Rdigs escuano puº de seujlla fuy presente ala dhã abturidad e fis aq mjo sig* [notarial mark] *no e so testigo.* The Genoa Codex (Spotorno, p. 228) was incompletely deciphered to read as follows; *E yo M . . . escrivano publico de Sevilla subscripsi a la dicha abturidad.* . . .

"A word of apology is required for the above notes, as far as they relate to comparison with the Genoa Codex. It was intended to revise this part and to replace the reference to Spotorno with those to the edition of Belgrano and Staglieno (Roma, 1894), but there has not been time to make the necessary comparisons and changes. It is the opinion of the writer that the Florentine Codex is contemporary with the Paris and Genoa Codexes, the reasons for which belief may be given at some other time and in some other place."

¹ "THE PROVIDENCE CODEX

"This manuscript, containing sixteen pages in folio, in a notarial handwriting, possibly contemporaneous with that of the Genoa and Paris Codices, was offered at the sale of S. L. M. Barlow's Library in New York, February 8, 1890. No. 2751 of the Catalogue:

"2751. [Columbus]. A manuscript petition, addressed by Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabella, claiming certain rights based upon several 'Capitalaciones' which are here recited. 16 pages in a remarkably clear character. Folio, crushed levant morocco extra, gilt edges, by Gruel. 1492-1494."

The following bibliographical note is inserted in the hand of Henry Harris:

sufficient detail to enable the reader to identify them and the particular documents contained within their covers.

"The Capitulaciones' of 1492, which are here given, can be found in Navarrete, the others have never been printed, and do not even exist in the Archives of the Indias.

"This document was evidently dictated by Christopher Columbus at the island of Hispaniola in 1494. By comparing the handwriting with that of several important papers preserved here [Sevilla] . . . Don Francisco de Paula Juarez, the chief archivist, and myself, came to the conclusion that it had been written by Diego de Penalosa. . . .—H. H."

This Codex was bought for \$325 by Mr. John Nicholas Brown for the Carter-Brown Library in Providence. It consists of selections and extracts from the complete *Book of Privileges*, as noted below:

- "(1) La Capitulacion. Las cosas suplicadas, pp. 1-2 (from Genoa II, Belgrano, pp. 50-54).
- (2) Francisco de Soria, p. 2 (Genoa XVII, Belgrano, p. 162).
- (3) tengo por bien, p. 2 (from Genoa I, Belgrano, 22-24).
- (4) y definiendo firmamente, pp. 2-3 (from Genoa I, Belgrano, 26).
- (5) por quanto vos christoual colon, p. 3 (from Genoa I?).
- (6) y es nuestra merced, p. 3 (from Genoa III, Belgrano, 74-76).
- (7) Por quanto en la capitulacion, p. 4 (Genoa IV, Belgrano, 86-88).
- (8) quanto a lo otro contenido, p. 5 (from Genoa XLI, Belgrano, 262-264).
- (9) muy claro parece por la capitulacion, pp. 5-8 (Genoa XLII, Belgrano, 266-272).
- (10) La declaracion de lo que pertenece, pp. 8-15 (Genoa XLIII, Belgrano, 274-294).
- (11) Habiendo descubierto Don Christoval Colon, p. 16 [endorsement, with title 'Capitulacyon del almyrante colon, XXXVIII.' "].

CHAPTER C

THE FOURTH VOYAGE

THE strength of Columbus was departing from him, his natural force was abating. Disease was laying its torturesome hand on his body. Fancy was disordering his brain. His work was nearly accomplished. If the unities of the drama had been consulted, he should now be translated, bearing with him most of his writings and all of his complaints. The Sovereigns had made him what reparation they could, they had promulgated his innocence and had published abroad, especially in the New World, their confidence in him. In the meantime they were proposing a new voyage, and, while its preparations were winding their slow length along, the Admiral sat himself down in the convent of Las Cuevas to expound the Scriptures and to read out of them some prophecies as to the new discoveries and to himself. He then composed his work, *Libro de las Profecias*,¹ or at least parts of it, in which he predicted the end of the world before two more centuries should pass. Following St. Augustin, and fortified with the opinion of Pierre d'Ailly, Columbus declared that the end of the world would come in the seven-thousandth year of its existence: from its creation until the birth of Christ there had been 5343 years and 318 days, according to the calculation of King Alphonse; adding 1501 more years from the birth of Christ to the time of his own calculation, Columbus finds a total of 6844 years, leaving but the brief period of 155 more years for the accomplishment of the earth's allotted seventy centuries and the destruction of the

¹ The manuscript of this work is still in existence, and an examination discloses that but a small portion is in the proper hand of Columbus. Bartholomew and the Admiral's son Ferdinand wrote the larger part, of course at the dictation of the Admiral. Bartholomew had much too wholesome a mind to dream dreams, and Ferdinand was too young to indulge himself in scriptural prophecies.

world. The fact that his calculations did not agree with those of more learned men is not in question. It reveals to us a prophet, a seer, beholding the approaching end of the world when the heavens should be rolled together like a scroll, and this accomplishment perhaps dependent on his own exertions and the active co-operation of their Catholic Majesties. Before the accomplishment of this rounded period, the Holy Sepulchre must be recovered to the Christian world, the heathen must hear the word of the Lord, and there must be the second coming of Christ. Whatever hampered or interfered with the transaction of His great affairs was hostile to the cause of religion and inimical to Divine interests. Saturated with a thoroughly mediæval spirit, convinced of his own selection as the instrument of Providence, believing in the genuineness of the prophecies as interpreted by himself, and impatient of delays which might retard their fulfilment, he saw passing events only as they aided or hindered the Divine will. If the Jews were punished by persecution, if they were deprived of liberty and property, the sooner would they turn to the Christian—his Christian—religion. If the Moors were conquered and crushed to the most humble subjection, the quicker the Cross would be displayed on the Moslem banners. If the iron yokes of servitude were thrown about the necks of the Indians in the mines of the New World, the readier would they be to adopt the faith of their masters. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church. The pains of the pagan nurtured its growth. Present things might be grievous to be borne, but they were all steps on the road to fulfilment, all necessary that there might come to pass the words which he believed the spirit voices had uttered to him. Even his own disappointments, even the withholding of his thirds, his eighths, his tenths, were only postponing that moment when he should draw up before the Holy Father in Rome fifty thousand armed horsemen prepared for the final crusade of the Christian world. For this he needed his wealth, and if it was not to be in his day then the honours and rights preserved in the Majorat he had created for his heirs and his successors, would simply be the rallying point against the day when the Christian warriors should gather once again before the walls of Jerusalem. If, then, Columbus was impatient of some steps which lay along his road, he was conscious that there were

some which he must take to reach his goal. The reader by this time, after following the track of his vessels for so many days and over so many thousand leagues, must be convinced that the Admiral was no longer in doubt as to the character of his discovery. He knew that he had disclosed another continent, and he called it *Novus Orbis* or *Mundus Novus*. He knew that the New World lay not in the India of the Old World, but between it and the marts of Europe. He himself had estimated a degree to contain fifty-six and two third miles, and he knew that he must multiply this by three hundred and sixty to circumnavigate the globe.¹ He knew the distance to the extremity of *India extra Gangem*, as measured eastwardly from the Canaries, on the map of Ptolemy, four editions of whose geography were then already printed and common in the world, and he also knew the distance he had travelled westwardly from the Canaries.² He knew that Marco Polo, with whose book he was familiar, since his copy was annotated and marked on many a margin, told of the coast lines of the lands of the Great Khan and of the islands and of powerful peoples out in the China Sea. If he knew all this, he knew that between the country of the Great Khan and the shores of Europe lay great continental lands, and that he—Christopher Columbus—and none other was their discoverer. It is time history erased from its pages that humiliating sentence, "Columbus died believing, not that he had found a new world, but that he had reached the shores of Asia."

Nevertheless, this new continent must be marked, its coasts explored, and, if such existed, a passage-way found through into the farther waters which reached to China and to India. Two purposes were for ever before him, first, the procuring of money for the furtherance of his project as to the crusades; and second, bringing the world to the feet of the Church, that the latter might lift it up as an offering to the Lord. Hence this new voyage must be undertaken, and at Seville he turned his

¹ On the margin of the *Imago Mundi* the Admiral has written:

"Unus gradus respondet miliaris, $56\frac{2}{3}$ et circuitus terre est leuche .5100. hec est veritas."

And in another place: "quolibet gradus habet miliaria, $56\frac{2}{3}$ et sic habet totus circuitus terre, 20, 400."

² On the margin of his copy of *Imago Mundi*, in his own handwriting, we read:

"A fine occidentis usque ad finem indie per terram est multo plus quam medietas terre videlicet gradus, 180."

attention to equipping four ships. These were the *Capitana*, of which Diego Tristan was captain; the *Santiago de Palos*, Francisco de Porras, captain; the *Gallego*, Pedro de Terreros, captain; and the *Vizcaino*, of which Bartolomé de Fieschi, a Genoese, was captain.¹ There appears to have been no officiating priest

¹ Navarrete calls this man de Fresco, while Las Casas refers to him as Flisco. It is fitting that the men on this expedition should have their names recorded in history. We have only the sailing lists of the first and fourth voyages.

RECORD OF THE PEOPLE AND OF THE VESSELS WHICH THE ADMIRAL DON CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS TOOK WITH HIM WHEN HE MADE HIS DISCOVERIES

CARAVEL "CAPITANA"

Diego Tristan, captain: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.*
Ambrosio Sanchez, master.
Juan Sanchez, head pilot of the fleet: died May 17, 1504.
Anton Donato, boatswain.

Seamen

Martin Dati.
Bartolomé García: died Sunday, May 28, 1503.
Pero Rodriguez: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.
Juan Rodriguez.
Alonso de Almagro.
Pedro de Toledo.
Pedro de Maya: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.
Juan Gomez.
Diego Roldan.
Juan Gallego.
Juan de Valencia: died Saturday, January 13, 1504.
Gonzalo Rodriguez: died Tuesday, April 4, 1503.
Tristan Perez Chinchorrero.
Rodrigo Vergayo.

Squires

Pedro Fernandez Coronel.
Francisco Ruiz.
Alonso de Zamora.
Guillermo Ginoves.
Master Bernal, physician.

Cabin Boys

Diego Portogalete: died Wednesday, January 4, 1503.
Martin Juan.
Donis de Galve.
Juan de Zumados.
Francisco de Estrada.
Anton Chavarin.
Alonso, servant of Mateo Sanchez: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.
Grigorio Sollo: died Wednesday, June 27, 1504.
Diego el Negro.
Pero Sanchez.

* Navarrete gives this date as 1502, evidently a misprint.

on this expedition, unless it was Friar Alexander, on board the *Viscaino*, and he embarked, not in the capacity of an ecclesiastic, but as a page, from which we apprehend he was young, and not in full orders. In the *Lettera* we find the Admiral, among his many afflictions, particularly specifying the deprivation of the sacraments of the Church. There was a physician, or apothecary, Master Bernal. This man ill requited the Admiral,

Francisco Sanchez.
Francisco de Moron.
Juan de Murcia.
Grigorio Ginoves.
Ferrando Dávila.
Alonso de Leon.

Juan de Miranda: died Tuesday, April 11, 1503.

Garcia de Morales: remained in Cadiz on account of sickness: was a servant of the Admiral.

Juan Garrido: died February 27, 1504.

Baltasar Daragon.

Workmen of the Vessel

Martin de Arriera, cooper.

Domingo Viscaino, calker: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.

Diego Frances, carpenter.

Juan Barba, soldier appointed to Lombardy guns: died May 20, 1504.

Mateo Bombardero: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.

Juan de Cuellar, trumpeter.

Gonzalo de Salazar, trumpeter.

CARAVEL "SANTIAGO DE PALOS"

Francisco de Porras, captain.

Diego de Porras, notary public and officer of the fleet.

Francisco Bermudez, master.

Pero Gomez, boatswain.

Seamen

Rodrigo Ximon.

Francisco Domingo: died Saturday, February 4, 1503.

Juan de Quijo.

Juan Rodriguez: died April 6, 1503.

Juan de la Feria.

Juan Camacho.

Juan Grand.

Juan Reynalates: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.

Diego Gomez.

Diego Martin.

Alonso Martin.

Squires

Francisco de Farias.

Diego Mendez.

Pedro Gentil.

Andrea Ginoves.

Juan Jacome.

Batista Ginoves.

The Fourth Voyage

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his benefactor. When they all returned to Spain, the latter wrote to his son Diego from Seville on December 29, 1504:

"Diego Mendez is well acquainted with Master Bernal and with his career. The Governor desired to imprison him while on Española but at my request he left him free. It is said he killed three men in that island with some poison, in revenge for some wrong which did not amount to the value of three beans."

The Admiral does not say when this incident occurred, and we are left to infer that it was after they arrived at San Do-

Cabin Boys

Gonzalo Ramirez.

Juan Bandrojin: died October 23, 1503.

Diego Ximon.

Aparicio.

Donis: died Thursday, June 1, 1503.

Alonso Escarraman, Francisco Marquez, and Juan de Moguer received the wages of two cabin boys: Alonso died Tuesday, January 23, 1504.

Alonso de Cea.

Pedro de Villatoro.

Ramiro Ramirez.

Francisco Dávila.

Diego de Mendoza.

Diego Cataño.

Workmen of the Vessel

Bartolomé de Milan, soldier appointed to Lombardy guns.

Juan de Noya, cooper.

Domingo Darana, calker: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.

Machin, carpenter.

VESSEL "GALLEGO"

Pedro de Terreros, captain: died Wednesday, May 20, 1504.

Juan Quintero, master.

Alonso Ramon, boatswain: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.

Seamen

Rui Ferrandes.

Luis Ferrandes.

Gonzalo Garcia.

Pedro Mateos.

Julian Martin: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.

Diego Cabezudo.

Diego Barranco.

Diego Delgado.

Rodrigalvares.

Squire

Gonzalo Camacho.

Cabin Boys

Pedro de Flandes.

Bartolomé Ramirez: died Thursday, April 6, 1503.

Anton Quintero.

Bartolomé Dalza.

Christopher Columbus

mingo from Jamaica and before the Admiral sailed for Spain. In another place in the same letter the Admiral says, "This Master Bernal was the person who initiated the rebellion."

Two of the principal members of the expedition were the brothers Francisco and Diego de Porras, the former captain of the *Santiago de Palos*, and the latter notary and auditor of the fleet. These men proved recreant to the trust imposed in them by the Admiral and organised a rebellion against his authority,

Gonzalo Flamenco.

Pedro Barranco.

Juan Galdil: died September 9, 1504.

Alonso Peñac.

Esteban Mateos, page.

Diego de Santander.

Garcia Polanco.

Juan Garcia.

Francisco de Medina: deserted on the island of Española; nothing further was known of him.

Juan de San Martin.

VESSEL "VIZCAINO"

Bartolomé de Fresco, Genoese, captain.

Juan Pérez, master: died Saturday, October 7, 1503.

Martin de Fuenterrabia, boatswain: died September 17, 1502.

Seamen

Pedro de Ledesma.

Juan Ferro.

Juan Morreno.

San Juan.

Gonzalo Diaz.

Gonzalo Gallego: deserted on the island of Española, and it was said that he was dead.

Alonso de la Calle: died Tuesday, May 23, 1503.

Lope de Pego.

Squires

Fray Alejandro, in place of a squire.

Juan Pasau, Genoese.

Cabin Boys

Miguel de Lariaga: died Saturday, September 17, 1502.

Andres de Sevilla.

Luis de Vargas.

Batista Ginoves.

Francisco de Levante.

Francisco de Cordoba: entered in place of a squire, a servant of the Admiral who remained in Seville. Fled on the island of Española at the departure of the vessels, and is there.

Pedro de Montesel.

Rodrigo de Escobar.

Domingo de Barbasta or Narbasta: died Tuesday, March 26, 1504.

Pascual de Ausurraga.

Cheneco or Cheulco, page.

Marco Surjano: died Wednesday, September 11, 1504.

as we will presently see, in the island of Jamaica. In another letter, written from Seville in November 21, 1504, the Admiral says:

“At the request of Treasurer Morales I made these two appointments in favour of the two brothers named Porras. I made one of them a captain and the other an auditor. Neither of them had ability to fill the position, but I made the appointments from a desire to fill those places and through love for the person who recommended them. Both men soon became vainer than they ever before had been. I overlooked more acts of theirs than I would have done for my own relatives, and these acts were of a nature to receive more than a verbal reprimand. . . . They revolted in the island of Jamaica, and I was as astonished by their actions as if I had seen the light of the sun turned into darkness. I was then almost at the point of death and they made me suffer cruelly without any cause on my part for no less than five months. At last I made them all prisoners, but afterward I set them all at liberty excepting the Captain. I desired to bring the Captain as a prisoner before their Highnesses. . . . The said prisoner was kept and retained in San Domingo by the Governor. His sense of the letter of the law compelled him to do this. There was a provision in my letters by which all were commanded to obey my orders and full jurisdiction was given me in civil and criminal cases concerning all those who had come in my expedition. But this was of no avail with the Governor because he said they did not apply to his jurisdiction. Afterwards he sent him (the Captain) here without indictment or anything in writing to the Lords who have charge of affairs in the Indies; but they did not receive him and to-day both brothers are free. I would not be surprised if the Lord punished someone for this thing.”

The reader, when he peruses the history of this voyage, will understand the righteous indignation of the Admiral. There were some brave men on this expedition, who were good as well as brave. Such were Diego Mendez and Bartolomé de Fieschi. And there were some men who were brave, but who were not good and true, such as Pedro de Ledesma, who performed a most famous deed of valour off the mouth of the little river Belem in Veragua, and then revolted and fought against the Admiral in Jamaica. But we shall become acquainted with some of these characters as the story unrolls itself.

CHAPTER CI

A CONSUMMATE SEAMAN

COLUMBUS had addressed a memorial to the Sovereigns, under date of February 26, 1502, requesting permission to go to Española, doubtless to see for himself that his property had been restored, and also that, in showing himself once more in the island where he had been discredited, the honours which must be accorded him as the viceroy and Admiral of the Indies would testify to the favour in which he was held by the Sovereigns. But the King and Queen wrote him on March 14, 1502,¹ that it would not do for him to lose any time in going to Española. They ordered that he should take a direct course and then, if it was necessary on his return he might stop there a little time, *que á la vuelta, placiendo á Dios, si os pareciere que será necesario, podreis volver por allí de pasada para deteneros poco*. He was not absolutely forbidden to stop on his outward journey, but it must have been clear to the Admiral that the Sovereigns wished to avoid the embarrassment of mixed authority, since a new Governor, Nicholas de Ovando, had, with a large fleet and a multitude of colonists and adventurers, sailed but the day before the writing of their letter to take possession of the government in their new possessions. Las Casas speaks well of this man Ovando, and certainly he departed from Spain with more *éclat* than ever yet had attended a Governor or representative. The problems before him, the terrible condition of the island, the disregard for authority, the decadence of morals, the existence of cliques and bands of wild and dissolute Spaniards, —none of these would be aided by the appearance of the Admiral, especially since he was on no legitimate mission to Espa-

¹ This letter forms Document XL. in the *Book of Privileges*.

ñola. The letter continues to give instructions for his expedition. Two of the items are of importance. The letter says:

“Aquí vos enviamos la instruccion delo que placiendo á nuestro Señor habeis de facer en este viega: y á lo que decís de Portugal, Nos escribimos sobre ello al Rey de Portugal, nuestro hijo, lo que conviene, y vos enviamos aquí la carta nuestra que decís para su capitan, en que le hacemos saber vuestra ida hácia el Poniente, y que habemos sabido su ida hácia el Levante; que si en camino os toparedes os trateis los unos á los otros como amigos, y como es razon de se tratar capitanes é gentes de Reys entre quien hay tanto debdo, amor é amistad, deciéndole que lo mismo habemos mandado á vos, y procuraremos quel Rey de Portugal, nuestro hijo, escriba otra tal carta al dicho su capitan.”

“We send you here our instructions in regard to the things which—Our Lord pleasing—you must do on this journey: in regard to what you say about Portugal, we are writing to the purpose about the matter to the King of Portugal, our son, and we send you here our letter of which you speak for his captain, in which we make known to him your departure toward the west, and that we have learned of his departure toward the east: and if you encounter each other on the way, treat each other as friends and as Captains and representatives of Sovereigns between whom there is so much obligation, love and friendship and as they should treat each other, making known to him the commands we have given you, and we will obtain that the King of Portugal, our son, shall write a similar letter to the said his Captain.”

This is the first picture we have had of what some writer has likened to a race between two runners who should be started on a circular track with their backs touching, each starting in an opposite direction, but bound to meet somewhere on the track. The Spaniards are going to the west, the Portuguese are going to the east. The world is round and they must meet. There is here no line of demarcation. A friendly understanding has apportioned each his sphere of work. The other important item is personal to Columbus:

“... y las merçedes que vos tenemos fechas seran guardadas enteramente, segund forma y tenor de nuestros privilegios que dellas teneys, syn yr encosa contra ellas, y vos y vuestros fijos gozareys dellas como es razon, y si necesario fuere confirmarlas de nuevo las confirmaremos, y a vuestro fijo mandaremos poner en la posesyon de todo ello. Y en mas que esto tenemos voluntad de vos honrrar y fazer merçedes. . . .”

“... The favours we have granted you will be fulfilled according to the form and tenor of the privileges which we have given you, without the change of the slightest thing and you and your sons shall enjoy them as

ought to be the case. If it shall be necessary to confirm these rights anew, we will so confirm them, and we will put your son in possession of all that which has been granted you. And our strong desire is, and our will is, to honour you still further and to grant you new rewards. . . ."

It was probably due to this promise that we find the letter forming a document in his *Book of Privileges*. Ovando, with all his pomp, could produce no such promise of Royal favour. Perhaps the latter preferred the substance he already had. Be this as it may, the Admiral set about performing his present duties, and on April 3, 1502, the four ships were taken down the Guadalquivir River where, at Puebla Vieja,¹ they were careened and prepared for their long voyage. On Wednesday, May 11, 1502,² with his brother Bartholomew and his little son Ferdinand, the Admiral went on board and set sail from Cadiz.

Upon the caravel *Santiago de Palos* were two important personages,—Francisco de Porras, the captain; and Diego de Porras, notary and officer of the fleet. Every piece of gold and silver, every precious stone, every bit of spice or other valuable thing had to be recorded in a book of accounts to be kept by Diego de Porras, and these valuables were then to be deposited with Francisco de Porras. It is to the records kept by Diego de Porras that we owe an interesting and supplementary account of this voyage, particularly as regards the distances and direction along the coast. But it is singular that in neither this relation nor in the *Lettera Rarissima* is any mention of the first event occurring on this voyage, and which is related by Ferdinand in his *Historie*. In one of the letters in the hand of the Admiral, and still possessed in the family archives of the Duke of Veragua, we have the following short epistle, addressed to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio de la Misericordia, a Franciscan monk of Las Cuevas in Seville:

"Al Reverendo y muy devoto Padre D. Gaspar en las Cuevas de Sevilla.

"Reverendo y muy devoto Padre:

"El vendabal me detuvo en Calis fasta que los Moros cercaron á Arcila, y con él salí al socorro, y fuí al primero. Despues me dió Nuestro Señor tan buen tiempo que vine aquí en cuatro dias. Agora sigo mi viage en nombre

¹ See the letter of the Admiral to Father Don Gaspar Gorricio of the Monastery of Las Cuevas, April 4, 1502, in the chapter, "The Handwriting of Columbus." (Navarrete vol. i., p. 331.)

² In the *Historie* the date of departure from Cadiz is May 9, 1502. The present account follows the report of Diego de Porras.

de la Santa Trinidad, y espero della la vitoria. Acoerdese V. R. de escribir á menudo á D. Diego, y acoerde á Micer Francisco de Rivarol el negocio de Roma que non le escriuo por la priesa. Al Padre Prior y á todos esos devotos Religiosos me encomiendo. Todos acá estamos buenos á Dios Nuestro Señor gracias. Fecha en Gran Canaria. . . [está roto y comido el papel; y no se puede leer lo demas de la fecha.]

“fara lo que V. R. mandare.

“S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
XPO FERENS.”

“To the Reverend and Most Devout Father Don Gaspar [Gorricio] in Las Cuevas de Seville.

“Reverend and Most Devout Father:

“The south-west wind detained me in Cadiz until the Moors surrounded Arzilla, and with that wind I started out to the rescue, and went to that port. Afterward our Lord gave me such good weather that I came here in four days. Now my voyage will be made in the name of the Holy Trinity, and I hope to obtain a victory from it. I trust your Reverence will remember to write often to Don Diego, and will remind M. Francisco de Rivarol of the affair of Rome, as I do not write him on account of being in haste. I commend myself to the Father Prior and to all the devout members of your religious house. All here are well, thanks be to God our Lord. Done at the Grand Canary. . . . [the paper is torn and destroyed; and the rest of the date cannot be read.]

“I am at the command of your Reverence.

“S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
XPO FERENS.”

In the *Historie*¹ we read:

“. . . and thus we sailed from the strait of Cadiz May ix, 1502, and went to Santa Caterina whence we departed Wednesday, the 11th of the same month, and went to Arzilla² the second day to render assistance to the Portuguese who were said to be in great distress, but when we arrived the Moors had raised the siege. Thereupon the Admiral sent the Adelantado, Don Bartholomew Columbus, his brother, and me with the captains of the ships, on land to visit the Governor of Arzilla, who had been wounded in an assault by the Moors: who thanked the Admiral very much

¹ *Historie*, chap. lxxxviii., verso folio 104.

The French translation of 1681 is very poorly done. Ferdinand alone, and not Bartholomew, makes the visit of respect to the Governor, and all reference to Doña Filippa is omitted.

² Arzilla is a small fortified seaport town on the coast of Morocco, twenty-three miles south-south-west of Cape Spartel.

for such a visit and for the offer made him, and to that end he sent to him some gentlemen of his suit some of whom were relatives of that Donna Filippa Mognis, who was the wife, as we said, of the Admiral in Portugal.”¹

After the interchange of civilities the expedition sailed for the Canaries, where it arrived in four days. Neither the dates of the *Lettera*, the *Historie*, nor the *Relation* of Diego de Porras will be found in agreement. The Admiral says in his *Lettera*:

“From Cadiz I passed to the Canaries in four days and from there in sixteen days to the Indies.” Ferdinand, in the *Historie*, makes the expedition leave Cadiz, May 9, 1502, reach Sancta Catherina on the 11th of May and Arzilla two days after, on May 13, departing the same day and arriving at the Grand Canary, May 20; and reaching Palma on the 24th instant, where they provisioned the ships . . . anchoring off the island of Matinino² (or Martinique) on June 15, 1502. Diego de Porras says the Admiral:

“set sail from the bay of Cadiz with four ships Wednesday May 11, 1502, and followed the route to the Canaries . . . and lost sight of these islands on Thursday May 26, 1502. . . . Wednesday, June 15, he landed on an island called Matinino.”

Arrived at San Domingo the Admiral sent Pedro de Terreros ashore with the request that he might exchange one of his ships which had become unserviceable³ for a better one, the expense thereof to be deducted from the moneys due him. He was told that this could not be, and he was given to understand that he must not land, but must at once depart. The following account of retributive justice is not related by the Admiral or by Diego de Porras, since beyond the fact that there had been a terrific storm they knew nothing of the tragedy connected with it. In the *Historie* the story is told to the great advantage of the Admiral. There were then riding in the port of San Domingo no less than twenty-eight ships⁴ ready to sail for Spain with the accumulated treasures, and having

¹ Las Casas gives practically the same account with the inference that the siege was raised by the Moors at sight of the incoming fleet. And this is in accord with the evident feeling of obligation expressed by the Portuguese.

² Navarrete identifies this island as that of Sainte-Lucie, but we are inclined to believe that it is the island of Martinique.

³ Las Casas says it rolled frightfully and could not support its sails.

⁴ Las Casas says here, thirty or thirty-one ships small and great, although, he adds, some say there were only twenty-eight.

on board the ex-Governor, Francisco Bobadilla, and the ex-freebooter, Francisco Roldan, together with many others who were going back to Spain for punishment or for the remission of their sins. The Admiral, when he found he was not permitted to land, sent word to the Governor that a great storm was approaching, begging him not to permit the fleet to depart for at least eight days. His advice was not heeded. The mariners and pilots, when they heard the message of warning, mocked him, calling him a diviner and a prophet. The ships gaily spread their sails, and like foolish birds fluttered out of the port on their way to Castile. Hardly had they arrived at the eastern end of the island, after a brief sail of thirty to forty hours, when the tempests assailed them, and the ship *Capitana*, with Bobadilla on board, was at once destroyed, and of the entire twenty-eight vessels only three or four were saved. On the *Capitana* was Antonio de Torres, Captain-General of the fleet, who was brother to the Doña Juana, the friend of Columbus. And also there went in chains to his death the captive king, Guarionex, Lord of the realm of Vega. Among those saved was one ship with Roderigo de Bastidas on board. On the ship *Capitana* were 100,000 castellanos belonging to the Queen,—Las Casas says they were the property of the King,—with the great nugget which weighed 3600 pesos, together with another sum of 100,000 castellanos belonging to the passengers going on the said ships.

Twenty of the ships were totally lost with all their crews and passengers, so that Las Casas says not one person dead or alive ever was found. The *Historie* is the sole authority for the statement that of the twenty-eight ships sailing with Bobadilla, one only, named *La Gucchia*, and one of the weakest vessels, survived to reach Castile, and that the vessel bore four thousand pesos of gold which the factor of the Admiral (Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal) had sent home for his master. No Greek drama ever more completely filled the demands of vengeance.

The tempest had visited the little fleet of Columbus with a lighter hand. The vessel of the Admiral had safely hidden itself in a convenient harbour, called Puerto Hermoso, sixteen leagues from San Domingo toward the west.

Whatever else may be said of this man he was the most consummate master of a ship who ever walked a deck. When

we call to mind that sometimes his vessels were not over forty tons burthen and not built purposely for prolonged voyages, that he was devoid of those modern instruments which guide the mariner and foretell his skies, that he was ever sailing unknown seas and on uncharted courses, his skill and nautical knowledge have never been surpassed from the time of Tiphys to the reckless modern mariner who sails alone in his boat from Boston harbour to circumnavigate the globe. The physical world was full of signs revealing to him its changing moods. The flight of a bird foretold a coming storm while yet afar off. A fish rising to the surface whispered to him the distress of its mother the sea. Although no breath stirred on the face of the waters, although the sails hung unfilled and slighted, yet he heard the champing of the bits and the uneasy stamping of the storm-steeds in their stables beyond the placid skies. Northern seas and southern seas, eastern seas and western seas! He knew them all, and he called the winds by their names. Columbus is the first sailor of all time.

CHAPTER CII

THE CONTINENT AGAIN

THE little fleet of the Admiral assembled after the storm in the port of Azua or Agua. One of the ships under that other great sailor, his brother Bartholomew, the ship which the Admiral considered so unseaworthy, had made its way out in the open water, where it had obtained sufficient sea-room to weather the gale. All four were now safe and the Admiral resolved to go on his way. With the remnants of the storm still pursuing him, giving him heavy seas and contrary winds, the Admiral went near the island of Jamaica and from thence to the Huerta de la Reina, or Gardens of the Queen, on the southern side of Cuba. From there he sailed for the mainland on the coast of Honduras, seeing first the little island called Guanaja on July 30, 1502. On Sunday, August 14, 1502, the Admiral sent his brother, the Adelantado, on shore, where mass was celebrated. September 12, 1502, found him at Cape Gracias á Dios.¹ Shortly after passing this cape, it being necessary to replenish the supply of wood and water, the Admiral sent some of the ship's boats to a great river, where one of the boats with all the persons in it was lost, from which unhappy occurrence the river was called *El Desastre*. This account is only found in Las Casas. The Admiral does not mention it in his *Lettera*. Porras does not refer to it. However, we accept it from Las Casas, and find it partially confirmed in Porras in the latter's list of necrology, where on Saturday, September 17, 1502, Martin de Fuenterrabia, boatswain, and Miguel de Lariaga, one of the apprentices of

¹ In the *Lettera* this place is not designated by any name, but the date is September 12. This name, Cape Gracias á Dios, is found in the *Relation* of Porras. Las Casas also calls it Gracias á Dios.

the ship *Viscaino*, are reported as dying.¹ These were the first of the expedition to perish. Another confirmation of the story is found in the table of distances given by Porras, where he says from the Cape Gracias á Dios to the river *El Desastre*, the distance is seventy leagues.² On Sunday, September 25, the Admiral arrived at a charming place of shelter between an island and the mainland, where he anchored that the expedition might refresh itself. The island was called *Quiribri*, and because it was green and very beautiful he also named it *La Huerta*.³ The settlement on the mainland was called *Cariari*. This landing is probably Puerto de San Juan de Nicaragua. Here the Admiral and his men held much converse with the Indians, who seemed intelligent and well disposed. The Spaniards did not land at first, and the Indians came swimming to the boats, bringing cotton cloths and gold ornaments, but the latter were made of a baser gold or alloy—*el oro bajo*, called *guani*. These they endeavoured to present to the Spaniards, who would not take them at the Admiral's orders, which action Las Casas interprets as a species of dissimulation that the Indians, seeing how little the Spaniards valued them, might press their possessions upon them more eagerly and plentifully. The Admiral ordered that the Indians should be presented with gifts brought from Castile, but when these saw that the Spaniards would not accept their gifts, with a sense of propriety which might have shamed their white visitors, they tied the gifts of the latter all together and left them on the shore as if to say: "Since you will not accept our poor presents, all we have to give, take back the things you have given us that we may not bear too heavily the sense of obligation." The next day, when one of the boats went to shore for water, an old man appeared leading two girls, the one fourteen and the other eight, wearing pieces of gold around their necks, whom he persuaded the men to carry back to the ships. When the Admiral beheld the girls he sent them to land with many gifts, but as all the Indians had by that time withdrawn he kept the girls in good and honourable care until the following

¹ Ferdinand gives this event as occurring on Saturday, September 16, but as soon after he fixes an event as occurring on Sunday, September 25, his previous date of Saturday, September 16, should be corrected to Saturday, September 17, 1502.

² The reader will notice that Navarrete reduces this distance to sixty leagues.

³ This name is given by historians to the settlement on the mainland, but both Las Casas and Ferdinand seem to indicate the island under this name.

day, when, on Thursday, September 29, he ordered them to be returned to land, where were the old man and some fifty other natives. The Indians, when they found the Spaniards would not keep their second instalment of presents, took from the girls the gifts the Admiral had bestowed upon them and returned them their gifts to the last item. The following day the Adelantado went to land that he might obtain information, where he was met by two Indians of position who approached him and bore him between them to a grassy spot upon the bank, where, being seated, he began by signs to ask questions and directed his Escribano to write down what they said. The Indians were so disturbed either by the sight of the Spanish implements of writing or else through fear that the white paper or black marks might be mysterious charms to work them harm, that they fled in fright and anger. The Indians themselves were evidently practisers of the gentle art of enchantment, since when first they approached the boats they had sprinkled many powders and burned another sort which seemed a kind of incense, blowing the smoke thereof toward the Spaniards.¹ A day or two afterward the Adelantado went to their settlements and visited their homes, which were of wood covered with reeds, where he was astonished to find that they had the process of embalming their dead.² These bodies were dried, prepared with balsam or myrrh, enwrapped in sheets of cotton, and over the sepulchres were tablets on which were sculptured the figures of animals and in some places the figure of the person entombed, while around about were jewels of gold and various treasures valued by them.³

The Admiral now incurs the severe censure of Las Casas. He ordered that seven of the Indians should be seized, from

¹ This is the first account recorded in history of such practices in the New World.

² Ferdinand speaks of finding only one embalmed body, and Irving has followed him.

³ In the province of Chiriqui have been found interesting monuments of the ancient Muisca which ethnologists contrast with the Peruvian monuments to the south and the Aztec and Toltec civilisations to the north. There are three classes of carving: those presenting rude figures cut on the surface of rocks, stone columns ten or twelve feet high, such as are found in Veragua; and tombs, or Huacas, in which were deposited articles of value. It is seldom that human remains are found. The disappearance of human remains is not of itself an indication of the antiquity of the tomb, because of the climate and soil. The peoples of the north, particularly in Mexico, were in the habit of cremating their dead, while to the south, in Peru, the preservation of bodies by some mummifying process was common. Along the coast,

which number two of the most important were selected. The other Indians were returned with an attempt to make the natives understand that the two who were taken were only appropriated temporarily for guides, and that they, too, would be afterward returned. But the explanation seems not to have been satisfactory, for the following day an embassy came requesting the immediate return of the two men, evidently persons of quality, and an offer to exchange for them all that they

where the Admiral was travelling, few aboriginal monuments have been found. From the description of the sepulchre seen by the Adelantado it is not likely that tombs of similar character would be long preserved. Those a little farther to the south and west were of a more permanent character.

In the *Lettera*, in referring to this land, is the only passage in all the writings of Columbus upon which one could find a belief that the Admiral's feet had ever been on continental land. He says:

"*Fui vissi una sepultura dentro nel monte grande como una casa*": "There I saw a tomb in the mountain side as large as a house."

A little farther along, in speaking of the strange animals, he says: "With a cross-bow I had wounded an animal which exactly resembles a baboon . . . I had pierced it with an arrow." Both Ferdinand and Las Casas say that on the first occasion the Admiral sent the Adelantado to visit the place where the sepulchre was. If we accept the statement in the Admiral's letter, he certainly went on shore at Cariari, and Puerto de Juan de Niaragua will always have an interest for us as the possible landing-place of Columbus on continental soil.

Neither the expedition under Columbus nor those of his immediate successors found any writings among the natives. It was not until the Spaniards reached Mexico that they found written records, and then these appeared in vast numbers. They were destroyed with a ruthless hand, partly because they were idolatrous and the Christians' God was supposed by the Spanish Christians to be pleased at their destruction, and partly for the sheer love of tearing and burning. The first Bishop of Mexico, Juan Zumarrago, permitted this vandalism, but we forgive him, for he was accessory to the introduction of the blessed art of printing into the New World, and builded even as he destroyed. One of the Governors of Mexico is said to have sold vast quantities of manuscripts, documents, and papers as so much rubbish, *papier de rebut*.

The manuscript books produced by the early peoples in Mexico were made from the thin bark of the maguey. Sometimes they were a single sheet as much as twenty fathoms long by one fathom in width, being not less than one finger in thickness. Peter Martyr, in the eighth chapter of his *Fourth Decade*, gives a detailed account of these folios and of their preparation. What a contribution to pre-Columbian history these precious manuscripts would have made!

A century scarcely had passed when the ancient manuscripts—what were left of them—were sealed books, and Ixtlilxochitl declared that in his time only two individuals, both aged men, could read and interpret the writings.

In the *Third Decade*—Tenth Book—of Peter Martyr, we read of a Spanish judge by the name of Corrales, at Darien,—prior, of course, to 1516,—who one day, perusing a book, found watching him a native who expressed wonder at the Spaniards also having books from which they could read and who exclaimed, "Have *you* also books wherein you may record things in perpetual memory and letters whereby you may make known your mind to those at a distance?"

The reader will wonder that Columbus and his companions were never informed of the empire and its civilisation existing but a short distance to the north and west

had. In token of their intention they brought them two of their hogs for a present. The Admiral declined to return the two men, but gave them many of the Castilian gewgaws to pay for the loss.

"The Indians [says Las Casas] returned to land extremely disconsolate because of that violence and injustice in taking the two by force and carrying them away against the will of all, abandoning their wives and leaving their children orphans. And perhaps those unjustly detained prisoners were lords of the country and the villages and hence thereafter they would

of the regions in which they were. Americus Vespuceus sailed along the coast beneath the plateau on which the mighty city of Mexico was built, and yet no suspicion of its existence seems to have been entertained by him. It is true now and then stamped pieces of gold, richly woven cloths, strange carvings, suggested something higher in the scale of human invention than was consistent with the intelligence and resources of the native population. Much of this ignorance was due to a want of comprehension on the part of the Spaniards, no linguistic medium of communication being common to them and the natives. Then, when the tales of the Indian were understood and Cortes and his men had mounted to the city of Mexico, the imagination distorted much which the excited eyes really did see.

A notable example of this will be found in the ninth chapter of Peter Martyr's *Fourth Decade*, or in the Letter, *De Insulis Nuper Inventis*, printed at Bâle in 1521 and again in 1533. We know from the relation of the *Fifth Decade* that a friend and companion of Cortes, Johannes Ribera, carried home to Peter Martyr, at whose house were assembled such company as Caracciolus, Legate to the Pope, Gaspar Contarinus, the Venetian Ambassador, and Tomas Marinus, nephew of the Ambassador to the Duke of Milan, not only specimens of art and merchandise, but a youthful native of Mexico, who was skilled in exhibiting the customs and habits of the people. Among the things shown were certain coverings with chequered figures, which Peter Martyr declared was a sure proof that the game of chess was played among them. The following is the passage:

" . . . various cotton coverings interwoven in colours white, black, and yellow, two of these embroidered with gold and gems and three others with feathers and cotton after the manner of a game of chess, from which it is concluded that they had in use among them chess-boards."

The Spaniards were the foremost chess players of Europe. They knew that the game had its probable origin in the Far East and that the Hindu game was played with the four colours, the green and black forces being allied against the yellow and red pieces. While, then, Peter Martyr does not in so many words give expression to his thoughts, the inference is unavoidable that a civilised people dwelling on the continent long before its discovery by Columbus, had customs and habits similar to the people in the eastern part of the Old World from whom they must have descended. But no actual chess-board or chess-man, either king, ship, or elephant, was seen by the historian. The coloured squares deceived his judgment. The ethnologists discover certain simple games of chance which were common to the native of America from the Aleutian Islands to Patagonia, and which were known when the pyramids of Egypt were building and when the Chinese were only part way through their annals. But the greatest game of skill known to mankind, into which chance has never once been permitted to set her wild and fascinating and destructive face, was unknown until the culture of the Old World brought it into America at a comparatively late period. Indeed we, ourselves, have never heard of an earlier mention of a game played in America than the match, the stake for which was the acquirement of the Italian language, played in the year of 1733 between Benjamin Franklin and a friend.

be justified in never again trusting themselves to the Christians, but they rather have a lawful reason for waging war upon them."

The good Bishop again makes no allowance for the fact that necessity compelled the Admiral to go on his way and forbade his waiting until such time as he might impart a knowledge of the Spanish tongue to the natives, or until he might acquire from them fluency in their own speech. He could not well avoid taking one or two natives with him, that they might gain a little interchange of words by means of which the Spaniards might find their way to a western ocean or to the mines of gold. Nor does the Bishop make a distinction between holding two natives for the purpose of using them as guides, returning them shortly after to their homes, and seizing a number for the purpose of enslaving them and selling them as chattels. However, we must admit that the Bishop is consistent in shrilly trumpeting his protests on every occasion against involuntary servitude of the Indians in any form and under any circumstances. On Wednesday, October 5, 1502, the Admiral raised his anchors and sailed to a land called *Caravará*,¹ and again anchored on October 6 in a bay known to this day as l'Almirante, the mouth of the river Toro. That the two Indians were endeavouring to perform their duty as guides is evident, since we find the Admiral saying in his *Lettera* that they had brought him to this Caravará. On Friday, October 7, 1502, in going on shore the boats met with ten canoes full of people with gold around their necks. Las Casas says that one of the pilots, then forty-five years of age, Pedro de Ledesma, whom he himself knew, reported that the canoes were not less than eighty in number. Although they brought much gold the Admiral would not receive anything. Just here is an interesting statement of Las Casas, comparing the relation of this incident as given by Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie* with that made by Pedro Ledesma. The Bishop intimates that he would prefer to believe the pilot—a mature man—rather than Ferdinand, a boy of thirteen. We see that while Las Casas had before him the *Historie* composed by Ferdinand Columbus, he did not servilely follow him, and we have good reason to suppose that the work, as composed by the Admiral's son, is substantially as we have

¹ In the *Historie* this region is called *Zerabora*.

it in the Italian version. It is only fair, if we charge Ferdinand with the imperfections of a youthful observation and of a youthful memory, to credit him with the opportunities possible to an eye-witness and a sharer in events. Moreover, it is only fair to observe that Las Casas, when he put his *Historia* into final form, was not far removed from the age of seventy, an age in which distant events are not always recalled with distinctness. We must read the history of this voyage with all the authorities before us,—the *Lettera*, the *Historia* of Las Casas, the *Relation* of Diego de Porras, the *Historie* of Ferdinand, and the *Narrative* of Diego Mendez.

Las Casas says the Admiral sailed from the province of Cariarí to Aburema, an adjoining province; and Diego Porras says the distance between these two points was forty-two leagues. The land was elevated and rough, the inhabitants dwelling in the hills, and the different tribes living in so little intercourse that those at a distance of thirty leagues apart did not understand each other. The bay into which they entered in Aburema is the Laguna de Chiriqui.¹

From the Laguna de Chiriqui the Admiral sailed to a river called by Porras *Guyga*, identified by Navarrete as the river of Veragua, where they found many Indians armed with spears and arrows, some of whom had mirrors of gold on their breasts. The Spaniards traded two or three hawk's bells for a mirror, securing in all sixteen of these, worth one hundred and fifty ducats. Irving says they got seventeen mirrors, a discrepancy of no importance except to one interested in ascertaining the historical sources of that graceful writer. Las Casas and Ferdinand agree as to the number sixteen. The reader will notice that no number is mentioned in the *Lettera*. Although the natives bartered their gold for the trinkets of the Spaniards, it is recorded by Porras for the first time that the Indians seemed to value their own possessions much more than things for which they exchanged them. Las Casas gives an entirely different colouring to the barter. A difficulty occurred here through the hostile attitude of the Indians, and the following day² it be-

¹ Ferdinand says they left the Bay of Aburema on October 17, 1502, to go to the river *Guaigo*, twelve leagues from Aburema.

² Las Casas gives this occurrence as happening on Friday, October 21, 1502, while Ferdinand says it occurred on Friday, October 29; but he is entirely wrong in

came necessary to fire the lombard gun to frighten them, the result being immediate subjection and the trading of three pieces of the plates which were called by the Spaniards mirrors of gold. Las Casas states that the previous night — that is, the night intervening between their bartering the sixteen mirrors and the day of the firing of the lombard — the Indians spent on the shore in retreats made from the branches of trees for fear of the Spaniards. Farther south, particularly in Peru, the natives sheltered themselves in the boughs of trees and fought the Spaniards with stones and arrows until the latter, under the protection of improvised shields, cut down the trees with axes.¹ It does not appear from the description given by Las Casas, that the natives of Veragua fought the Spaniards in this manner. The text leaves it doubtful whether the trees close to the shore were fortified, to be utilised in case of attack, or places of safety near to the shore were made by cutting down the boughs of trees, behind which they might resist the encounter if assailed.

his dates, since he gives *October 2* as occurring on Sunday and *November 9* as occurring on Wednesday, thus enabling us to determine that even according to his own calendar his day of the week, Friday, does not agree with his day of the month, October 29.

¹ See illustrations in De Bry, *Great Voyages*, Sixth Part, 1st edition, Frankfort, 1596.

CHAPTER CIII

ANOTHER SEA

IT was while in this region that the Admiral heard of the province of Ciguare, where, at a distance of nine days' land journey to the west, were the mines of gold. He heard also that the sea borders upon this province of Ciguare, and he understood that a ten days' sail would carry one to the river Ganges.

Las Casas, with the *Journal* before him, thus relates the conception of the Admiral concerning the continent and its relation to the Atlantic and Pacific oceans:

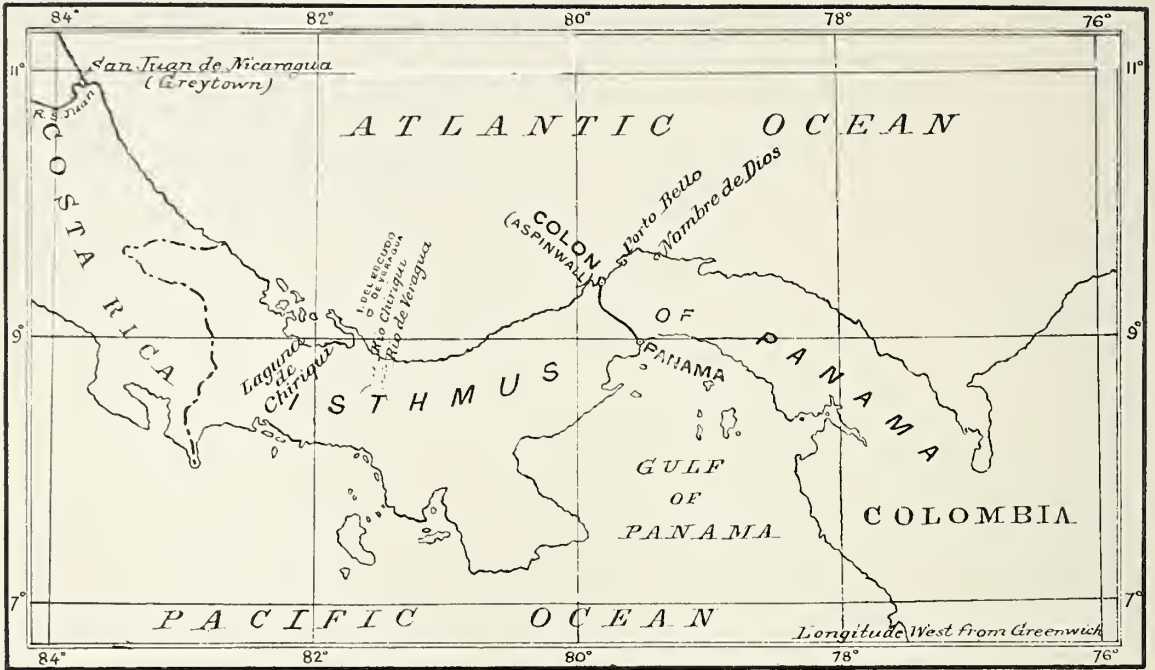
"Item, que la mar bojaba á Cyguare, que debia ser alguna ciudad ó provincia de los reinos del Gran Khan, y que de allí á diez jornadas estaba el rio de Ganjes; y porque una de las provincias, que le señalaban los indios ser rica de oro, era Veragua, creia el Almirante que aquellas tierras estaban con Veragua, como está Tortosa con Fuenterrabía, cuasi entendiendo que la una estuviese á una mar y la otra á la otra: y así parece que imaginaba el Almirante haber otra mar, que agora llamamos del Sur, en lo cual no se engañaba, puesto que en todo lo demas sí."

"Item: The sea surrounds Ciguare, which ought to be some city or province of the dominions belonging to the Great Khan and ten days' journey from there was the river Ganges; and as one of the Provinces which the Indians indicated as rich in gold was the province of Veragua, the Admiral believed that those countries were situated in relation to Veragua as Tortosa is to Fuenterrabia, as if he understood that the one was on one sea and the other on another. Thus it appears that the Admiral imagined that there was another sea which we now call the South Sea and in this he was not deceived, although he was in all the other things."

In the *Lettera* we find the first printed reference to this continental land and its two bordering seas:

"Dicono anchora che el mare boglie nela ditta puicia di Ciguare: & che de li a zorni diefe vi he el fiume Ganges appellato: pare che quefte terre ftiano cū Beragua como fta Tortofa cū fonterabia: aut Pifa cum Venetia."

Christopher Columbus



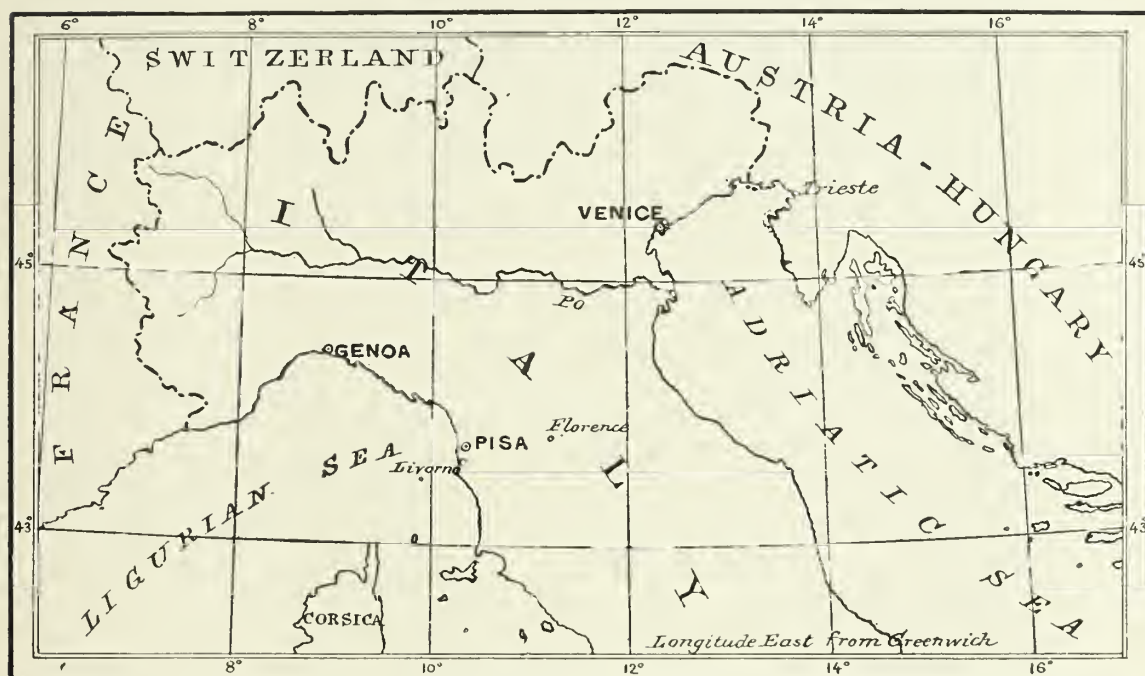
"These lands stand in relationship to Beragua—



"—as Tortosa stands in relationship with Fuenterrabia—

"They say moreover that the sea boils in the said province of Ciguare and that from there it is ten days' journey to the river called Ganges. It seems that these lands stand in relationship to Beragua as Tortosa stands in relationship with Fuenterrabia or as Pisa with Venice."

There is a difference of opinion here in rendering the Italian text. In the *Lettera* the passage reads, *che el mare boglie nela dittà provincia di Ciguare*. In the Spanish of Las Casas it is made to read, *que la mar bojaba á Cyguare*. In translating the



"—or as Pisa with Venice."

Lettera into Spanish the form of the verb alone is changed from the same word employed by Las Casas, and the passage reads, *que la mar boxa á Ciguare*. In the French translation of Navarrete this Italian phrase is made to read, *que la mer entoure le Ciguare*. This rendering is practically accepted by Navarrete and the best authorities. In any reading, one understands that in going from Veragua to Ciguare, one will find another sea breaking on its western coast.

In both the *Lettera* and its Spanish copy, Ciguare is said to be a nine days' journey *by land*, and therefore it could not be

separated from the place in which he then was by water. Moreover, the Admiral says this Ciguare is situated in relation to Veragua, where he was, as Fuenterrabia, on the Bay of Biscay, is situated from Tortosa, near the shore of the Mediterranean; or as Pisa, near the Ligurian Sea, is to Venice on the Adriatic Sea. In the mind of the Admiral, Ciguare was part—the western coast—of the continental land he had discovered. If, then, he should march nine days overland westwardly from Veragua, he would reach the eastern shore of another sea, and that sea in ten days would carry him to the neighbourhood of the Ganges in India or to the shores of China. This bears out our conjecture that the Admiral did not believe himself then on the coast of China,—Marco Polo's China, Ptolemy's China, or the China of Pomponius Mela,—but that he knew those countries were at a considerable distance still to the westward of him. The Admiral is here speculating on this very question of longitude. He remarks that "Ptolemy has located Catigara at a distance of twelve lines ¹ from the west, which I affirm to be at $2\frac{1}{3}$ degrees above Cape St. Vincent in Portugal. Marinus divides this land into fifteen lines." Columbus, it seems to us, is saying that, according to Ptolemy, the distance to Catigara from the Fortunate (Canary) Islands is 180 degrees, while Marinus makes this same distance 225 degrees. Columbus gave each degree the value of $56\frac{2}{3}$ Italian miles, and thus he estimated the circumference of the earth to be 20,400 Italian miles, equivalent to about 18,754 English statute miles. Thus we see he was underestimating the earth's circumference. He remarks "*El mundo e poco*"—"The world is small." He continues: "What is dry, that is to say the land, is six parts; only the seventh part is covered with water." Here, as we know, the speculations of Columbus were not correct, for, instead of the land covering six sevenths of the earth's surface, the proportion of water to land is as 2.8 are to 1.² Nevertheless, the point to be considered here is

¹ Columbus counted fifteen degrees to a "line" equal to one hour of longitude. Thus Ptolemy's twelve lines would be equal to 180 degrees, while the fifteen lines of Marinus of Tyre were equal to 225 degrees. Both these geographers counted their longitude eastward from the Fortunate Islands.

² The distribution of land and water on the globe is as follows:

Continental land	44,000,000 square miles		
Islands	8,000,000 " "		
		52,000,000 square miles	
Water		145,500,000 " "	

that if the extremity of the east, or Ptolemy's Catigara, was 180 degrees from the Canaries, there was still some distance yet to travel from Veragua before it was reached by the Admiral approaching it from the west, and that part of this journey lay across a narrow but still a continental land, and part lay through a sea which was not the Ocean-sea, the Atlantic, but another sea, perhaps the same sea which washed the shores of the extreme east. If we can so read this part of the *Lettera* we will remove from the memory of the Admiral the charge of unnecessary ignorance in supposing that he had reached China or India. Whatever he may have thought, or said he thought, when he was at Cuba on the second voyage, whatever he thought, or said he thought, when in a half-crazed condition on the island of Jamaica, he now knew he really had discovered continental land, and that it was separated from Catigara, or the land of the east, by a goodly stretch of another sea.

CHAPTER CIV

THE LOMBARD SHOT

THEY sailed along the coast to a river called by Las Casas *Catiba*, where the natives appeared friendly. The King was protected from the inclemency of the weather by a huge leaf. The King, besides encouraging his subjects to barter the gold plates, himself parted with his ornaments, which Las Casas remarks was the first instance of the kind. Here also was seen for the first time "a solid edifice," a mass of stucco which appeared to be made from stone and plaster. The Admiral ordered that a piece thereof should be taken in memory of the antiquity of the building.¹

Las Casas and Ferdinand both say that on arriving at this place, the river of Catiba, the natives spoke with "the Indian who was taken from Cariari." In the *Lettera* the Admiral says, "And those *two Indians* always accompanied me to show me the mines." This is altered in the Spanish text, as given by Navarrete, to *the Indian*. We will see presently that this latter designation is confirmed by Porras.

On October 27, 1502 (Saints Jude and Simon Day), the Admiral sailed to a place called by Porras *Punta de Prados*, and identified by Navarrete as Portobelo, or *Puerto Bello*,² whither

¹ This is found in the *Historie* of Ferdinand, but is not mentioned by Las Casas. It was regarded by the Admiral not as a sign of the civilisation of that time, but as belonging to some past age.

² This beautiful harbour has a history of utility, romance, and tragedy. It was for many long and prosperous years the Atlantic port of the Isthmus, forty miles north-north-west of Panama, with which it was connected by a paved way. Here came the wealth of the Pacific side to be reshipped to Spain and to tempt the greed of intercepting buccaneers. The buccaneers derived their name from their manner of imitating the Indians in curing or smoking the meat of cattle and boars over fires of green wood in places designated from this practice by the French term *boucan*. They lived a wild, free life, but they had their own code of law and customs which

he was driven by a severe storm. It was six leagues from Nombre de Dios. The date of arriving in that port, as given by Las Casas and by Ferdinand, is November 2, 1502. The port was entered between two little islands, and was so sheltered

elevated them a degree above ordinary pirates. Men of all nationalities joined their ranks. Promotion came through personal courage and recklessness. When *Puerto Bello* was at the height of its glory in the summer of 1668, Henry Morgan, a Welshman, was the chief of the buccaneers. He was a native of Glamorganshire, and as a youth bound himself to accompany a planter to the West Indies and to serve him for four years. The period of probation being passed, he joined the "Brethren of the Coast" and soon rose to the command of the wild adventurers. His capture of *Puerto Bello* for ever condemns him to the title of an inhuman captain. *Puerto Bello* was fortified by two great castles or forts, one on either side of the harbour. The city was full of rich merchandise coming from the Atlantic and destined for the Pacific, and of gold, silver, and precious stones which the Pacific was pouring into the treasure houses of Spain. On the first day of July in the year 1668 the buccaneers landed near the harbour, and, in the dead of night, overcoming the sleepy sentinels, seized the outer fortress named *Triana*. The garrison and the entire city were now thoroughly aroused, but their resistance was ineffectual, and Morgan obtained possession of the principal castle. Looking their prisoners, officers, soldiers, civilians, into one of the large chambers, they laid a powder train beneath the building and blew it and their unfortunate victims into the air. The Governor of the city had been able to retreat into a fortified place, where he made a stubborn resistance; and while the wretches were plundering churches and cloisters he was undisturbed, but when they had sated their cupidity somewhat, they turned their attention to the devoted band of Spaniards. Morgan and his men seized some priests and nuns, and, placing them in front of their troops, advanced upon the guns of the besieged, and, amid the slaughter of these ecclesiastics, the place was captured, the Governor was put to death, and there followed horrible days of rapine, butchery, and pillage. Morgan afterward treacherously escaped from his own followers with the richest of the plunder and in time was knighted by Charles II., and is by some looked upon in history as a mild-mannered but somewhat determined warrior, who brought to an English colony much wealth and commercial prosperity. Many years ago some original private papers of Sir Henry Morgan were found, and an apologist, reading them, says of them: "I will say that they manifest such a spirit of humanity, justice, liberality and piety as prove that he has either been grossly traduced or that he was the greatest hypocrite living—a character ill suited to the frank and fearless temper of the man." The stones of *Puerto Bello* denounce him for ever.

On the voyage made by Diego Nicuesa, Alonzo Hojeda, Pedro de Umbria, Lupus Olanus, and Juan de la Cosa to the coast of Veragua and Darien in the year 1509, this fourth voyage of Columbus and this particular spot were recalled in an interesting manner. While these men were on the coast of Veragua, quarrelling and bickering among themselves, suffering from storms and the deprivation of food, the Commander, or Governor, Nicuesa in disgust directed that they should pluck up all reminders of the Gulf of Veragua and sail along to the east. After they had gone a space of sixteen miles, a certain young man by the name of Gregory, who had been in his youth a servant of the First Admiral, and whose name we find recorded among the members of the expedition, recognised the neighbourhood as familiar and declared that it was the place called Puerto Bello by Columbus. Peter Martyr records this event in his *Second Decade*:

"Ad miliaria fedecim. Gregorius quidā iuuenis Ianuēfis Coloni primi repertoris a teneris famulus portū ibi esse uicinū reecognouit. Soeliis quibus se uera dicere probabat:igna dedit: in arena femi obrutā æhoram ex nauī amiffa: fubq; arbore portui proxima fontē liquidum se reperturos enuneiat terrāprehendunt. Anehora &

that the ships were able to approach very near to land. Las Casas describes the region as one of the most beautiful they had seen along that coast. It was a cultivated land with many houses "at a stone's throw from each other."¹

In the *Lettera*, the Admiral says he remained at Puerto Bello for ten days,² and at the end of that time, resolving no longer to seek the mines which he considered as already acquired, he again set sail, and arrived at a port which he named Bastimentos, or Port of Provisions, called to-day Nombre de Dios, where he was detained fourteen days. Somewhere along this coast, and while yet in the province of Cobraba, or Cobrara, the Admiral is said by Diego de Porras to have taken an Indian for an interpreter. It may be that by this time, notwithstanding what he says in his *Lettera* as to the two Indians always remaining with him, he had sent them back, according to his promise. They were to serve as interpreters, and he was now in a region where he had found another whose services he could employ.

At this port of Bastimentos the Admiral, seeing a canoe with Indians, sent out one of his own boats to hold speech with them, when the Indians, fleeing and being nearly overtaken, threw themselves into the water and successfully eluded their pur-

fonte repertis ab ingenio & memoria Gregorium cōmendant: q̄ eius rei folus e multis nautis: qui littora illa eum colono pereurrerat: reminifceretur. Portum bellum Colonus appellauerat."

"After sailing sixteen miles, a young man by the name of Gregory, a Genoese by birth, a servant in his youth to the first Discoverer, remembered that there was a harbour in that neighbourhood. That he might prove himself in what he said, he gave to his companions these tokens: in the half-buried sands they would find an anchor lost from a ship, and under a tree near the said harbour they should find a spring of pure water. They came to the land and found the anchor and spring and they commended the memory and ingenuity of Gregory, who alone of all those who had travelled this coast with Columbus remembered this thing. Columbus had called this harbour Puerto Bello."

¹ Ferdinand, in the *Historie*, says that the entire scene was as if it had been painted. In the French translation this is made to read as if some of the houses which were at a distance from each other were painted. If there was the least foundation for this rendering, it would be very interesting. A similar liberty is taken with the text of both Las Casas and Ferdinand by Irving in speaking of the fruits and grains. But this delightful writer had read Peter Martyr, who, in the Fourth Book of the *Third Decade*, describes a kind of fruit found in Puerto Bello, "much like the nut of a pine tree resembling a carduus or artichoke but soft and worthy of a King's dish." This leads us to remark that Peter Martyr must have taken untold liberties in his writings, for he says of the natives of this same Puerto Bello, "The King is painted with black colours and the people in red"—a fact which, if true would surely have been reported by Ferdinand or Las Casas or Porras.

² Ferdinand says that they departed from Puerto Bello on November 9, having been there just one week, and that on the next day, November 10, they sailed past three little islands into another port called Bastimentos.

suers by their marvellous skill in swimming and diving. They would suddenly dive and come up a bow-shot from the point at which they disappeared, and this they repeated for a chase covering half a league. The sailors, finally worn out with their chase, abandoned their pursuit and returned to the ships. Repairing their ships at this port and remaining there fourteen days, they set sail November 23 and went to the east to a place called by Las Casas *Guija*, and by Ferdinand *Guigua*,¹ which the latter remarks is the same name given to another place lying between Veragua and Cerago, and which we have already identified with the port of the River of Veragua. According to the Admiral in his *Lettera*, when he had gone fifteen leagues from the port of Bastimentos, he was so harassed by the waves and currents that he resolved to turn upon his route, and in doing so he came to another harbour, which he not very elegantly called *Retrete*,² where he repaired his ships, consuming fifteen days in this occupation. He had concluded at this port to give up his ideas as to discovering mines, and, resolving to return, he had gone not more than four leagues before he was so set upon by storm and tempest that he was in the extremest peril, and there also *his wound opened itself afresh*.³ This peril and suffer-

¹ In the *Lettera* the Admiral does not make mention of this place or of the desire of some to halt there.

² This *Retrete* is called on the maps *Escribanos*. We find this description of the harbour in *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, by Lionel Wafer, London, 1699:

"Port Scrivan is a good harbour when you are got into it: but the entrance to it which is scarce a furlong over, is so beset with rocks on each side, but especially to the east, that it is very dangerous going in: nor doth there seem to be a depth of water sufficient to admit vessels of any bulk, there being in most places but eight or nine feet of water. The inside of the harbour goes pretty deep within the land, and has good fresh water, so there is good landing too on the east and south, where the country is low for two or three miles and very firm land: but the west side is a swamp of red mangroves."

Here, in 1679, when the buccaneers under Captains Coxon and La Sound were determined to attack Puerto Bello, the forces landed and went overland for fear of being discovered, this port being regarded by the Spaniards as not inviting enough to attract an enemy to enter. It was a five or six days' journey by land from *Retrete* to *Puerto Bello*, but the narrative says that the buccaneers were not discovered until they were within an hour's march of the town.

When this narrative was written at the close of the seventeenth century, the old Spanish town of Nombre de Dios, or Bastimentos, some twenty-two or twenty-three miles westward of *Escribanos*, or *Retrete*, was only a ruin, scarcely any sign of the town remaining. It was situated at the extremity of the bay, the bay in front of it lying open to the sea and affording little shelter for shipping, the land being low and swampy. Its general situation justified the Spanish in abandoning it for the better harbour of *Puerto Bello*.

³ This question of the wound of the Admiral will be discussed in our Chapter CXXXXIII on "The True Remains."

ing lasted for nine days without his being able to round any point of land or enter any port; the sea seemed to be of blood, and appeared to boil as a caldron over a great fire. The reader has before him in the translation of the *Lettera* a description by the Admiral himself of the most violent tempest through which he had ever passed. As an experience in the stormy life of a sailor knowing more seas than any man of his time, it is worthy our careful reading. He was at no great distance to the westward of that region where the soft air, the idle skies, the gentle sea, had recalled a vision of Paradise, and we wonder what his sentiments now might be of this horrible region in which he now found himself, and which had it been the veritable site of the Earthly Paradise, situated far to the eastward, as the ancient theologians would have us believe, might well have been regarded by the Admiral as the coast of that land where Cain and the unregenerate for ever wander.

Following Ferdinand Columbus in his *Historie*, a course we are permitted with some assurance since Las Casas himself has pursued it in his *Historia*, we find the days passed in *Retrete* to be full of movement. It was Saturday, November 26, 1502, that the expedition reached this port of *Retrete*, a harbour so small that not more than five or six ships could find anchorage there at one time, and the entrance was by a mouth scarcely more than fifteen or twenty paces wide. Sharp-pointed rocks were on both sides, some under the water, making the navigation of the pass a matter of great difficulty. Indeed, there was such peril that only the skill of as able a pilot as Columbus carried them safely through. The channel, which was deep, approached so near to shore that the men could jump from the ship to land. It seems to have been the custom of the Admiral on approaching land to send a small boat to reconnoitre, and on this occasion his men brought back a favourable report, a report coloured by their anxiety to trade and barter with the Indians, having been deprived of this privilege at the last likely place, *Guigua*. However, the passage was safely made, and the ships remained there nine days.¹ The natives soon began to come and trade, and seemed very friendly. The Spaniards, without the knowledge of Columbus, went ashore, and by their dissolute conduct abused the Indians in many

¹ According to the *Lettera* the Admiral remained in *Retrete* fifteen days.

ways, thus turning their friendship into enmity. The hostility of the Indians increased until they ventured to attack the ships which were lying close to the shore. The Admiral, to frighten them, had recourse to the old method of firing a lombard gun without shot from time to time, but this resulted only in gestures of anger and a beating of their sticks against the trees, they regarding the firing, says Las Casas, as "dry thunder." Seeing the failure to frighten the Indians, and fearing to let them continue their hostile expressions, although they had not yet committed an overt act, the Admiral caused one of the guns to be loaded, and fired into a group standing on a near-by hill. The ball fell into their midst, and while Ferdinand says nothing of any hurt being received, Las Casas remarks that some *must* have been killed. The good Bishop, who probably was never himself in like peril of his life from the Indians, declares that on this occasion the Admiral showed little tolerance and less mercy, and made poor return for the kindness of the Indians. It seems to us that if any Indians had been killed on this occasion, either the Admiral would have entered it on his *Journal*—when it certainly would have been quoted by Las Casas—or Ferdinand would have mentioned it in his *Historie*. Las Casas thus assumes a result which, while natural, is not a recorded fact, and on this uncertain text he preaches an eloquent sermon against the wickedness of treating the natives cruelly and pointing out that such conduct was calculated to keep the Indians from accepting Christianity and glorifying God. The expedition at this particular time was in danger from the Indians, and as they had not time to convert them, they were obliged to frighten them. It is true that the hostility of the Indians was due to the misbehaviour of the Spaniards, but certainly there were ten good men in the nautical Sardis, and for their sake, indeed for the sake of one alone—Columbus—they were justified in taking extreme measures. Las Casas had evidence of the wickedness of the Spaniards. He had no evidence on which to base his charge of murder.

CHAPTER CV

LA COSTA DE LOS CONTRASTES

FERDINAND says that they had seen no such well-disposed people as these of *Retrete* up to that time, nor a people so physically well made, being tall and lithe, with handsome faces. It is said that the Indians of this part of the country never were entirely conquered, but always were hostile to the Spaniards. If unhappy winds sent a Spanish ship on the rocks of that coast, no man of the crew was ever spared by the natives.

The land was level, grassy, and the woods were few. Great lizards and crocodiles were there in plenty, so cruel and carnivorous that they would seize a man if they found him sleeping on the shore and carry him into the water to eat him, but when attacked they were timorous. Ferdinand says that these crocodiles were found in many places, and that some affirm them to be similar to those found in the Nile. Las Casas takes this statement and hardens it into the positive assertion, "These are the true crocodiles said to abound in the River Nile."¹

According to Las Casas and Ferdinand, on Monday, December 5, 1502, the Admiral determined to return to Veragua to verify the reports as to gold. The Indian interpreter had made him understand that he would find none to the south or eastward. Diego de Porras says that the Indians seen in *Retrete* in their costumes and habits called to mind the natives of the Pearl Coast, and he then remarks that on some of the marine maps the land where they then were was joined to that discovered by Hojeda and Bastidas. The Admiral himself must have considered the continental coast as contiguous to that

¹ Las Casas says that the crocodiles are more common in rivers which run into the sea from the south than from the north.

along which he had sailed westward from the Gulf of Paria in his third voyage. He had located there approximately the Land of Pearls. He was now looking for two things, the land of gold and the passageway into that other sea which he knew led to China and India. Puerto Bello, on their return along the westward coast, was reached on the same day, December 5, 1502. Departing the next day, a west wind sprang up, which would have served him had he been going to the eastward as he had been sailing, but which was now opposed to his onward progress. The wind increased to a tempest, and for nine days the vessels and their passengers were in the utmost peril. This in Las Casas and in Ferdinand¹ is the same violent storm which the Admiral had described as happening directly after his departure from *Retrete*, or at four leagues to the westward. In other words, the Admiral relates this experience of the storm as if it had occurred *before* he reached Puerto Bello on his return journey, and therefore many days prior to December 5, 1502, while Las Casas and Ferdinand relate it as if it occurred *after* leaving Puerto Bello, and therefore after December 5, 1502. The culmination of the storm seems to have been on Tuesday, December 13, 1502, when there passed a waterspout whirling along with wild strength, sucking into its maw every movable thing. The sailors and passengers recited the Evangel of St. John, and to this pious performance they attributed their safety, for by a miracle they escaped being drawn into the waterspout's angry jaws. Here the *Vizcaino* was lost sight of for three days, and when she reappeared her anchor and one of her boats were gone. The wind had driven her toward the land with her anchor dragging, and only cutting it away gave her an opportunity to avoid going on the rocks. The reader will remember she had already lost one of her boats and all² of her crew on September 17, 1502, at the river *El Desastre*. After a time the tempest gave her a brief respite, during which time they were surrounded by a great number of sharks, which the sailors interpreted as an unhappy omen, likening them to their kindred of the air, the vultures, who scent the dead or dying at a distance of a league. The sailors had consumed the meat

¹ The relation in the *Historie* will be found much more full than that given by Las Casas.

² Las Casas alone reports the entire loss of this boat's crew.

Christopher Columbus

they had brought with them, having been now eight months on their voyage, and they killed some of these sea-wolves and secured a welcome supply of fresh food. From the stomach of one of these beasts, Ferdinand saw taken a good-sized tortoise, and from another the entire head of one of the sharks which the sailors had cut off and thrown into the water as being unfit for human food, a performance of *like eating like* which seemed incredible to the Spaniards. Ferdinand says that the biscuits were so bad and so filled with animal life that some of the more fastidious could eat them only after dark when the night hid the squirming mass, and others refused to remove the obnoxious inhabitants lest the piece of biscuit should be so diminished in volume and matter as to practically give them no food at all.

On Saturday, December 17, 1502, the expedition entered a port which was like a great canal, three leagues east of Pagnone—called by the Indians Huiva, according to the *Historie*,—where the natives lived in the trees,¹ fashioning huts in the branches and passing from one to the other by sticks. This mode of life was because of the hostility existing between the tribes of Indians, and each tree became a castle to its occupants, a place of refuge and of safety. They tarried in this port for three days, departing on Tuesday, December 20, 1502, with fair weather, but no sooner were they out in the open sea than bad weather drove them into another port, where they continued three more days. The Admiral went out from this port with the purpose of reaching Pagnone, but the wind was so furious that he was forced to turn toward Veragua, but was driven into another port on Sunday, December 25, 1502. Ferdinand, in his *Historie*, says this was the same port where they were “on the twelfth of the same month of December.” Now we have just seen that, according to the *Historie*, the 12th of December was one of the days of storm when the four ships were being tossed from east to west and from south to north, the following day, December 13, witnessing the waterspout and its final mercy to the ships. Therefore, it is not possible to fix with certainty the port in which they found temporary shelter. Here they

¹ Ferdinand relates this story, but Las Casas does not mention it. Nor is it in the *Lettera* of the Admiral.

This custom of the Indians utilising trees for habitations was not confined to the coasts of Venezuela or of Veragua, for we find Americus Vesputius relating this custom of a people far to the north. (See author's *Continent of America*, p. 75.)

remained until Tuesday, January 3, 1503, occupying the time in repairing the ship *Gallego*, which was destined to render him but a few more months of service. They supplied their stores with maize and water and wood, and started again toward Veragua. Because of the continual shifting of the winds and storms to which they had been subjected, they named the entire coast from Puerto Bello westward to Veragua, *La Costa de los Contrastes*. Las Casas says that during all this time the Admiral suffered from the gout. Besides the leader, the crew numbered many sick and infirm.

CHAPTER CVI

VERAGUA

THE expedition arrived on January 6, 1503, at the river¹ called by the Indians *Yebra*, and which "the Admiral called *Belem*² [or Bethlehem] because of the day on which the Wise Men found shelter in that Holy Place." Beyond this river, at a distance of a league or two, was the river Veragua. The Admiral ordered that soundings should be taken at the entrance to both these rivers, and they found that the river Belem had fourteen palms' depth when the sea was at high tide, and the depth of Veragua much less. The boats ascended the river Belem to a village where they ascertained that the mines of gold were in Veragua.³ The Indians did not desire to hold any communication with the Spaniards and resisted their entrance into their houses. On the following day the boats ascended the river Veragua, where the Indians not only were inclined to oppose their passage with their spears and arrows, but to use their canoes to stop the channel. The Indian interpreter pacified them by giving the Spaniards the inestimable gift of a good character, and the natives then welcomed them to the embrace

¹ Las Casas says it was the "Day of the Kings," or the "Day of the Epiphany," that they entered this river. Ferdinand says it was "Thursday of the Epiphany." The Day of the Epiphany was January 6. Navarrete makes Columbus say he arrived at Veragua on the Day of the Epiphany, and this is doubtless true, as the two rivers of Belem and Veragua were only about four miles apart and both in the province called Veragua.

² The river Belem appears to have been the dividing line between the province of Veragua or Costa Rica on the west, forming the Audiencia of Guatemala, and the narrowing land on the east as far as the Gulf of Urana forming the Audiencia of Panama. The region of Panama was first called Castilla del Oro. It was then called Tierra Firme, and when the city of Panama was founded by the Governor, Pedro Arias Dávila, about the year 1509, the province took the same name.

³ Peter Martyr (*Third Decade*) tells us that all the country bordering on both these rivers, Belem and Veragua, was under the jurisdiction of the same King—Qubia.



Map of the Coast of Veragua

of barter. Here not less than twenty plates of gold were secured, besides some nuggets of gold and some pieces of pipes, or beads.¹ This gold the Indians claimed they procured very far off in a rough and mountainous region, and before they proceeded to gather it they prepared themselves by a form of fasting and abstemious conduct more becoming saints than miners. On Monday, January 9, 1503, the Admiral entered the river Belem with the two ships *Capitana* and *Vizcaino*.² The following day the other two ships entered the port. The Indians brought fish, which came from the sea into the river in incredible quantities. They also traded their gold for trifles, and the pieces of the greatest value they exchanged for beads and hawks' bells. Bartholomew Columbus, on January 12, 1503, was sent by the Admiral to go up to the river to the home of Quibia, the Chief of the Indians of that region. Getting word of his purpose, the Chief took boat and descended the river to meet him. Here occurred a pleasing interchange of courtesies, Quibia giving the Adelantado the ornaments of gold, while the latter, not to be outdone in generosity, bestowed upon the Chief some of the precious Castilian hawks' bells, and perhaps a few glass beads. The Adelantado and the Indian Chief Quibia after a pleasant interview separated, the latter returning up the river to his village, and the former going back to the ships. The following day the chief made a state visit to the Admiral on his ship, and there was another interchange of gifts, but both Las Casas and Ferdinand remark that Quibia, after about an hour, took leave *without much ceremony*. On Tuesday, January 24, 1503, a sudden storm arose, and the river swollen with the rains came down into the little harbour with great violence, endangering the ships. The *Capitana* was thrown with so much force

¹ Las Casas says of these last—"algunos cañutos como cuentas." This may be wampum, since the Spaniards use the word *cuenta* as a bead in a rosary, and the resemblance of the hollow shells if loosely strung may have reminded the visitors of their own rosaries. Ferdinand speaks of these pieces as pipes of gold, as he had said they found gold in three forms: first, in the shape of mirrors; second, in the shape of pipes; and third, in nuggets. Beads of many kinds have been found in Nicaragua in the Indian graves, but for the most part they seem to have been of chaledony or of lava.

² The *Historie* alone gives the names of these two ships.

Orlando Roberts, a resident trader on that coast for many years, and writing about 1825, describes the river Belem: "The river is large and wide at its entrance: but being open to the north-west, it is barred up with more than four feet of water at its mouth. The country on each side of the river appeared to be fertile and abounding in provisions and other natural productions of the soil."

against the *Gallego* at its stern that it broke its mizzen-mast. Ferdinand discussed the question of the sudden rise of the waters, and says that while some attributed it to the continued rains falling more or less throughout the winter, it would seem more likely to result from the immediate storm falling in copious showers on the mountains of Veragua, particularly on the mountain called by the Admiral San Cristobal. The head of this mountain was above the clouds and always clear, while mists and vapours surrounded its lower parts. Both authorities say this mountain lay inland at a distance of twenty leagues. This storm lasted several days, and the sea was so rough that the boats could not pass through the entrance to reach the open water, in accordance with the purpose of the Admiral to find some spot suitable for establishing a Spanish settlement, while he returned to Castile to secure a permanent colony. On Monday, February 6, 1503, the Admiral sent seventy¹ of his men, under charge of the Adelantado, to ascend the river Veragua, and search for the mines of gold, a league and a half to the village of Quibia, where they spent a day in inquiring about the situation of the mines. The Chief assigned them three men as guides, and on Wednesday, February 8, 1503, they went four leagues and a half, crossing one river forty-three times, on whose banks they spent the night. The following day, Thursday, February 9, 1503, they advanced another league and a half toward the mines. Ferdinand says the Spaniards gathered gold in the space of two hours after their arrival, finding it in the roots of trees which were very thick and very high. The purpose was partly accomplished, the presence of gold was ascertained, and the expedition returned to Veragua that same day, where they spent the night, going back to the river Belem on the following day, Friday, February 10, 1503. The Admiral, in his *Lettera*, says that the Indian guides took the Spaniards to a high mountain where, looking toward the west, they said that at twenty days' journey was a region with gold in every part, and that afterward he learned that the Indian chief had directed his men to mislead the Spaniards and to indicate mines which belonged not to him or to his domain, but to a rival and hostile chief. In the territory of Quibia the gold was so plentiful that

¹ Las Casas and Ferdinand both say the Adelantado with sixty-eight men went upon this inland expedition.

in ten days a single man might gather as much as a child could carry, which, the Admiral remarks, as if it had actually occurred, was a wonderful thing, since none of the men had ever seen pure gold before, and most of them were sailors and boys.

Thursday, February 16, 1503, the Adelantado with fifty-nine men started along the coast in a westerly direction, while a boat with fourteen men followed the expedition by the sea. The following morning they arrived at a river called the *Urira*, six or seven leagues west of Belem. The cacique or chief of that region came a league to meet them, giving the Spaniards various articles of food and trading mirrors of gold. During the entire time they were in the presence of these natives, says Ferdinand, they noticed that the Indians never ceased to chew a certain dry herb which they carried with them, at times using also a powder which they likewise put in their mouth, the whole performance seeming disagreeable to the refined Castilian lad.¹ It was while upon this expedition that the Spaniards heard of a people inland who possessed great quantities of gold, and who were clothed and went armed after the manner of the Europeans.

Saturday, February 18, 1503, the Adelantado sent back to the ships most of his expedition, and with a small force of thirty men went toward Cobraba, where he found more than six leagues of land under cultivation of maize. From here he went on to Catiba, where he was well received, securing pieces or plates of gold, which Ferdinand describes as like to lids or covers of chalices, some weighing more than twelve ducats, and which the natives wore around the neck as the Christians wore their religious ornaments. As the Adelantado found no harbour better than that in which the little fleet was anchored, on Friday, February 24, 1503, he returned to the port of Santa Maria de Belem,² and was joyfully received by the Admiral, since he brought with him much gold and tidings of a fruitful land.

The Spaniards now undertook to build a town, eighty men remaining with the Adelantado, while the Admiral with the rest was to return to Spain. Although the purpose was never carried

¹ This is a reference, doubtless, to the use of tobacco through the process of chewing, then, as now, an exceedingly unpleasant sight to the observer, however enjoyable to the consumer.

² This was the name given the harbour by Diego Porras.

into execution, the building of the settlement was actually commenced. This, the first continental settlement¹ in the New World, was situated on the river Belem on the right-hand bank in entering the river, and on a little hill higher than the other hills, about a lombard shot from the mouth and beyond a little bay or cove. This place should be identified and marked with a memorial, for, although soon abandoned, it was established with the purpose of permanent occupancy. And here in Veragua leads back the only thread of glory still held in the hands of the family of Columbus. He who represents this name to-day in Spain is Don Cristoval Colon, Duke of Veragua.²

Here ten or a dozen houses were erected, with a large structure in the centre, in which the ammunition was placed. However, most of the provisions difficult to duplicate were stored on the ship *Gallego*. Here both Ferdinand and Las Casas, the latter copying the *Historie*, describe the method of fishing and of cooking and preserving fish and the process of making liquor from corn and wine, from the pineapple and other fruits. At certain times a variety of small fish came into the river to escape their enemies of the sea, and these the natives caught in nets, and wrapping them in palm leaves, as the apothecaries do the sugar-plums, they put them on the fire and preserve them thus, to take with them on their journeys. These fish are described as being no larger than the vermicelli in Castile, thus showing that the meshes of the nets must have been extremely

¹ In the manuscript copy of Las Casas preserved in Madrid and used for the text in the printed edition (1875), we are informed that the Bishop wrote with his own hand on the margin of the copy and opposite this passage the words:

"y este fué el primer pueblo que se hizo de españoles en tierra firme, puesto que luego desde a poco vino en nada": "and this was the first settlement which was made by the Spaniards on continental land, although a little while after it came to nothing."

² Titles seldom die, and the present head of the family, Don Cristoval Colon de Larreategui y de la Cerda, is entitled to write the Spanish equivalents after his name—Duke of Veragua and of Vega, Marquis of Jamaica, Admiral and High Steward of the Indies. He is known in Spain and America as the Duke of Veragua. This Duke is descended from Martin de Larreategui, who married Josefa de Paz de la Serna y Ortegar, the daughter of Diego Ortegar and of Franeisea Colon y Pravia, and this last was the daughter of Cristoval Colon (son of Diego and grandson of the first Admiral) and of Ana de Pravia.

The grandson of the Admiral, Don Luis Colon, held the title of Third Admiral and Viceroy of the Indies, which last title he relinquished for that of first Duke of Veragua and Vega. He left two legitimate daughters, one of whom entered a convent and the other died without issue. Thus the heirs of his brother Cristoval inherited.

fine. A sort of sardine was also taken, but as if by the voluntary sacrifice of the fish themselves, since they threw themselves upon the shore, and, as Las Casas says, all that the natives had to do was to gather them as the Jews gathered manna. The liquor made from maize was manufactured like the beer of Flanders and England, and in which spices were thrown, the product tasting very well, says the Bishop, but rather harsh like the wines of Gascoigne. The wines from fruits were of several varieties. One made from a species of palm trees, the trunks of which were flat and very full of needles like a porcupine, yielded a heart or bud which they grated and pressed, securing the juice or sap. This they boiled with water, mixing spices in it, considering it the most precious of all their wines. Wine was also made of the pineapple and other fruits. Thus the natural and artificial products of this land were full of promise for the sustenance and temporal comfort of the Spaniards.

CHAPTER CVII

THE RIVER BELEM

THE Admiral now found that whereas when they first entered the river Belem their chief danger lay in the abundance of the water, they were in present danger from its scarcity, sand-bars having formed across the mouth of the river, shutting them in as in a prison. When they entered the river there were four fathoms of depth in the channel, whereas now there was no more than half a fathom. The plan of trying to drag the ships over the bar was abandoned for fear some incoming wave might break them in two, since they were weakened by their voyage and like a bee-hive, Ferdinand says, from the ravages of the worms. In this situation the Admiral was informed that Quibia, displeased at the thought of the Spaniards settling on his territory, was resolved to attack them and to burn their houses. The Admiral says in the *Lettera*, and speaking of their relations with Quibia: "I well understood and judged that our accord would not last long. They were very simple and our people were very troublesome—*loro erano molto rustici: nostra gente molto importuna.*" "Moreover," says the Admiral as he formulates his own indictment in the mind of Las Casas—"Moreover, I had taken possession of territory within his [Quibia's] dominions." The interpreters having informed the Spaniards of the purpose of Quibia to set fire to the houses and to kill the Christians, the Admiral resolved as an example and to frighten the people of that region, to imprison Quibia and his chiefs and to send them to Castile, dedicating his people to the service of the Christians. As the reader may imagine, the soul of the Bishop is once more inflamed, and he fulminates his righteous wrath against the Admiral and his companions. His own

method of dealing with these Indians would have been to pacify them with earthly gifts and to win their love by heavenly conduct, to have withdrawn humbly from their lands and then gone back to Castile, giving news to the King, so that when afterwards traders and preachers of the Faith should return, the natives would receive them with joy, as they had at first received the present expedition. Looking out from his pulpit, the good Bishop could not see the narrow neck of land between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the procession of ships loading and unloading at Nombre de Dios and at Panama, the mining of gold and silver in Mexico and Peru, the building of settlements on mainland and on islands, the coming of many colonies and of many peoples—all this was a dream of civilisation, and before this could be realised, as is ever the way of life, there must be wrongs and injuries, injustices and persecutions, stripes and slavery, crimes and disorders. The world has known no other path. The king of old made his way through slaughter up to the throne. It would seem as if Liberty herself to reach her seat must pass that way. Four hundred years have gone since the scene on the river Belem, and this track is still the same, whether it winds along the coast of America, penetrates the heart of Africa, or falls on unhappy isles in the archipelago of Eastern India. Can it be true that this way is the only way?

The Admiral relates this story of the arrest of Quibia in a few lines:

“It pleased God, he [Quibia] was taken himself, his wife, his sons and servants, although misfortune determined that he should remain but a little time in captivity. The Quibia fled to a certain worthy man, to whom he had presented himself with a guard of men. The sons fled to the master of a ship who brought them to a safe place.”

Neither Las Casas nor Ferdinand gives the account of the capture of Quibia as Washington Irving relates it. The latter took his account from the relation of Diego Mendez, which relation forms part of the document called his last Will and Testament. We have inserted it, together with the relation of Diego Porras, in our present Work, as the whole forms a fairly complete historical account of the fourth voyage of Columbus. It was the Adelantado who led the expedition against Quibia, and to him must be accorded the success of his capture. The Quibia when

Christopher Columbus

captured by the Adelantado was placed for safe keeping in the unlucky hands of Juan Sanchez, the pilot-major of the fleet and an officer on the *Capitana*, a prudent and experienced man, who replied when cautioned to use vigilance, "I will have my beard plucked out if the captive gets away." This was just what happened, however, for in going back in the boat and before they reached the open sea at the mouth of the Veragua River, the chief escaped. Quibia was fastened to one of the thwarts of the boat by ropes, and when, after the manner of all bound captives since ropes were first twisted, he complained of their tightness, the good guardian untied him, but still himself holding him by the rope. With a bound, the cunning Indian was over the gunwale and into the water, almost as much his element as the air, and disappeared from the sight of the Spaniards. We hear but once more of him. He was a good Indian, something better than the average European adventurer, and doubtless when once these last retired from his country he was again happy, and fully lived out his life unmolested before white men again troubled his shores with barter and with war. Much plunder was secured by the Spaniards at that time, and this was divided on the return of the ship, one fifth going to the Sovereigns, while the mirrors of gold, the bracelets, and the golden crowns went to adventurers, one of the golden crowns being the share of the Adelantado for his bravery, a reward for what the Bishop of Chiapas calls "singular victory."

Some generous rains had now fallen and sufficiently raised the water to enable the ships, lightened of their loads, to pass out into the sea. The *Gallego* was left in the port of Santa Maria de Belem as a sort of floating arsenal and fort to aid the settlement, which was in charge of the Adelantado. Requiring water and provisions, the Admiral, on Thursday, April 6, 1503, sent one of the boats of the ship *Capitana* up the Belem River, sending some supplies at the same time to his brother. This boat was in charge of Diego Tristan, the captain of the *Capitana*, and with him were Pero Rodriguez, Pedro de Maya, a servant by the name of Alonso, Mateo Bombardero, and Domingo Vizcaino, a calker, all of the *Capitana*; Juan Rodriguez, Juan Reynaltes, and Domingo Darana, a calker, Juan de Noya, a cooper, of the ship *Santiago de Palos*; Alonzo Ramon, mate, Julian Martin, Bartolomé Ramirez, of the ship *Gallego*. Quibia and

the Indians, who had been watching and foreseeing the departure of the ships with the family and servants of the chief, found an opportunity to attack the little settlement, and got within ten paces of the place before the Spaniards discovered them. They surrounded the houses and thrust their spears through the thin walls and wounded four or five. The Adelantado with seven or eight Spaniards of equal boldness made a sally and drove the Indians back over the hill beyond the settlement. These again returned, when the Spaniards so savagely fought them with guns and swords, assisted by a wicked bloodhound, that they were effectually beaten. One Spaniard was killed and several severely wounded. The boat which had left the ship *Capitana* was still in the river. It had watched the encounter between the Indians and the Spaniards, but had offered no succour, and when Diego Tristan was asked why he did not give assistance, he replied that he had been sent on an errand for water, and if he had approached the land, those on shore would have rushed down and entered his boat, thus all perishing, and the Admiral would be in sore straits without his boat, and besides he did not see that they were in dire enough distress to require his aid. This man was no coward. He was warned to go back, but he replied he was not afraid. He was in haste to complete his errand and to return with news of the fight to the Admiral. So on he went up the river faithful to his orders, but onward to his death. The river was deep, and he sought a place where the water was pure. The stream was surrounded with thickets and mounds in which the Indians were accustomed to hide their canoes. When the boat was seen the Indians attacked the Spaniards at once, wounding Diego Tristan, who continued to encourage his men. A moment later he received a spear-head in his eye, which passed through his head so that he died. The same fate quickly overtook every one in the boat but one, Juan de Noya, of Seville, a cooper of the ship *Santiago de Palos*, who escaped by swimming to the shore and making his way back to the settlement. There the people were in great trepidation. Realising the fate of their companions and fearing a like disaster, they made their way to the ship *Gallego*, and endeavoured to work the ship out of the harbour against the command of the Adelantado, but they could not force it through the passage. The towing boats

were in great danger. The Admiral on his part was in peril by the waves forbidding him to enter the harbour, his ship hands being few by reason of those at the settlement and those who were killed, and having no boat with which to make his way back. The Adelantado then, with such men as he could rally, erected a temporary fortress, near the mouth of the river, barricading themselves behind chests and casks containing provisions, and thus defended themselves, the Indians fearing the bullets from the lombard guns.

In the meantime a tragedy was taking place on one of the ships outside the harbour. We think the *Santiago de Palos* was the vessel which was the scene of the horrible incident. Ferdinand alone gives it a name, the *Bermuda*,¹ and we know there was no ship called by this name. During the night, some days after the fight on land, the Indian captives broke through the hatches of the ship on which they and the family of the Quibia were confined, and threw themselves into the sea, some no doubt safely reaching land. But some who were not so fortunate were discovered by the Spaniards, driven back into their narrow quarters, and in the morning their dead bodies were found, having strangled themselves from hopeless dread. The space into which they had been thrown was so confined that the Indians to hang themselves had their knees almost touching the floor of the miserable den. Thus escaped or perished all the Indians taken captive by the Adelantado and his followers.

The Admiral was now in serious trouble. He had not heard of his settlement for ten days. The ships could not approach the shore, the boats could not force their way into the river's mouth. But one way remained. A strong swimmer might accomplish what neither ship nor boat could succeed in doing, and Pedro de Ledesma of Seville, one of the pilots of the ship *Vizcaino*, when the boat which bore him came within a musket shot of the shore, boldly threw himself into

¹ This is undoubtedly the ship *Santiago de Palos*, whose master was called Francisco Bermudez. As the captain was the rebellious Franciscus de Porras, the *Historie* may have wished to pass over his name, and so called the ship after the master. It is only a conjecture we offer, but we think there can be no doubt the two names designate the same ship. The *Gallego* was left in Belem, the *Vizcaino* in Puerto Bello, and the *Capitana* and *Santiago de Palos* were beached at Santa Gloria Bay in Jamaica. Afterwards, when there were only two ships left, Ferdinand refers to the *Bermuda*.

the surf and buffeted his way to land. When he reached the settlement, the Spaniards said they would not remain there while the Admiral went back to Spain, but desired that they should be taken away, and declared that directly the sea calmed they would go out. They even indulged in threats, and there were those capable of resisting the Adelantado and his authority. Pedro de Ledesma returned in safety to the Admiral and related what had passed. Realising that it would be folly to leave his people in their dangerous situation, and fearing the weather might get worse, Columbus decided to remove the men from shore and himself to abandon the ship *Gallego*, which, after all, was worthless for sea-service. In two days all this was accomplished, and, on Saturday, April 15, 1503,¹ the first of the little fleet was left to its fate in the port of Santa Maria de Belem.

¹ Diego de Mendez in his relation says that the three ships departed from Veragua on the last day of April, 1503. Diego Porras in his account of the ships says that the ship *Gallego* was used for a fortification in the port until, on Saturday, April 15, 1503, it was finally abandoned. As this report was an official document and was preserved in the archives of Simancas, where it was copied for Navarrete, January 20, 1821, we have preferred to follow its authority.

CHAPTER CVIII

WAS IT CATHAY?

THE ships now sailed to the east along the coast. All the sailors considered that the Admiral should sail to the north, that they might reach Española and repair their ships. The Admiral and his brother knew that best to accomplish this, by reason of the currents and winds, it was necessary to go far to the east, in order finally to make head toward San Domingo. There was some murmuring at this, as the sailors feared the Admiral might attempt to go directly back to Castile, an attempt they felt to be suicidal. However, confidence was restored, and they made their way to Puerto Bello, where they were obliged to abandon the *Vizcaino*.¹ The expedition followed along beyond the port of Retrete to a country where they found a quantity of little islands, which the Admiral named *Las Barbab*, and which the Indians and the pilots said, according to Ferdinand, were under the dominion of the Cacique Pocorosa. Las Casas says that Las Barbab was the Gulf of San Blas, which in his time so appeared on the maps, and also that sometimes it was called wrongly San Nicolas. Some early writers call these the Samballas Islands. From this point they went ten leagues farther to the east, to a point which Ferdinand called *Marmora*.² Here the Admiral left the mainland and proceeded in a

¹ According to the authority of Ferdinand Columbus (see *Historie*, chap. e).

² This point has been identified by Navarrete as *Punta Mosquitas*. Punta de Mosquitas is at least seventeen leagues from the Pt. S. Blas, but, taken from the extreme eastern part of the group of islands, might come within Ferdinand's ten leagues.

Thus the Admiral did not reach the Gulf of Darien, nor even that point of the coast afterward called New Caledonia and settled by the Scotch in 1698, a few leagues farther east. This last settlement, made by some twelve hundred immigrants sailing from Leith, was supposed to be supported by the Dutch and English capitalists, but these withdrew their subscriptions for fear of interfering with the Dutch and English India Companies already formed, and when the inevitable attack of the

north-westerly direction out to the open sea. It is thus evident, as Las Casas says, that on this voyage the Admiral did not get as far westward as Cartagena, which he says is a good sixty leagues east of the point at which the Admiral left the coast to go to Española; and if the expedition had reached so remarkable and beautiful a port, either the Admiral, Ferdinand, Diego Porras, or Diego Mendez would have mentioned it. This port of Cartagena, the Bishop adds, was probably named by Rodrigo de Bastidas and Juan de la Cosa, or perhaps by Cristobal Guerra.¹ Columbus never saw the Gulf of Darien nor the headland of Cartagena. He had a knowledge of the coast, however, for on the *Santiago de Palos* was Juan de Noya of Seville, who had been one of the famous expedition of Niño and Guerra to the Pearl Coast. We cannot tear ourselves away from this continental land without hearing the parting shot of this sterling ecclesiastic:

" . . . fueron los que aquella tierra, primero que otros, descubrieron y cognoscieron, y tambien la escandalizaron."

" . . . these [Bastidas and Guerra] were the men who first discovered explored and likewise scandalised that country."

In the *Lettera*, Columbus says that he arrived May 13, 1503, in the province of *Mago*, which adjoins *Catayo*, and which some called southern Cathay. If this was the real view of Columbus, it would mean that on May 13, 1503,² as he was leaving the continental land to return to Española, he thought he was leaving the mainland of Asia. He does not say this in his *Journal*, as reported by either Ferdinand, his son, or Las Casas, the historian. It is contrary to his expression of having found a New World for subjugation to the Spanish Sovereigns and for the glory of the Lord. It is contrary to the information received from the Indians in Veragua, and which he himself accepted as true, that

Spaniards came, the old countries refused their assistance and the new colony was abandoned. The Dutch under William III. did not propose to favour a Scotch colony in that rich country. Who can tell what a different history the New World might have had with a proper encouragement given to this enterprise? This colony was established at a place called *Acta* and was projected by a man called Patterson, the son of a farmer in Dumfriesshire.

¹ This expedition, the first to the Pearl Coast after Columbus passed it in the third voyage, was really under Pero Alonzo Niño, as we have seen in the *Libretto*. Cristobal Guerra was in the ship as a part owner.

² The date of turning away from the mainland in the *Historie* is given as May 1, 1503. *Mago*, or *Mango*, was the province mentioned by Toscanelli.

from there westwardly by land was a nine days' journey to another sea, just as one would go from Tortosa by the Mediterranean to Fuenterrabia in the Bay of Biscay, and that this sea would carry him to Cathay or to Catigara. It was contrary to his knowledge of distances traversed on the surface of the globe both by land and by water. It was contrary to the possible recognition of that land as an Asiatic country, according to the descriptions given of Cathay and Mango by Marco Polo, whose book, as we shall soon show, was familiar to him. But this expression in the *Lettera* becomes perfectly natural and full of meaning when a little farther in the same document we find him saying, speaking of the pilots who were on the voyage and on whom others might rely for leading another expedition to that land of Veragua:

"We found ourselves in the land of Maya. . . . Let them [the pilots] make known, if they themselves know it, the situation of Veragua. I say that they cannot give other information or account except that they went to some lands where there is much gold and to insist that they did this: but they are ignorant of the route by which to return there and if they were to go there, they would be obliged to make a new discovery of it."

Here, then, the Admiral was mystifying the Sovereigns, and through them the pilots and adventurers who were ready to sail to the New World and profit by his discoveries, as Pero Alonzo Niño had done, as Bastidas had done. Columbus communicated the details of his information with extreme reserve. He wrote many things; he parted with very little geographical information. In her letter to the Admiral, dated from Barcelona, September 5, 1493, the Queen writes for his "Chart of Navigation," which the Admiral *promised* to send.¹ In another letter, dated from Segovia, August 16, 1494, the Sovereigns write to him:

". . . how many islands have been discovered up to this time and what is the name of each of those to which you have given names: for although you name some in your letters, they are not all: and what are the names which the others are called by the Indians and how far it is from one to the other. . . ."

¹ Humboldt is wrong in assuming that there is in this letter any direct reference to degrees of latitude or longitude. Of course, a carefully prepared chart would contain these, but the Queen says nothing about a course by which the Admiral reached the Indies.

In the celebrated trial, Pedro Mateos, a citizen of Higüey, who was a sailor on board the *Gallego*, testified:

“y escribió un libro que tenia todas las sierras é rios vió in la dicha provincia . . . y el dicho Almirante se lo tomó despues.”

“I wrote a book which contained all the mountains and rivers I saw in the said province and afterwards the said Admiral took it away from me.”

The Admiral undoubtedly guarded a knowledge of the route thither and of the country itself for the benefit of the Sovereigns, but even to them he seems uncommunicative.

This caution, then, was characteristic of the man, and it is entirely consistent with this characteristic that he should introduce some confusing element into the question of the exact situation of the new lands. Surely nothing could be more confusing than to suggest that he had already gone such a great distance to the west as actually to be in the extreme east and at the very threshold of China. If Columbus had in reality believed himself on territory belonging to the Great Khan, he would have sought and found some civilised people, cities, temples, and public works, ports, and harbours receiving and sending forth commerce to the lesser east.

“On May 13,” says the Admiral, “I arrived at the province of Mago which adjoins that of Catao.” Mago, Magho, Mango in the Spanish copy of the *Lettera* are different spellings of some copyist’s errors for the country called Mángi by Marco Polo and Mango by Toscanelli. In the famous oath of opinion taken by the pilots, masters, and sailors on board the caravel *Niña*, June 12, 1494, as to Cuba being continental land, this province is called Mango.¹ These modifications of the same name all stand for Manchuria, the country of southern China or of southern Cathay, as distinguished from Catayo or Khatai, northern China. There has been speculation as to whether or not Columbus ever read Marco Polo. It is said that since these names are found in the letter of Toscanelli, he may have read them there. But we have shown in another place that in the Middle Ages even the boys of Venice and Italy knew of Marco Polo and of his adventures. His story was inviting to the ears of the traveller. It seems to us most probable that Columbus did know it. When he died he was possessed of a printed

¹ Navarrete, vol. ii., p. 144.

example of the book. Almost every great library had a manuscript copy of Polo's travels composed in French, Italian, Latin, or Portuguese.¹ It was printed in the German language at Nuremberg in 1477.² An undated Latin edition may be as early. The first edition printed in Italian is dated 1496.³ But if Columbus had not already read Marco Polo in manuscript or printed form, he must have been familiar with the story. And what was that story told of Mángi! In this country of Mángi were not less than twelve hundred great cities, not counting towns or villages. The smallest and least important of these cities, the least insignificant, had ten thousand soldiers to patrol its streets and guard its inhabitants. The capital of the country was Kinsay or Quinsay,⁴ the most magnificent, says the traveller, himself a Venetian, of all the cities of the world. The compass of this city was one hundred miles. In the midst of the city was a marvellous lake, and the stream that flowed between the city's walls was crossed by eleven thousand splendid bridges, under each of which a mighty fleet might pass. And the Ocean-sea came within twenty-five miles of the city, at a place called Ganpu, where there was an immense town, itself the centre of activity, holding in its arms a vast amount of shipping engaged in trafficking to and from India. Between Kinsay the great city and Ganpu, or Kanpu, flowed a large river, the highway of communication. And along the coast were fleets passing to and fro, while the shore was covered with cities and towns. If it be said that the Admiral was in a latitude south of Manchuria, or Mángi, he would still have seen the fleets passing to and from India. Columbus found on the coast of Veragua none of these

¹ Scholars generally regard the French manuscripts as the earliest. It is exceedingly curious that it should be so, but the copy in French presented by the author himself at Venice in the year 1306 to Seigneur Thibault de Capoy, a distinguished Frenchman, bears an inscription recording that interesting presentation. The Latin version, prepared by Francisco Pipino in the lifetime of Marco Polo, is no longer regarded as done under his supervision.

In the time of Charles V.—about fifty years after Marco Polo's death—there were five manuscript copies in the library of the Louvre. We nevertheless think the work must have been first composed in the Venetian dialect.

² Press of Frederick Creuzner,—the third established at Nuremberg,—folio, 34 lines and 58 folios.

³ In Venezia per Zoanne Baptista da Sessa Milanese, MCCCCXC VI, adi XIII del mese di Iunio.

⁴ Kinsay, now called Hang Chow Foo, with its seaport Ganpu or Kanpu on the east shore of the China Sea, has to-day a population of 600,000. It is only twenty miles distant from the sea.

things. He expected to see none of these things. It would seem as if the strange allusions to Cathay and Mángi were with a view to mystifying any pilot who should venture to find his Veragua. Such a sailor in search of Cathay would go far to the northward. Therefore we think we are justified in asserting that Columbus not only knew that he had found continental land, but that such land was separated from China by another sea. And it is pleasant to think that such a view is consistent with the nautical, geographical, and astronomical knowledge of the great Discoverer.

CHAPTER CIX

A BRAVE MESSENGER

THE winds and the currents were now such that the Admiral could sail up to the north, which course he followed for several days, and then to the west, so that on Wednesday, May 10, 1503,¹ they came in sight of two small islands, which on account of the large quantity of tortoises, they called *Las Tortugas*.² From here they sailed to the north, and on Friday, May 12, 1503, after a journey of thirty leagues they anchored in the *Jardin de la Reina*, some ten leagues from the south side of Cuba. The vessels were now in such a condition of decay and ruin that the three pumps were kept at work day and night. A tempest arose which took from the ships three of their anchors, and the ship which Ferdinand calls *Bermuda*, dragging its anchors, was hurled against the *Capitana* in such a way as to injure severely both vessels. The single anchor remaining to the *Capitana* held as by a thread, for when daylight came the cable was seen to be almost worn through, and beyond lay the hungry rocks. From here the expedition went to the south side of the island of Cuba, to a settlement of the Indians called *Macaca*. According to the relation of Diego Mendez, the two vessels ran to the province of Homo, where the city of Trinity was at the time he made his Will, in the year 1536.³ Irving carries the ships to the Cape Cruz, apparently following the relation given by Porras. But Porras does not say that they went from the last anchorage, the *Jardin de la Reina*, to Cape Cruz. He says: "He [the Admiral] went along the coast of

¹ We are now following Ferdinand and Las Casas as to dates. They fix the departure from the mainland as on May 1, 1503.

² Called to-day Las Caymans.

³ It is still called "Trinidad."

Cuba as far as the Cape Cruz." He had, however, gone from the *Jardín de la Reina* to Trinidad, where he anchored, provisioning the ships through the kindness of the Indians, and from Trinidad he coasted along the island as far as the Cape Cruz. From here, the winds and currents being contrary, they went to the island of Jamaica, where, on the eve of St. John the Baptist's Day, June 23, 1503, they arrived at a port of Jamaica called Puerto Bueno, where they spent the day of St. John the Baptist. Finding no Indians there, the Admiral the following day went to a port called *Santa Gloria*. This is a cove or little bay, called *Don Christopher's Cove*, and is about a mile south of St. Ann's Bay. This region is perhaps the most beautiful in the whole of the beautiful island of Jamaica.

In this harbour of *Santa Gloria* he beached his two ships, fastening them together in such a manner that they could not move, building fore and aft shelters for his men. The Indians, mild and gentle of mien, came to the ships desiring to trade their provisions and articles for the Castilian trifles. The Admiral appointed two persons to receive all the things bought of the Indians, and these each evening divided the provisions among the Spaniards, so that each might receive his proper and reasonable share. Some small animals, about the size of rabbits, but described by Las Casas as a species of rodents, were exchanged for a brass pin, and cakes of cassava for two or three yellow or green beads, while things of greater value bought one of the hawk's bells. Severe rules were adopted, the sailors not being allowed on land without a permit, the lessons learned at Veragua having made their impression. If the situation at Belem had been serious, this at Jamaica was still more critical. They were without means of escape. From time to time the Admiral presented the chiefs with a looking-glass, a red cap, or a pair of scissors, thus keeping them contented with their visitors and maintaining with them amicable relations. He bought of the natives ten canoes for the use of the Spaniards, and thus frequent but authorised visits were made to the shore.

The Admiral now held a council with his chief men as to what should be done to extricate themselves from this unpleasant situation. It was finally concluded that an effort should be made to communicate with Nicolas de Ovando, the Governor of Española, and with Alonzo Sanchez de Carvajal,

Christopher Columbus

the factor of the Admiral on that island. These were to be requested to send him at his own expense a ship with which to return to Española. For this difficult enterprise of reaching Española he selected two persons, brave, prudent, and faithful. It was a voyage of the utmost danger. The east end of the island of Jamaica was distant from their little cove thirty-five leagues, according to Diego Mendez, or thirty-three leagues, as given by Ferdinand in his *Historie*. This eastern end was called by the Indians *Aoamaquique*.¹ From here across to the island of Española was a stretch of wild sea thirty leagues wide, according to Ferdinand, and from twenty to twenty-five, according to Las Casas.² Between these two islands and about eight leagues from Española lay the little island of Navasa. To make this perilous journey there were no available boats save the Indian canoes, fragile and unstable, requiring the utmost skill to navigate them in safety. The two Spaniards selected by the Admiral to make this voyage were Diego Mendez de Segura, whom Ferdinand calls the principal notary of the fleet, and with whom Las Casas says he had a personal acquaintance, and Bartolomé de Fresco,³ a Genoese, and, according to Las Casas, worthy of the great errand on which he was to go. The directions given to the two Spaniards were, first, Diego Mendez was to go to the city of San Domingo, and after delivering news of the Admiral's situation, he was to go to Spain and give the Sovereigns an account of the voyage; second, Bartolomé de Fresco was simply to go to the island of Española and then return to Jamaica to notify the Admiral of the safe arrival of Mendez. The Admiral confided to Mendez a letter to the Sovereigns and another to Ovando, the Governor, while there were others written to persons in Castile. Las Casas estimates the distance from where the Admiral was in Jamaica to the city of San Domingo on the island of Española as two hundred leagues.⁴ Thus the distance and the peril were double for Bartolomé de Fresco if he followed his directions. Mendez and Fresco each

¹ The Indians called the port of *Santa Gloria, Maima*.

² The distance is about one hundred and fifteen miles.

³ Porras and Pedro de Hinojedo write this name *De Fresco*, and it is so entered on the book of the officers and sailors, he being captain of the *Vizcaino*. Cornejo gives it *De Fryesco*, while in the Memorial del Pleyto it is written *De Fiesco*. Still others write this name *Fieschi*. Las Casas writes it Bartolomé Flisco.

⁴ Ferdinand estimates the distance as two hundred and fifty leagues.

had a canoe with six Spaniards and ten Indians, the latter going as rowers. The Indians were each provided with a gourd of water and a quantity of cassava bread, with a kind of pepper. Each Spaniard carried his sword and shield, while for food he had bread, water, and the flesh of an animal described as like small rabbits. The Adelantado, with a force of seventy men,¹ accompanied him by land to the extremity of the island whither the canoes made their way. Here they remained four days for the sea to become calm. Las Casas says the Adelantado and his men had accompanied Mendez and Fresco to protect them against the Indians. This makes somewhat possible the strange narration of Diego Mendez, who tells of a preliminary attempt made by him to carry this message to the Governor of Española, in which attempt he was frustrated by many Indians who tried to massacre him. Fifteen days after he left on this alleged first attempt, he returned to the bosom of the Admiral, who received him joyfully. It is dramatic, but it is not probable. Surely, if it had happened, Ferdinand or Las Casas or the Admiral himself would have mentioned such conspicuous bravery and sacrifice. Diego Mendez speaks of himself as if he alone of the Spaniards with some Indians made this journey to Española. In his first attempt Mendez had rigged a mast and sail for his canoe, which contained himself, one other Spaniard, and six Indians, all it would accommodate.² Therefore, when this attempt failed and a second trial was made, his canoe must have been larger, since, according to Ferdinand, it contained himself, six Spaniards, and ten Indians.

To return, then, to this so-called second attempt, the two canoes put out to sea one night when the weather was fair, the Indians using their paddles and from time to time refreshing themselves from their labours by throwing themselves into the sea for a short swim. It was calm for a night and a day, and they made such good headway that at the end of that time they had lost sight of the island they had left. The next night the Spaniards plied the paddle while the Indians rested. All were tired the following day, and although Spaniards and Indians

¹ Mendez gives this number.

² This occasion must not be confounded with a previous expedition which Mendez had made to the Caciques Huarco, Aguacadiba, and Ameyro, from the last of whom he bought a canoe and in which he coasted at some length.

changed places frequently, they suffered constantly. The Indians had speedily emptied their gourds, and as the strength of the sun increased, that of the natives lessened, until by midday they were unable to longer perform labour. The Spaniards were forced to sustain the Indians from their own supply of fresh water until the cooler air of evening visited them.¹ They had not only physical pain, but they suffered mental anguish at the thought that they had passed the island of Navasa which lay in their route, and which they feared they had missed. That afternoon one Indian had thrown himself into the sea and perished, and the others were stretched on the bottom of the boat unable to assist in the movement of the boat. They persisted in holding salt water in their mouths, thus adding to their pain. Night fell without their seeing the island. Ferdinand here says that they were certain they had gone at least twenty leagues, which should have brought them to Navasa. As the moon arose, Diego Mendez saw that the heavenly body was apparently undergoing a partial eclipse, and he discovered that it was behind a tiny island, so small that they would surely have passed it save for the good fortune of this clever navigator. With joy they revived the Indians, showing them the island, and abandoning to them their water casks, so that at dawn they reached the island and disembarked and gave thanks to the Lord.² The island was rocky and only half a league in circumference. Some rain water was found in the clefts of the rocks, with which they satisfied their thirst and filled their casks and bottles.³ The Indians drank so plentifully of this water that most of them died of thirst either at once or soon after as a result of their reckless drinking. One day they rested there, catching and cooking shell-fish, Diego Mendez having brought an apparatus for kindling fire. To the east they could see the Cape of Saint Miguel,⁴ as the Admiral had christened it, but

¹ The relative endurance of the Europeans and native races is here well illustrated.

² Mendez makes no mention of this island of Navasa. He says of his own herculean labours, "I navigated during five days and four nights without for one instant quitting the oar."

³ Oviedo reports that not far from the island of Navasa in the ocean is a spring of fresh water (Book VI., chap. xii.).

⁴ This was called Cabo de S. Miguel in the Ptolemy of 1561. In the first map ever engraved of Española and found in Oviedo's *Summario de la Naturale et General Historia de l'Indie Occidentali*, printed at Venice in 1534, this cape is down as Tiburon, a name it still bears.

which in the time of Las Casas was already known as Cape Tiburon. As the sun set, the two boats went on their way, and at dawn of the following morning, the beginning of the fourth day, according to Las Casas and Ferdinand,¹ they landed on the island of Española. Fresco and his companions were unwilling to return to Jamaica, and they pass from the eyes of history, even as Las Casas says they passed from his notice.² It is sufficient to say of Diego Mendez that he arrived in the province of Azoa, twenty-four leagues west of San Domingo, where he left his canoe and went by land to Xaraguá. Here he found the Governor, Nicolas de Ovando, to whom he delivered the message of the Admiral. Mendez asserts that Ovando kept him by him for seven months, and it was only after the horrible slaughter by that Governor of eighty chiefs and the Queen Anacaona that he was permitted to go to San Domingo. Ovando was suspicious of Mendez, and doubtless kept him with him all this time until he could satisfy himself that his story was true, and that he did not design working in opposition to his own plans or ambitions. Arrived at San Domingo, Mendez bought one of three ships which had just come in from Spain. He loaded these ships with food, wine, pigs, sheep, fruits, which at the end of May, in the year 1504, he forwarded to the Admiral. He himself then proceeded with two other ships to Spain, to render to the Sovereigns an account of all that had happened on this voyage.

¹ The time consumed is given by Mendez as five days and four nights, but as they left at the beginning of one night this reckoning could not be true. That they were thought by Ferdinand to have consumed but three completed days is evident from his likening their danger and their deliverance from the storm to the three days and nights spent by the prophet Jonah in the belly of the whale.

² Diego Porras, in his relation, gives the names of three Spaniards, Franeiseo de Medina, Gonzalo Gallego, and Franeiseo de Cordoba, who deserted at the island of Española. Of the first, he says no one knows what became of him; of the second, he remarks that he died; and of the third, he says he was still, in 1504, in Española.

CHAPTER CX

THE LUNAR ECLIPSE

AFFAIRS at the island of Jamaica were growing worse daily. Food was scarce. Of wine there was none. Bodily infirmities were experienced by all, while, to crown all, nothing was heard of the two boats and their comrades who had gone for succour. There were rumours, says Ferdinand, that the Admiral did not dare to return to Castile since the King had exiled him, and he was expiating his exile in that place, with themselves for his unwilling companions. Idleness was the worst conceivable ground in which to nourish such fancies, and soon discontent took the form of open rebellion. The conspirators circled around the two Porras brothers, and as they were not without influence at home, particularly with the Bishop Fonseca and the Treasurer Morales,¹ they believed they would easily obtain forgiveness, especially since all they wanted to do was to return to Spain and to their own families. There were no less than fifty of these discontented men, and choosing Francisco de Porras to be their captain, in the morning of January 2, 1504, the latter made his way to the Admiral and with an insolent air demanded if the latter had resolved to have them all die in that place, and why he did not return to Castile. The Admiral suspected the design of Porras, but returned a gentle answer, saying that he of all men was anxious to return to Spain and to give an account to the Sovereigns of his voyage and of their welfare. He added that there had been frequent councils in which Porras had taken part, and now if there had occurred to him any new plan or mode of escape he would be glad to again

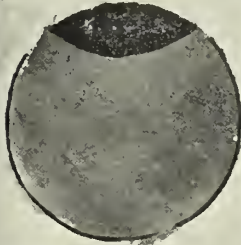

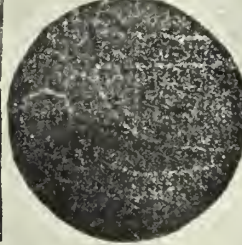
¹ Ferdinand, who probably knew Court gossip, says that this Treasurer Morales was in love with the sister of the two Porras.

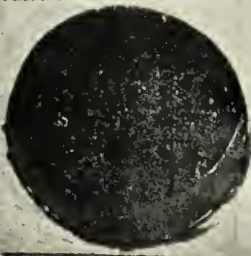

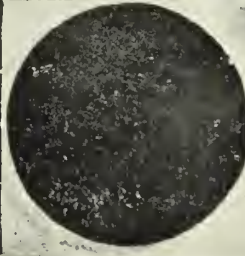
hold council with him. Porras replied that there was no need of conference, and that he, the Admiral, might embark or remain with God. He then turned his back on the Admiral, saying with a high voice, "I am going to Castile with those who wish to follow me." The conspirators all cried out, each saying, "I am with him, I am with him," seizing the forecastles and look-out places, continuing their cries of "On to Castile!" and "Captain, what shall we do?" while the most hopeless faintly murmured "Let us die." The Admiral was sick in bed suffering with the gout, but he arose in a fury, and would have probably been involved in a serious conflict if his servants had not forced him back into his bed. The Adelantado had made a valiant show of authority, arming himself with a lance and fighting until he was overcome and shut up with his brother in the latter's cabin. Porras and his fellow-conspirators embarked with cheers and songs in ten canoes which they had bought of the Indians, and paddled to the east end of the island, whence Mendez and his companions had departed several months before. They endeavoured to make their way to Española, but four leagues from land the waves frightened them with their menaces, and they threw away all but their arms. Then, the storm increasing, the Spaniards killed eighteen of the Indian servants and threw them overboard to lighten the boat still further.¹ Only enough of the natives were kept alive to work the canoes. Finally, putting back to land, they held council among themselves, some desiring to go to Cuba, which was eighteen leagues away, and some insisting on returning to the Admiral, reconciling themselves to him, and then taking from him arms, provisions, and articles of barter. Still others considered it better to await the approach of calmer weather, when they might again attempt the passage to Española. To this they all finally agreed. They rested here a month, and then made two more attempts, each failing by reason of sudden

¹ Las Casas takes his account almost word for word from Ferdinand, but introduces a sarcastic passage which is interesting. He says:

"It appearing that they were in danger and in order that they might placate God and that He might preserve them, they decided with their devout spirit to offer Him an agreeable sacrifice, and this was to throw into the sea all the Indians who were rowing them, killing them with their knives: many of them seeing the work that was going on threw *themselves* into the sea, confiding in their powers of swimming, but after exhausting themselves, they approached the boats to rest themselves on the edge of the canoes: the Spaniards cut off their hands with their swords and gave them other cruel wounds, so that they killed eighteen."

storms. They lost hope, abandoned their canoes, and travelled over the island from habitation to habitation, a devastating horde, committing countless violences, pillaging, destroying. The Indians had now turned against all the Spaniards, the good and the bad, the just and the unjust. The Admiral and those with him in the little bay were unable to procure by barter and through solicitation the necessary food for their support. It was then that there occurred to him a happy idea, the employment of which was full of sufficient glory without attributing to him a scientific knowledge which he probably did not possess. For years books had been issued from the rapidly multiplying printing-presses of Italy and Germany, giving calculations of the future movements of the heavenly bodies. One of these books, or a manuscript copy, Columbus had with him. We reproduce a page from the *Calendarium* of Johannes Müller, or *Regiomontanus*. This book has no colophon, but it was printed beyond question in 1474, since the calendar begins with the year 1475. In this book not only are the eclipses calculated for many years in advance, but actual diagrams are given showing the partial or complete concealment of the moon, the year, day, and hour of the eclipse, together with the moment of its occurrence and the duration of its passage. These books in the time of Columbus were common. Doubtless one lay open on the Admiral's table. However this may be, he knew there was due on the evening of February 29, 1504 (leap year), an eclipse, and with this knowledge he practised magic with the simple natives. Ferdinand tells us that the Spaniards consumed more food in one day than the natives made in three weeks, so that the mere preparation of the food would have taxed their resources. After a time the Indians no longer brought provisions, nor could they be induced by gifts, solicitation, or threats to continue the necessary supplies. In this embarrassment the Spaniards, on February 26, 1504, approached the Admiral, who was still ill in bed, and communicated to him their distress. It was then that he remembered the lunar eclipse, foretold in his calendar as due the third night from then, and he conceived the idea of teaching the natives a lesson in obedience and submission. He ordered an Indian he had brought with him from Española to invite the principal natives to a grand feast which he prepared for them the day before the eclipse. It was then that the Admiral ad-

1298	1400	1401
Eclipsis Solis	Eclipsis Lune	Eclipsis Lune
29 3 2	4 12 2	2 18 29
Iulii	Nouembris	Maii
Dimidia duratio	Dimidia duratio	Dimidia duratio
0 36	1 38	1 42
Puncta tria	Puncta decem	
		

1402	1402	1402
Eclipsis Solis	Eclipsis Lune	Eclipsis Lune
30 12 24	14 12 20	29 13 36
Septembris	Octobris	Februarii
Dimidia duratio	Dimidia duratio	Dimidia duratio
1 18	1 1	1 26
Puncta decem	Puncta tria	
		

Fac-simile of Page from Müller's "Calendarium," Printed in 1474
Predicting Lunar Eclipse of February 29, 1504.

dressed them and informed the Indians that the Spaniards were Christians, that they believed in one God whose home was in the Heavens, who rewarded the good and punished the wicked, as they themselves had witnessed in the case of rebellious soldiers. He announced that this God was displeased with them for not furnishing food to the Spaniards, and that He was about to punish them by sending pestilence and famine, and as a token of His purpose He would place in the heavens a sign which all could see, nothing less than the hiding of the moon as it rode through the evening skies. Some feared and others mocked, after the manner of sinful crowds. When, then, at seven o'clock, the earth was still and the moon appeared red like fire and a dark film came creeping over her face, abject fear seized upon the poor Indians, and they prayed the Admiral-priest to intercede with his Deity. The Admiral retired to his chamber, and when one hour and fifty minutes¹ had passed, and the moment of the reappearance of the luminary had come, he returned to the Indians and told them to be of good cheer, that he had communed with the God in the Heavens and that, promising good behaviour in their name and a renewal and continuance of their service to the Christians, He had patiently listened and generously determined to forgive the Indians, and thus they might soon expect to see the dreadful token of anger withdrawn from the sky. And then came the diminution of the eclipse,²

¹ According to the diagram of Johannes Müller the middle of the eclipse occurred at thirteen hours and thirty-six minutes, Nuremberg time. The eclipse then would be visible at Jamaica at seven hours and forty minutes on February 29, and the middle time would be about seven hours and twenty-eight minutes. The partial phase began about one hour and forty-three minutes before, or, say, five hours and forty-five minutes. The totality began about seven hours and three minutes and lasted about fifty minutes.

The reader will find an account of Johannes Müller and his famous book in our chapter xxxxi.

² In the mass of manuscript matter connected with the *Book of Prophecies*, which, undoubtedly, Columbus contemplated arranging and completing in some form, is the following allusion to two eclipses of the moon.

"El año de 1494. estando yo en la ysla Saona. que es el cabo oriental de la ysla Española, obo eclipsis de la luna á 14 de setiembre, y se falló que habia diferencia de allí al cabo de San Vicente en Portugal cinco oras y más de media.

"Jueves. 29 de febrero de. 1504. estando yo en las Yndias en la ysla de Janahica en el puerto que se diz de Santa Gloria, que es casi en el medio de la ysla, de la parte septentrional, obo eclipsis de la luna, y porque el comienço fué primero que el sol se pusiese, non pude notar salvo el término de quando la luna acabó de bolver en su claridad, y esto fué muy certificado dos oras y media pasadas de la noche cinco ampolletas muy ciertas.

"La diferencia del medio de la ysla de Janahica en las Yndias con la ysla de

the clear face of the moon again shone forth, and the miracle was ended. The curtain dropped on the first play ever performed in the New World.

Cális en España es siete oras y quynze minutos; de manera que en Cális se puso el sol primero que en Janahica con siete oras y quinze minutos de ora (vide almanach¹

"En el poerto de Santa Gloria en Janahica se alça el polo diez & ocho grados estando las Guardas en el braço."

"In the year 1494 when I was on the island of Saona, which is the eastern point of the island of Española, there was an eclipse of the moon on September 14, and it was found that there was a difference in time between that island and Cape St. Vincent in Portugal of more than five hours and a half.

"Thursday, February 29, 1504, when I was in the Indies on the island of Jamaica in the port which is called Santa Gloria, which is almost in the middle of the island, in the northern part, there was an eclipse of the moon, and as it began before sunset I was able to note only the period from the time when the moon began to appear light again: and this was most certainly two and one-half hours past the night, five *ampolletas* most surely.

"The difference in time between the island of Jamaica in the Indies and the island of Cadiz in Spain is seven hours and fifteen minutes; so that in Cadiz the sun sets seven hours and fifteen minutes sooner than it sets in Jamaica.

"In the harbour of Santa Gloria in Jamaica the pole rises eighteen degrees, the Guards being on the arm."

CHAPTER CXI

THE ESCAPE FROM JAMAICA

MORE than eight months had now passed and no word had come from Mendez or Fresco. Many believed they had perished; others that the succouring ship from Española had been lost. This was confirmed by a story the Indians told of seeing an overturned vessel floating with the current. This story was spread by the conspirators to take away from those who had been faithful to the Admiral their sole remaining hope. A new conspiracy now appeared within the ranks of the faithful. Master Bernal, an apothecary from Valencia, and Alonzo de Zamora, both of the Admiral's own ship *Capitana*, and Pedro de Villatoro of the *Santiago de Palos*, together with the larger part of those who were discontented, organised a revolt against the Admiral and the Adelantado. Before these men could work out their design, there arrived from Española a vessel commanded by Diego Escobar, one of the principal characters in the famous Roldan rebellion. This man had been despatched by Ovando to Jamaica to investigate the situation and condition of the Admiral. He was ordered to hold no converse with Columbus or his men and to receive no written communication.¹

¹ In *The History of the West Indies*, by Bryan Edwards, the author tells us that in his time there was preserved among the Journals of the Council of Jamaica, a very old manuscript volume consisting of diaries and reports of governors, and that in that book was to be found a translation of a letter to the King of Spain, purporting to be written by Christopher Columbus while on the island of Jamaica during his fourth voyage. The author adds that it appeared to him to bear marks of authenticity. Upon inquiry we learn from the Honourable Colonial Secretary of Jamaica that the manuscript volume referred to is lost. As this letter has been frequently confounded by writers with the letter written to the Sovereigns under date of July 7, 1503, we give it in full, as found in Edwards's *History*. The manner in which the Admiral speaks of himself throughout the letter as *Columbus* and *Christopher Columbus* is unusual with him, and is not found, so far as we know, in any other of his writings. Moreover, in speaking of the ship which the Governor, Ovando, sent from

Before he departed he sent a boat from the caravel and gave or, more properly, threw him a letter from Ovando, in which the latter complimented him on his exploration, condoled with him over misfortunes, and announced that the Admiral must support his grievous situation a while longer until an opportunity should occur to send him a ship for his relief. In the meantime the Governor sent him a cask of wine and some bacon, which gives Las Casas an opportunity to remark on the extreme liberality of the Governor who was enjoying all the rich fruits of the Admiral's discovery. Las Casas says that there were then in San Domingo and in Española many who, if the Admiral were again among them, would favour him greatly as against Nicolas de Ovando, and that it was because he knew this that the latter would not send succour to Jamaica. Others who were friendly to the Admiral asserted that there was a deeper design which stopped not short of the death of the Discoverer on that very island of Jamaica, lest should he return to Española after the arrival there of Diego Mendez, the author of the letter declares that the Governor of St. Domingo (an unusual expression for the time) "neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us." History records that there was a written communication between the ship sent by the Governor and the Admiral. It would seem to be a curtailed translation of the *Lettera*. Following is the letter:

"A LETTER FROM CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, IN JAMAICA, TO KING FERDINAND.

"JAMAICA, 1504.

"Diego Mendes, and the papers I sent by him, will show your Highness what rich mines of gold I have discovered in Veragua, and how I intended to have left my brother at the river Belem, if the judgments of Heaven and the greatest misfortunes in the world had not prevented it. However it is sufficient that your Highness and your successors will have the glory and advantage of all, and that the full discovery and settlement are reserved for happier persons than the unfortunate Columbus. If God be so merciful to me as to conduct Mendes to Spain, I doubt not but he will convince your Highness, and my great mistress, that this will not only be a CASTILE and LEON, but a discovery of a world of subjects, lands and wealth, greater than man's unbounded fancy could ever comprehend, or avarice itself covet; but neither he, this paper, nor the tongue of mortal man, can express the anguish and affliction of my body and mind; nor the misery and dangers of my son, brother and friends. Already have we been confined ten months in this place, lodged on the open decks of our ships, that are run on shore and lashed together; those of my men that were in health have mutinied under the Porras brothers of Seville; my friends that were faithful are mostly sick and dying; we have consumed the Indians' provisions, so that they abandon us; all therefore are like to perish by hunger, and these miseries are accompanied by so many aggravating circumstances, that render me the most wretched object of misfortune this world shall ever see; as if the displeasure of Heaven seconded the envy of Spain, and would punish as criminal those undertakings and discoveries which former ages would have acknowledged as great and meritorious actions. Good Heaven, and you holy saints that dwell in it, let the King Don Ferdinand and my illustrious mistress Donna Isabella know, that my zeal for their service and interest hath brought me thus low; for it is impossible to live and have afflictions equal to mine. I see, and with horror apprehend, my own, and for my sake, my unfortunate and deserving people's destruction. Alas, piety and justice have retired to their habitations above, and it is a crime to have undertaken and performed too much. As my misery makes my life a burthen to myself, so I fear the

Spain the Sovereigns would restore to him the active enjoyment of his privileges and honours, when there would be a terrible day of reckoning, in which many heads would fall and great restitution be exacted. As the communication of Ovando to the Admiral had not been revealed to the men, and as Diego d'Escobar had held no converse with any of the rebellious Spaniards (indeed, the caravel had remained in the bay only part of a day), Columbus thought it opportune to send word of the new situation to the conspirators. Therefore, he selected two men of merit and commissioned them to go to Porras, the captain, and the other conspirators, and to indicate his goodwill he sent with them a portion of the wine and provisions left by Escobar. Porras, when he saw the Ambassadors approaching, endeavoured to converse with them alone, but his men insisted upon witnessing the interview. No good resulted from

empty titles of viceroy and admiral, render me obnoxious to the hatred of the Spanish nation. It is visible that all methods are adopted to cut the thread that is breaking; for I am, in my old age, oppressed with insupportable pains of the gout, and am now languishing and expiring with that and other infirmities, among savages, where I have neither medicines nor provisions for the body, priest nor sacrament for the soul. My men in a state of revolt; my brother, my son, and those that are faithful, sick, starving, and dying; the Indians have abandoned us, and the governor of St. Domingo, has sent rather to see if I am dead, than to succour us, or carry me alive from hence; for his boat neither delivered a letter, nor spoke with, nor would receive any letter from us; so I conclude your Highness's officers intend that here my voyages and life should terminate. O blessed mother of God, that compassionates the miserable and oppressed, why did not cruel Bovadilla kill me when he robbed me and my brother of our dearly purchased gold, and sent us to Spain in chains, without trial, crime, or shadow of misconduct? These chains are all the treasures I have, and they shall be buried with me, if I chance to have a coffin or grave; for I would have the remembrance of so unjust an action perish with me, and, for the glory of the Spanish name, be eternally forgotten. Let it not bring a further infamy on the Castilian name, nor let future ages know, there were wretches so vile in this, that think to recommend themselves to your Majesty by destroying the unfortunate and miserable Christopher Columbus: not for his crimes, but for his services in discovering and giving Spain a New World. As it was Heaven itself that inspired and conducted me to it, the Heavens will weep for me, and shew pity. Let the earth and every soul in it, that loves justice and mercy weep for me. And you, O glorified saints of God, that know my innocence and see my sufferings here, have mercy. For though this present age is envious or obdurate, surely those that are to come will pity me, when they are told that Christopher Columbus, with his own fortune, ran the hazard of his own and his brother's lives, and, with little or no expense to the crown of Spain, in ten years, and four voyages, rendered greater services than ever mortal man did to prince or kingdom, yet was left to perish, without being charged with the least crime, in poverty and misery; all but his chains being taken from him; so that he who gave Spain another world, had neither safety in it, nor yet a cottage for himself, nor his wretched family; but, should Heaven still persecute me, and seem displeased with what I have done, as if the discovery of this new world may be fatal to the old, and as a punishment bring my life to a period in this miserable place, yet do you, good angels, you that succour the oppressed and innocent, bring this paper to my great mistress. She knows how much I have done, and will believe what I have suffered for her glory and service, and will be so just and pious, as not to let the children of him that has brought to Spain such immense riches, and added to it vast and unknown kingdoms and empires, want bread, or subsist only on alms. She, if she lives, will consider that cruelty and ingratitude will bring down the wrath of Heaven, so that the wealth I have discovered, shall be the means of stirring up all mankind to revenge and rapine, and the Spanish nation suffer hereafter, for what envious, malicious, and ungrateful people, do now."

the meeting, and as the commissioners departed, Porras harangued his men and persuaded them to advance against the Admiral and seize his person. When the rebels arrived at Maima, about one quarter of a league from Santa Gloria, Columbus early in the morning of May 17, 1504,¹ sent his brother with fifty soldiers to meet them. The Adelantado was ready for a peaceful meeting, and he was also prepared, as he ever was, for war. The rebels began the conflict, which was warm but short. At the first onset the Adelantado and his men wounded five or six and killed two, Juan Sanchez and Juan Barba. Juan Sanchez de Caliz was the pilot-major of the fleet and one of the officers of the Admiral's ship. It will be remembered that he it was to whom was confided the person of Quibia, the Indian chief, and who offered the very hair of his head as reprisal if the latter escaped his hand. Juan Barba also belonged to the Admiral's ship. He was a skilled gunner and in his charge were the lombards.² The rebels retired from the fight well worsted, and it was with difficulty the men restrained the Adelantado from pursuing them and seeking further vengeance. It was feared that the Indians, seeing them all wearied and fatigued and separated into various bands, might take advantage of their situation to attack them. Francisco de Porras was carried prisoner to the Admiral, and Pedro de Ledesma, whose bravery at Belem we have had occasion to relate, was wounded from falling into a hollow place, where he remained two days and a night before he was rescued.³ The force of the Admiral escaped with a wound in the hand to the account of the Adelantado and some severe wounds to that of the brave Pedro de Terreros, the captain of the abandoned ship *Gallego*. This faithful sailor died of his wounds on Wednesday, May 29, 1504.

On May 20, 1504, the rest of the rebels gave in their allegiance, and the Admiral assigned them a dwelling-place not far

¹ Irving makes this event occur on May 19, 1504, at least he says the rebels petitioned the Admiral on May 20, which he says was the day after the fight. Porras, who was in the fight, and who was a professional annotator, wrote down May 17 as the day on which Juan Sanchez died, and we accept that date as fixing the day of the battle.

² In the relation of Diego Porras he assigns May 17, 1504, as the date of the death of Juan Sanchez, and May 20, 1504, as that on which Juan Barba died.

³ Ledesma lived to return to Spain, where Las Casas saw him in Seville, and then learned a few days afterward that he had been assassinated.

away on the shore, appointing one of his own reliable men as captain over them.

And now fell on the little divided settlement a few weeks of peace, and then in June, 1504, appeared in the Bay of Santa Gloria two vessels, the tardy ship bought by Diego Mendez at the Admiral's expense, and one furnished by Nicolas Ovando, the Governor of Española. On June 28, 1504,¹ the entire party set sail for Española. Thus the Admiral departed for ever from the island of Jamaica.² They were many days beating around in the broad gulf between the two islands, and finally on August 3, 1504, they reached the little island of Beata, twenty leagues from Yaquimo, which the Admiral called Puerto del Brasil. The course from here to San Domingo was difficult because of the opposing winds and currents, and the Admiral resolved to send a letter by land to the Governor, who was at the capital, San Domingo, fifty leagues to the east. The letter was as follows:

"MUY NOBLE SEÑOR:—

"Diego de Salcedo llegó á mí con el socorro de los navios que vuestra merced me envió, el cual me dió la vida y á todos los que estaban conmigo: aquí no se puede pagar á precio apreciado. Yo estoy tan alegre, que, despues que le vide, no duermo de alegria: no que yo tenga en tanto la muerte como tengo la victoria del Rey y de la Reina, nuestros Señores, que han rescebido. Los Porras volvieron á Jamaica, y me enviaron á mandar que yo les enviase lo que yo tenia, so pena de venir por ello á mi costa, y de hijo y de hermano y de los otros que estaban conmigo, y porque no cumplí su mando, pusieron en obra, por su daño, de ejecutar la pena; hobo muertes y hartas feridas, y en fin, nuestro Señor, que es enemigo de la soberbia é ingratitud, nos los dió á todos en las manos; perdonélos y los restituí, á su ruego, en sus honras. El Porras, Capitan, llevó á Sus Altezas, porque sepan la verdad de todo. La sospecha de mí, se ha trabajado de matar á mala muerte, mas Diego de Salcedo todavía tiene el corazon in-

¹ It is sad to recall that just as the summons came to depart out of captivity, just as there came to his passing senses a reminder of Andalusia and a memory of home, Grigorio Sollo, of the *Capitana*, was taken in death. We know nothing of him, but the cruel fate of succumbing to death with the rescuing ships in sight impels us to write his name in history. He died June 27, 1504.

² It was from this island of Jamaica that his grandson, Don Luis Colon, was to derive a new title, Marquis of Jamaica, and a considerable grant of land in view of his abandoning a higher title and one dearly cherished by the Admiral,—that of Viceroy of the Indies.

By a Royal cedula in the year 1514, it was ordered that the island of Jamaica should be known as *Santiago*, and that Cuba should be called *Fernandina*, neither of which designations was adopted (Herrera, *Dcc. I.*, Book X.).

quieto: lo por qué, yo se que no lo pudo ver ni sentir, porque mi intencion es muy sana, y por esto yo me maravillo. La firma de vuestra carta prostrera folgué de ver, como si fuera de D. Diego ó de D. Fernando: por muchas honras y bien vuestro, señor, sea, y que presto vea yo otra que diga, 'el mæstre.' Su noble persona y casa, nuestra Señor guarde. De la Beata, á donde forzosamente me detiene la brisa. Hoy sábado, á 3 de Agosto. Fará, señor, vuestro mandado.

"[La firma que hacia era desta manera:]

“.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
XPO. FERENS.”

“MOST NOBLE LORD:—

“Diego de Salcedo reached me with the assistance of the ships which your Worship sent me, which restored life to me and to all those who were with me: here it cannot be repaid in a suitable manner. I am so happy that since I saw the ships, I do not sleep from joy, not that I consider death as much as the victory which the King and Queen, our Lords, have received. The Porrases returned to Jamaica and sent to me commanding me that I should send them what I had under penalty of their coming for it, to my cost, and that of my son and brother and the other persons who were with me, and because I did not comply with their commands, they started to enforce the penalty to their own harm: there were deaths and many wounds, and finally our Lord, who is an enemy to pride and ingratitude, delivered them all into our hands: I pardoned them and reinstated them, at their entreaty, in their honours. I am taking Porras, the Captain, to their Highnesses, that they may know the truth of everything. The utmost endeavours have been made to entirely destroy the suspicions about me, but the heart of Diego de Salcedo is still uneasy. I know that he was not able to see or feel why it was so, because my intention is most harmless, and I wonder on this account. I rejoiced to see the signature of your last letter, as though it had been that of Don Diego or Don Ferdinand. May it be for many honours and your benefit, Lord, and may I soon see another which says 'The Master.' May our Lord have your noble person and house in His keeping. From Beata, where the wind forcibly detains me. Saturday, August 3. Your command, Lord, shall be obeyed.

"[His signature is as follows:]

“.S.
.S. A .S.
X M Y
XPO. FERENS.”

Not more than a week had passed after this before the winds changed, and on August 13, 1504, the Admiral landed on the island of Española and in the city of San Domingo. Here,

while he was well and hospitably received by the Governor, his authority was broken, his office disregarded, and he had the disappointment of seeing Francisco de Porras set at liberty as if he had done no wrong. However, if there was a Jamaica, there was also a Castile. If there had been a traitor, just Sovereigns still sat upon the throne in Spain. Thither he would go, and in the sunny land of his adoption and of his glorious service he would have his wrongs avenged and his rights restored. Alas! These dreams were as unsubstantial as his visions of the new Crusade and the terrestrial Paradise. He had been destined to do great things, but not to see the results. He was like another great man who led a people out of bondage to a Land of Promise into which his feet never entered. Even the privilege of stepping on the continental land of the New World seems to have been denied this great Discoverer. But his work was accomplished, and it mattered little to him if he was to lag a few more days superfluous on the stage. All the days of his life he had been more acquainted with grief than joy.

He sailed from San Domingo on September 12, 1504, and on November 7, 1504, there came into the harbour of San Lucar de Barrameda in fair Castile a weary soul and a broken man. Christopher Columbus returned from his fourth voyage, but still Admiral of the Ocean-sea and for ever the Discoverer of the New World, from whom strength might go as from a thing that is used, but from whose name the honour of his labour should never, never pass.

CHAPTER CXII

THE PORRAS NARRATIVE

“Relacion del Viage é de la Tierra agora nuevamente Descubierta por el Almirante D. Cristobal Colon

“Fízose á la vela de la bahía de Cádiz con los cuatro navíos que llevó, miércoles á once dias de Mayo año de mil é quinientos é dos años. Llevó la via de las Islas de Canaria de la Isla del Fierro. Mandó tomar la derrota para las Indias al oueste cuarta al Sudueste; despidióse de vista destas islas jueves á veinte é seis dias deste dicho mes.

“Miercoles de mañana, quince dias de Junio, tomó tierra de una isla que se dice *Matinino*, que son aquellas las primeras islas de las Indias: estan trescientas leguas antes de la Isla Española y en su camino: aquí pidió el Almirante parescer á los hombres de la mar, dándoles cuenta por do queria y podia seguir su viage: él siguió la via de la Isla Española; en ella se detuvo algunos dias sin surgir ni entrar en el puerto de Santo Domingo, mas de cuanto mandó ir un suyo á tierra de la isla: á que fue no se sabe; la salida fue abajo del puerto do estaba el Gobernador.

“Desta isla se despidió jueves á catorce dias de Julio la via del Oeste. Sabado siguiente llegó á vista de la isla Jamaica, do antes habia de tomar su derrota para de allí ir á descubrir, no paró en ella: fue cuatro dias la via del Oeste cuarta al Sudueste, sin fallar otra tierra: fue otros dos dias al Nornorueste, é otros dos al Norte. Domingo veinte é cuatro dias deste mes vieron tierra: estaban los navíos mas decaidos de lo que pensaban por las muchas corrientes. Fue á tomar una isla baja donde tomó su derrota para ir á descubrir. Desta isla, que ya antes era descubierta, que está comarcana con la tierra de Cuba, tomó su derrota para ir á descubrir. Partió de aquí miercoles á veinte y siete dias deste dicho mes; atravesó un golfo pequeño en que habrá poco mas de noventa leguas: fue la via del Sur cuarta al Surueste.

“Sabado siguiente vieron tierra. Fue de una isla la primera tierra que descubrió: es pequeña, bojará veinte leguas, no tiene cosa de provecho: mostráronles á los indios oro en grano é perlas; maravilláronse de vello, é demandábanlo: es gente de guerra, son flecheros, son hombres de buena estatura.

“Desta isla pareció otra tierra muy alta é cercana, fue á ella por el Sur; estará desta isla diez leguas: de aquí de tomó un indio para levar por lengua á esta tierra grande, é este dijo algunos nombres de provincias desta tierra: tomó puerto al cual nombró el Almirante la *Punta de Caxinas*: de esta punta comenzó á ir descubriendo por esta costa, y por ser los vientos contrarios anduvo muy poco: nunca de la costa desta tierra se apartó dia, é todas las noches venia á surgir junto con tierra: la costa es bien temerosa, ó lo fizo parecer ser aquel año muy tempestuoso, de muchas aguas é tormenta del cielo: iba contino viendo la tierra, como quien parte de cabo de S. Viceinte hasta el cabo de Finisterre, viendo contino la costa: quince leguas adelante desta punta hizo tomar la posesion en un rio que salia grande de la tierra alta, é dicese el *Rio de la Posesion*.

“Pasando de aquí adelante fue toda la tierra muy baja, de gente muy salvage, y de muy poco provecho: hizo la tierra ya casi al fin dela tierra baja un cabo que fasta aquí fue lo peor de navegar, é púsole nombre de *Cabo de Gracias á Dios*.

“Pasó adelante; llegó una provincia que se nombra *Cariay*, tierra de muy gran altura: hallase gente de muy buenas disposiciones, muy agudos, deseosos de ver: extrañaban mucho cualquier cosa que les mostraban: aquí pareció entre algunos de los principales algun *Guani*: tenian algodón tejido; todos andan desnudos por toda la costa, salvo que traen mugeres é hombres cubiertas sus partes secretas con unas telas que sacan debajo de las cortezas de los árboles: traen los cuerpos é las caras todos pintados como los berberiscos: aquí viemos puercos y gatos grandes monteses, é los trajeron á los navíos: aquí se tomaron indios para lengua, é quedaron algo escandalizados.

“De aquí pasó adelante, é como iba requiriendo puertos é bahías, pensando hallar el estrecho, llegó á una muy gran bahía: el nombre de esta tierra se dice *Cerabaro*: aquí se falló la primera muestra de oro fino que traía un indio una como patena en los pechos, é se resgató: aquí se tomaron indios para informarse donde habia aquel oro é donde se traía, de aquí comenzó á ir resgatando por toda la costa.

“Por informacion de los indios fue á otra gran bahía, que se dice *Aburerna*: era por allí la tierra muy alta é fragosa, las poblaciones puestas en las montañas: hobose aquí un indio el cual dijo que adelante por la costa andadura de medio dia habia de aquello que pediamos: es la gente por toda esta costa tan salvage y tan sobre sí cada Señorío, que de veinte en veinte leguas no se entienden unos á otros.

“Pasó desta bahía y fue á un rio que se nombra *Guyga*, do salieron á la ribera muchos indios armados con sus lanzas é flechas, é algunos dellos con espejos de oro puestos en los pechos: es esta gente de manera que despues de habido nuestro rescate luego lo aborrecian que parecian bien tener en mas sus joyas que las nuestras: es esta tierra á la costa de la mar fragosa, de arboledas muy espesas; ninguna poblacion está á la costa, salvo dos ó tres leguas la tierra adentro, é no pueden ir dende la mar á las poblaciones por tierra, sino por los rios en sus canoas.

“De aquí pasó adelante á otra provincia que se dice *Cobraba*, y por entonces, á causa de no haber puerto, no se cató mas de tomar un indio para lengua: pasó á la ida por toda esta costa de Veragua sin saber el secreto, salvo seguir adelante á descubrir mas tierra, y despues que de aquí pasó iba pareciendo menos oro.

“Fue lo postrero que descubrió una tierra do falló un puerto muy pequeño que puso nombre el *Puerto del Retrete*, y aquí no traían los indios sino sarcillos de oro bajo: ya por aquí parecían muchas muestras de la costumbre é uso de los indios de la tierra de las perlas, y en algunas cartas de navegar de algunos de los marineros juntaba esta tierra con la que habia descubierto Hojeda y Bastidas, que es la costa de las perlas: será en suma la tierra que agora descubrió trecientas é cincuenta leguas.

“De aquí deste puerto dió la vuelta á la tierra que atrás quedaba por informacion del indio que traía por lengua, que adelante no habia mas oro, sino que las minas quedaban en la tierra de Veragua: llegó al rio de Veragua, no hobo entrada para los navíos, hallosé cerca otro rio que se dice Y. n. ebra, aquí fizo meter los navíos á mucho peligro: martes diez dias de Enero de quinientos tres años entraron los navíos en este rio; es en la misma tierra de Veragua.

“Luego se informó el Almirante del Cacique á do estaban las minas: de muy buena voluntad lo dijo, é así lo fizo que envió dos fijos suyos con los cristianos, á que nos enseñasen las minas: mostraba mucha voluntad á los cristianos: dende en veinte y seis dias que los navíos estaban dentro en este rio se descubrieron las minas, estan del puerto do nombran *Santa María de Belen* hasta ellas ocho leguas: es tierra trabajosa así de montaña como de muchos rios, que rio hay que se pasa treinta é nueve veces: hallamos muchas minas afondadas de los mismos indios fondura de medio estado: son muy diestros en el sacar del oro: fuemos setenta é cinco hombres á ellas, é en obra de un día sacamos dos ó tres castellanos sin aparejo ninguno, sino de las mismas minas que los indios tenían fechas, es el oro muy menudo: no volvimos mas á ellas: lo que mas se anduvo por la tierra dentro fueron diez leguas: no se supo mas secreto de decir que dentro la tierra habia mayores poblaciones, y por ser gente de poca verdad no quiso el Almirante que fuese gente á vella; y como luego mandó prender al Cacique do se le fizo mucho daño que le quemaron su poblacion, que era la mejor que habia en la costa é de mejores casas, de muy buena madera, todas cubiertas de fojas de palmas, é prendieron á sus fijos, é aquí træn algunos dellos de que quedó toda aquella tierra escandalizada, desto no sé dar cuenta sino que lo mandó facer é aun a pregonar escala franca.

“De aquí se partió porque los indios, despues de preso su Cacique, dieron en el real de los cristianos do mataron y firieron muchos, quedó dentro deste rio uno de los navíos que no podia salir porque pedia mucha agua, otro quedó en otro puerto de la costa que habia recibido mas daño de la bruma é era mas viejo: en los otros dos navíos se vino con la gente la vuelta de la Española que decia que no habia fasta ella ciento é cincuenta leguas, fue á parar á tierra de Cuba mas de ciero leguas abajo de la Espa-

ñola: los marineros no traían ya carta de navegar que se las había el Almirante tomado á todos: se decían que el yerro que se hizo al principio había causado gran desconcierto en el descubrir. Vínose por esta costa de Cuba fasta cabo de Cruz, cincuenta leguas de la Española, que pudiera ir muy bien á ella, y fuera el viage mas breve y no hobiera el daño que hobo por irse á la Isla Jamaica do estuvimos catorce meses ganando la gente y los navíos sin facer ningún servicio: la causa desta ida á Jamaica no hay quien lo sepa mas de querello facer. Llego á surgir á S. Lúcar jueves siete de Noviembre de quinientos quatro años."

"Diego de Porras

*Relation of the Voyage and of the Land now newly Discovered by the Admiral
Don Christopher Columbus*

"He sailed from the bay of Cadiz with the four ships which he took with him, Wednesday, May 11, 1502. He followed the way to the Canary Islands,¹ to the island of Fierro. He ordered that the course should be laid for the Indies to the west quarter south-west: [these islands the Canaries] were lost to view, Thursday, May 26. Wednesday morning, June 15, he landed at an island which is called *Matinino* ²: those are the first islands of the Indies. They are 300 leagues this side of the island of Española and on the way to it. Here the Admiral asked the opinion of the seamen, telling them how he wished to continue and could continue his journey. He took the way to the island of Española: there he tarried some days without anchoring or entering the port of San Domingo, except that he sent one of his people on land; who it was, is not known. His departure was from below the port where was the Governor.

"This island was left Thursday, July 14, and he sailed westward. The Sunday following he arrived in sight of the island of Jamaica,³ where previously he was to take his course, in order to go from there to make discoveries: he did not stop there. He sailed four days west, quarter south-west, without finding other land. He went two more days to the north-north-west and two more to the north. Sunday, the 24th of this month [July], they saw land. The ships were more damaged than they thought by the many currents. He went to a low island ⁴ from whence he took his course to go and make discoveries. From this island, which had already been discovered and which is near the island of Cuba, he took his course to go and make discoveries. He left there Wednesday, July 27: he crossed a small gulf which was a little more than 90 leagues: he continued his course south quarter south-west. The Saturday following they saw land.⁵

¹ He arrived at the Grand Canary May 20. (See Ferdinand Columbus's *Historie*, chap. lxxxviii.)

² Island of *Santa Lucia*, according to some. We identify it with the island of Martinique.

³ At *Cayas de Morante*.

⁴ *Cayo Largo*.

⁵ *Guanaja*, or Bonacca, thirty miles north of Cape Honduras.

It was an island, the first land that he discovered. It is small, will measure 20 leagues around, contains nothing of value. They showed the Indians grains of gold and pearls: they marvelled at seeing it and demanded it. They are warriors, bowmen and of good height.

"From this island appeared another very high land ¹ and near. He went to it towards the south; it is about ten leagues from this island. From here he took an Indian to go as interpreter to this great land, and the Indian told the names of some of the provinces of this land. The Admiral found a port which he named *Puerta de Caxinas*.² From this port he started to go and make discoveries along this coast, but because of the winds being contrary he advanced very little. He never left the coast of this land during the day, and every night he anchored near the land. The coast is very fearful, or much water and many tempests from heaven made it appear very tempestuous that year. He went on, continually in sight of land, as whoever goes from Cape St. Vincent to Cape Finisterre is continually in sight of the coast. Fifteen leagues beyond this point he took possession of a large river which flows from the high land and is called *Rio de la Posesion*.³ From there onward the land was very low and the people very savage and possessing very little of value. Almost at the end of the low land there is a cape which was the worst yet seen to sail around, and he named it *Cape Gracias a Dios*.⁴

"He went onward; he arrived at a province which is called *Cariay*,⁵ a very high land; found the people very well disposed, very intelligent and desirous of seeing. They marvelled greatly at whatever we showed them. Here there appeared in the possession of some of the principal Indians some *guani*.⁶ They had woven cotton. Every one on all the coast went naked, except that the women and men had the private parts covered with some fibres which they got from under the bark of the trees. Their bodies and faces were all painted like the natives of Barbary. Here we saw boars ⁷ and large cats [very savage] and took them to the ships. Here they took two Indians as interpreters and some of the Indians were discontented.⁸ From there, he went onward and as he was seeking ports and bays, thinking to find the strait, he arrived at a very large bay.⁹ The name of this land is *Cerabaro* ¹⁰; there, was found the first trace of fine gold which an Indian wore like a medal [mirror] on his breast and traded it. Here they took two Indians to inform themselves where that gold was and from whence it could be brought: from here he commenced to go trading along all the coast. Through information from the Indians he went to another large

¹ The coast of *Trujillo*, *Truxillo*, a seaport town of Honduras.

² Point *Castilla* and port of *Trujillo*.

³ River *Tinto*.

⁴ He arrived at this cape September 14.

⁵ *Mosquito Coast*, where he anchored, September 25.

⁶ They call the poor gold *guani* or *guanin*.

⁷ In the ports of *Bluefields* and *S. Juan de Nicaragua*.

⁸ See *Historie*, chap. xci.

⁹ Bay of the Admiral and *Boca del Toro*.

¹⁰ Ferdinand Columbus calls it *Zerabora*.

bay called *Aburema*. The land about there was very high and rough and the people were located in the mountains. There was an Indian here who said that half a day's journey farther along the coast, what we were seeking was to be found: the people on all the coast are so savage and the people of each tribe keep so much to themselves that from 20 leagues to 20 leagues they do not understand each other.

"He left this bay and went to a river which was called *Guyga* ² from whence many Indians came out on the banks armed with their lances and arrows and some of them golden mirrors on their breasts. These people are of such a disposition that after having obtained our articles of exchange they disliked them and appeared to value *their* jewels more than ours. In this land the seacoast is very rough, with very thick groves. There are no villages on the coast, but there are villages two or three leagues inland, and one cannot go to the villages from the coast by land but only by the rivers, in their canoes.

"From here he went onward to another province called *Cobraba*,³ and there, on account of there being no port, he did not make investigations except to take an Indian as interpreter. He went rapidly along this coast of Veragua without investigating it, save to go forward and discover more land: and after he passed it, less gold appeared. The last that he discovered was a land where there was a very small port which he named *Puerto del Retrete*,⁴ and there the Indians brought only some small implements of very poor gold. Here many of the customs and uses of the Indians of the land of pearls were apparent, and in some of the charts of some of the mariners, they joined this land to that which Hojeda and Bastidas had discovered, which is the Pearl Coast. The land which he now discovered is, in short, 350 leagues.

"From this port he returned to the land lying behind him, on account of the information of the Indian he carried as interpreter that there was no more gold farther on, but that the gold mines were in the land of Veragua. He arrived at the river of Veragua: there was no entrance for the ships. He found another river near, called *Y. n. cbra* ⁵: here the ships were subjected to a great deal of danger. Tuesday, January 10, 1503, the ships entered this river. It is in the same land of Veragua.

"There, the Admiral informed himself from the Cacique where the mines were. He told him with very good-will, so much so that he sent his two sons with the Christians that they might show us the mines. They showed great good-will toward the Christians. The ships had been in the river 26 days ⁶ when the mines were discovered. They were eight leagues

¹ Lake *Chiriqui*.

² River *Veragua*. Ferdinand Columbus calls it "*Guaig*."

³ Ferdinand Columbus calls it *Cobrara*.

⁴ Port *Escribanos*, where he entered, Saturday, November 26.

⁵ Ferdinand Columbus says the Indians called it *Kiebra*. The Admiral called it *Belen*, because he cast anchor near there Thursday of the Epiphany, and Monday, January 9, 1503, he entered the river with two ships: the other two entered the following day.

⁶ River *Belem*.

from the port called *Santa Maria de Belen*. It is a rough land with mountains as well as many rivers. There is a river which is crossed 29 times. We found many mines sunken by the Indians themselves to the depth of half an *estado*. They are very skilful in taking out the gold. Seventy-five of our men went to the mines and in one day's work we took out two or three castellanos without any preparation; but from the same mines which the Indians had made, the gold is very poor. We did not return again to them. The farthest inland we went was ten leagues. More was not learned than that there were larger villages inland and because of their being untruthful people, the Admiral would not send people to see them. And he then ordered the Cacique to be taken, to whom was done much harm, as his village was burned—which was the best on the coast with the best houses, of very good wood all covered with palm-leaves, and they took his sons and are bringing some of them here, because of which all the land remained in a disturbed condition,—of this, I cannot give account except that he ordered it done and even declared it a free port.¹

"He left there because the Indians, after the capture of the Cacique, fell on the camp of the Spaniards, where they killed and wounded many. One of the ships remained in the river and could not get out because it drew a great deal of water; another, which was the oldest and had received the greatest injury from the worms, remained in another port on the coast.² In the other two ships with the people he returned toward Española which he said was not more than 150 leagues³ distant, and came to the land of Cuba, which was more than 100 leagues⁴ below Española. The seamen no longer carried charts because the Admiral had taken them all.⁵ It was said that the error which had been made in the beginning had caused great confusion in the discoveries. They came along this coast of Cuba as far as the Cape of *Cruz*, 50 leagues from Española, where he might very easily have gone and the voyage would have been shorter and there would not have been the damage that he underwent by going to the island of Jamaica, where he remained fourteen months, paying the people and for the ships, without accomplishing anything.⁶

"He cast anchor at San Lucar Thursday, November 7, 1504."

¹ See *Historie*, chapters xcvi., xcvi., xcix.

² He left the ship *Vizcaino* in *Puerto Bello* because it was useless.

³ The true distance is two hundred and twenty-five leagues.

⁴ It was one hundred and fifty leagues, and the place where he put into harbour was at the islands situated at the south of Cuba, called in another voyage, *Jardin de la Reina*.

⁵ This is further evidence that Columbus did not desire geographical information concerning the New World to be common property. Hence it accords with our belief that the Admiral sometimes wilfully misled the Sovereigns by talking of Ophir, Cathay, and Mángi.

⁶ This relation was made by Diego de Porras, and it is well known that he and his brother Franeiseo were the leaders of the rebellion against the Admiral in Jamaica.

CHAPTER CXIII

THE MENDEZ NARRATIVE

“Relacion

*Hecha por Diego Mendez, de Algunos Acontecimientos del último Viage del
Almirante Don Cristóbal Colon*

“DIEGO MENDEZ, vecino de la ciudad de Santo Domingo de la Isla Española, hallándose en la villa de Valladolid, donde á la sazón estaba la Corte de SS.MM., otorgó testamento en seis dias del mes de Junio del año de mil quinientos treinta y seis, por testimonio de Fernan Perez, escribano de SS.MM., y su notario público en la su Corte y en todos los sus Reinos y Señoríos; siendo testigos al otorgamiento Diego de Arana, Juan Diez Miranda de la Cuadra, Martin de Orduña, Lucas Fernandez, Alonso de Angulo, Francisco de Hinojosa y Diego de Aguilar, todos criados de la Señora Vireina de las Indias. Y entre otros capítulos del mencionado testamento hay uno que á la letra dice así.

“*Cláusula del testamento.* Item: Los muy ilustres Señores, el Almirante D. Cristobal Colon, de gloriosa memoria, y su hijo el Almirante D. Diego Colon, y su nieto el Almirante D. Luis, á quien Dios dé largos dias de vida, y por ellos la Vireina mi Señora, como su tutriz y curadora, me son en cargo de muchos y grandes servicios que yo les hice, en que consumí y gasté todo lo mejor de mi vida hasta acaballa en su servicio; especialmente serví al gran Almirante D. Cristóbal andando con su Señoría descubriendo Islas y Tierra firme, en que puse muchas veces mi persona á peligro de muerte por salvar su vida y de los que con él iban y estaban; mayormente cuando se nos cerró el puerto del rio de *Belén* ó *Yebra*, donde estábamos con la fuerza de las tempestades de la mar y de los vientos que acarrearón y amontonaron la arena en cantidad con que cegaron la entrada del puerto. Y estando su Señorío allí muy congojado, juntóse gran multitud de Indios de la tierra para venir á quemarnos los navíos y matarnos á todos, con color que decian que iban á hacer guerra á otros Indios de las provincias de *Cobrava Aurira*, con quien tenian guerra: y como pasaron muchos dellos por aquel puerto en que teniamos nosotros las naos, ninguno de la armada cara en el negocio sino yo, que fuí al Almirante y le dije:

“*Señor: Estas gentes que por aquí han pasado en orden de guerra dicen*

que se han de juntar con los de Veragoa para ir contra los de Cobrava Aurira: yo no lo creo sino el contrario, y es que se juntan para quemarnos los navíos y matarnos á todos, como de hecho lo era. Y diciéndome el Almirante cómo se remediaria, yo dije á su Señoría que saldria con una barca é iria por la costa hácia *Veragoa*, para ver donde asentaban el real. Y no hube andado media legua cuando hallé al pie de mil hombres de guerra con muchas vituallas y brevages, y salté en tierra solo entre ellos, dejando mi barca puesta en flota: y hablé con ellos segun pude entender, y ofrecíme que queria ir con ellos á la guerra con aquella barca armada, y ellos se escusaron reciamente diciendo que no le habian menester: y como yo me volviese á la barca y estuviese allí á vista dellos toda la noche, vieron que no podian ir á las naos para quemallas y destruillas, segun tenian acordado, sin que yo lo viese, y mudaron propósito; y aquella noche se volvieron todos á *Veragoa*, y yo me volví á las naos y hice relacion de todo á su Señoría, é no lo tuvo en poco. Y platicando conmigo sobrello sobre que manera se ternia para saber claramente el intento de aquella gente, yo me ofrecí de ir allá con un solo compañero, y lo puse por obra yendo mas cierto de la muerte que de la vida: y habiendo caminado por la playa hasta el rio de *Veragoa* hallé dos canoas de Indios extrangeros que me contaron muy á la clara como aquellas gentes iban para quemar las naos y matarnos á todos, y que lo dejaron de hacer por la barca que allí sobrevino, y questaban todavia de propósito de volver á hacello dende á dos dias, é yo les rogué que me llevasen en sus canoas el rio arriba, y que gelo pagaria: y ellos se escusaban aconsejándome que en ninguna manera fuese, porque cierto que en llegando me matarian á mí y al compañero que llevaba. E sin embargo de sus consejos hice que me llevasen en sus canoas el rio arriba hasta llegar á los pueblos de los Indios, los cuales hallé todos puestos en orden de guerra, que no me querian dejar ir al asiento principal del Cacique; y yo fingiendo que le iba á curar como cirujano de una llaga que tenia en una pierna, y con dádivas que les dí me dejaron ir hasta el asiento Real, que estaba encima de un cerro llano con una plaza grande, rodeada de trescientas cabezas de muertos que habian ellos muerto en una batalla: y como yo hubiese pasado toda la plaza y llegado á la Casa Real hubo grande alboroto de mugeres y muchachos que estaban á la puerta, que entraron gritando dentro en el palacio. Y salió de él un hijo del Señor muy enojado diciendo palabras recias en su language, é puso las manos en mí y de un empellon me desvió muy lejos de sí: diciéndole yo por amansarle como iba á curar a su padre de la pierna, y mostrándole cierto unguento que para ello llevaba, dijo que en ninguna manera habia de entrar donde estaba su padre. Y visto por mí que por aquella via no podia amansarle, saqué un peine y unas tijeras y un espejo, y hice que Escobar mi compañero me peinase y cortase el cabello. Lo cual visto por él y por los que allí estaban quedaban espantados; y yo entonces hice que Escobar le peinase á él y le cortase el cabello con las tijeras, y díselas y el peine y el espejo, y con esto se amansó; y yo pedí que trajesen algo de comer, y luego lo trajeron, y comimos y bebimos en amor y compañía, y quedamos amigos; y despedime dél y vine á las naos, y hice relacion

de todo esto al Almirante mi Señor, el cual no poco holgó en saber todas estas circunstancias, y cosas acacidas por mí; y mandó poner gran recabdo en las naos y en ciertas casas de paja, que teníamos hechas allí en la playa con intencion que había yo de quedar allí con cierta gente para calar y saber los secretos de la tierra.

“Otro dia de mañana su Señorío me llamó para tomar parecer conmigo de lo que sobre ello se debía hacer, y fue mi parecer que debíamos prender aquel Señor y todos sus Capitanes, porque presos aquellos se sojuzgaria la gente menuda; y su Señorío fue del mismo parecer: é yo dí el ardid y la manera con que se debía hacer, y su Señorío mandó que el Señor Adelantado, su hermano, y yo con él fuesemos á poner en efecto lo sobredicho con ochenta hombres. Y fuimos, y diónos Nuestro Señor tan buena dicha que prendinios el Cacique y los mas de sus Capitanes y mugeres y hijos y nietos con todos los principales de su generacion; y enviándolos á las naos así presos, soltóse el Cacique al que le llevaba por su mal recabdo, el cual despues nos hizo mucho daño. En este instante plugó á Dios que llovió mucho, y con la gran avenida abriéronse el puerto, y el Almirante sacó los navíos á la mar para venirse á Castilla, quedando yo en tierra para haber de quedar en ella por Contador de su Alteza con setenta hombres, quedábame allí la mayor parte de los mantenimientos de bizcocho y vino y aceite y vinagre.

“Acabado de salir el Almirante á la mar, y quedando yo en tierra con obra de veinte hombres porque los otros se habian salido con el Almirante á despedir, subitamente sobrevino sobre mí mucha gente de la tierra, que serian mas de cuatrocientos hombres armados con sus varas y flechas y tiraderos, y tendieron por el monte en haz y dieron una grita y otra y luego otra, con las cuales plugo á Dios me apercibieron á la pelea y defensa de ellos: y estando yo en la playa entre los bohios que tenia hechos, y ellos en el monte á trecho de tiro de dardo, comenzaron á flechar y á garrochar como quien agarocha toro, y eran las flechas y tiraderas tantas y tan continuas como granizo; y algunos dellos se desmandaban para venirnos á dar con las machadasnas; pero ninguno dellos volvian porque quedaban allí cortadas brazos y piernas y muertos á espada: de lo cual cobraron tanto miedo que se retiraron atras, habiéndonos muerto siete hombres en la pelea de veinte que eramos, y de ellos murieron diez ó nueve de los que se venian á nosotros mas arriscados. Duró esta pelea tres horas grandes, y Nuestro Señor nos dió la vitoria milagrosamente, siendo nosotros tan poquitos y ellos tanta muchedumbre.

“Acabada esta pelea vino de las naos el Capitan Diego Tristan con las barcas para subir el rio arriba á tomar agua para su viage; y no embarcante que yo le aconsejé y amonesté que no subiese el rio arriba no me quiso creer, y contra mi grado subió con las dos barcas, y doce hombres el rio arriba, donde le toparon aquella gente y pelearon con él, y le mataron á él y todos los que llevaba, que no escapó sino uno á nado que trujo la nueva; y tomaron las barcas y hiciéronlas pedazos, de que quedamos en gran fatiga, así el Almirante en la mar con sus naos sin barcas como nosotros en tierra sin tener con que poder ir á él. Y á todo esto no cesaban los

Indios de venirnos á acometer cada rato tañiendo bocinas y atabales, y dando alaridos pensando que nos tenían vencidos. El remedio contra esta gente que teníamos eran dos tiros falconets de fruslera muy buenos, y mucha pólvora y pelotas con que los ojeábamos que no asaban llegar á nosotros. Y esto duró por espacio de cuatro días, en los cuales yo hice coser muchos costales de las velas de una nao que nos quedaba, y en aquellos puse todo el bizcocho que teníamos, y tomé dos canoas y até la una con la otra parejas, con unos palos atravesados por encima, y en estos cargué el bizcocho todo en viages, y las pipas de vino y aziete y vinagre atadas en una guindaleja y á jorno por la mar, tirando por ellas las canoas, abonanzando la mar, en siete caminos que hicieron lo llevaron todo á las naos, y la gente que conmigo estaba poco á poco la llevaron, é yo quedé con cinco hombres á la postre siendo de noche, y en la postrera barcada me embarqué: lo cual el Almirante tuvo á mucho, y no se hartaba de me abrazar y besar en los carillos por tan gran servicio como allí le hice, y me rogó tomase la capitanía de la nao *Capitana* y el regimiento de todo la gente y del viage, lo cual yo acepté por le hacer servicio en ello por ser, como era, cosa de gran trabajo.

“Postrero de Abril de mil quinientos y tres partimos de *Veragoa* con tres navíos, pensando venir la vuelta de Castilla: y como los navíos estaban todos abujerados y comidos de gusanos no los podíamos tener sobre agua; y andadas treinta leguas dejamos el uno, quedándonos otros dos peor acondicionados que aquel, que toda la gente no bastaba con las bombas y calderas y vasijas á sacar el agua que se nos entraba por los abujeros de la broma: y de esta manera, no sin grandísimo trabajo y peligro, pensando venir á Castilla navegamos treinta y cinco días, y en cabo dellos llegamos á la isla de Cuba á lo mas bajo della, á la provincia de *Homo*, allá donde agora está el pueblo de la Trinidad; de manera que estábamos mas lejos de Castilla trescientas leguas que cuando partimos de *Veragoa* para ir á ella; y como digo los navíos mal acondicionados, innavegables, y las vituallas que se nos acababan. Plugó á Dios Nuestro Señor que pudimos llegar á la isla de Jamaica, donde zabordamos los dos navíos en tierra, y hicimos de ellos dos casas pajizas, en que estábamos no sin gran peligro de la gente de aquella isla, que no estaba domada ni conquistada, nos pusiesen fuego de noche, que fácilmente lo podían hacer por mas que nosotros velábamos.

“Aquí acabé de dar la postrera racion de bizcocho y vino, y tomé una espada en la mano y tres hombres conmigo, y fuíme por esa isla adelante, porque ninguno osaba ir á buscar de comer para el Almirante y los que con él estaban: y plugo á Dios que hallaba la gente tan mansa que no me hacian mal, antes se holgaban conmigo y me daban de comer de buena voluntad. Y en un pueblo que se llama *Aguacadiba*, concerté con los Indios y Cacique que harran pan cazabe, y que cazarian y pescarian, y que darian de todas las vituallas al Almirante cierta cuantía cada día, y lo llevarian á las naos, con que estuviere allí persona que ge lo pagase en cuentas azules y peines y cuchillos y cascabeles y anzuelos y otros rescates

que para ello llevabamos: y con este concierto despaché uno de los cristianos que conmigo traía al Almirante, para que enviase persona dos que tuviese cargo de pagar aquellas vituallas y enviarlas.

“Y de allí fuí á otro pueblo que estaba tres leguas de este y hice el mismo concierto con el Cacique y Indios de él, y envié otro cristiano al Almirante para que enviase allí otra persona al mismo cargo.

“Y de allí pasé adelante y llegué á un gran Cacique que se llamaba *Huarco*, donda agora dicen *Melilla*, que es trece leguas de las naos, del cual fuí muy bien recebido, que me dió muy bien de comer, y mandó que todos sus vasallos trajiesen dende á tres dias muchas vituallas, que le presentaron, é yo ge las pagué de manera que fueron contentos: y concerté que ordinariamente las trærían, habiendo allí persona que ge las pagase, y con este concierto envié el otro cristiano con los mantenimientos que allá me dieron al Almirante, y pedí al Cacique que me diese dos Indios que fuesen conmigo fasta el cabo de la isla, que el uno me llevaba la hamaca en que dormía é el otro la comida. Y desta manera caminé hasta el cabo de la isla, á la parte del Oriente, y llegué á un Cacique que se llamaba *Ameyro*, é hice con él amistades de hermandad, y díle mi nombre y tomé el suyo, que entre ellos se tiene por grande hermandad. Y compréle una canoa muy buena que él tenia, y díle por ella una bacineta de laton muy buena que llevaba en la manga y el sayo y una camisa de dos que llevaba, y embarquéme en aquella canoa, y vine por la mar requiriendo las estancias que habia dejado con seis Indios que el Cacique me dió para que me la ayudasen á navegar, y venido á los lugares donde yo habia proveido, hallé en ellos los cristianos que el Almirante habia enviado, y cargué de todas las vituallas que les hallé, y fuíme al Almirante, del cual fuí muy bien recebido, que no se hartaba de verme y abrazarme, y preguntar lo que me habia sucedido en el viage, dando gracias á Dios que me habia llevado y traído á salvamiento libre de tanta gente salvage. Y como al tiempo que yo llegué á las naos no habia en ellas un pan que comer, fueron todos muy alegres con mi venida, porque les maté la hambre en tiempo de tanta necesidad, y de allí adelante cada dia venian los Indios cargados de vituallas á las naos de aquellos lugares que yo habia concertado, que bastaban para doscientas y treinta personas que estaban con el Almirante.

“Dende á diez dias el Almirante me llamó a parte y me dijo el gran peligro en que estaba, diciéndome así:

“*Diego Mendez, Hijo: Ninguno de cuantos aquí yo tengo siente el gran peligro en que estamos sino yo y vos, porque somos muy poquitos, y estos Indios salvages son muchos y muy mudables y antojadizos, y en la hora que se les antojare de venir y quemarnos aquí donde estamos en estos dos navios hechos casas pajizas, fácilmente pueden echar fuego dende tierra y abrasarnos aquí á todos: y el concierto que vos habeis hecho con ellos del traer los mantenimientos que træn de tan buena gana, mañana se les antojará otra cosa y no nos trærán nada, y nosotros no somos parte para tomargelo por fuerza si no estar á lo que ellos quisieren. Yo he pensado un remedio si á vos os parece: que en esta canoa que comprastes se aventurarse alguno á pasar á la*

Isla Española á comprar una nao en que pudiesen salir de tan gran peligro como este en que estamos. Decidme vuestro parecer.'

"Yo le respondí:

"Señor: El peligro en que estamos bien lo veo, que es muy mayor de lo que se puede pensar. El pasar desta Isla á la Isla Española en tan poca vasija como es la canoa, no solamente lo tengo por dificultoso, sino por imposible: porque haber de atravesar un golfo de cuarenta leguas de mar y entre islas donde la mar es mas impetuosa y de menos reposo, no sé quien se ose aventurar á peligro tan notorio.'

"Su Señoría no me replicó, persuadiendome reciamente que yo era el que lo habia de hacer, á lo cual yo respondí:

"Señor: Muchas veces he puesto mi vida á peligro de muerte por salvar la vuestra y de todos estos que aquí estan, y nuestro Señor milagrosamente me ha guardado y la vida; y con todo no han faltado murmuradores que dicen que vuestra Señoría me acomete á mí todas las cosas de honra, habiendo en la compañía otros que las harian tan bien como yo: y por tanto paréceme á mí que vuestra Señoría los haga llamar á todos y los proponga este negocio, para ver si entre todos ellos habrá alguno que lo quiera emprender, lo cual yo dudo; y cuando todos se echen de fuera, yo pondré mi vida á muerte por vuestro servicio, como muchas veces lo he hecho.'

"Luego el dia siguiente su Señoría los hizo juntar á todos delante sí, y les propuso el negocio de la manera que á mí: é oido, todos enmudecieron, y algunos dijeron que era por demas platicarse en semejante cosa, porque era imposible en tan pequeña vasija pasar tan impetuoso y peligroso golfo de cuarenta leguas como este, entre estas dos islas donde muy recias naos se habian perdido andando á descubrir, sin poder romper ni forzar el ímpetu y furia de las corrientes. Entonces yo me levanté y dije:

"Señor: Una vida tengo no mas, yo la quiero aventurar por servicio de vuestra Señoría y por el bien de todos los que aquí estan, porque tengo esperanza en Dios nuestro Señor que vista la intencion con que yo lo hago me librárá, como otras muchas veces lo ha hecho.'

"Oida por el Almirante mi determinacion levanóse y abrazóme y besóme en el carrillo, diciendo:

"Bien sabia yo que no habia aquí ninguno que osase tomar esta empresa sino vos: esperanza tengo en Dios nuestro Señor saldreis della con vitoria como de las otras que habeis emprendido.'

"El dia siguiente yo puse mi canoa a monte, y le eché una quilla postiza, y le dí su brea y sebo, y en la popa y proa clavéle algunas tablas para defensa de la mar que no se me entrase como hiciera siendo rasa; y púsele un mastil y su vela, y metí los mantenimientos que pude para mí y para un cristiano y para seis indios, que éramos ocho personas, y no cabian mas en la canoa: y despedíme de su Señoría y de todos, y fuime la costa arriba de la Isla de Jamaica, donde estábamos, que hay dende las naos hasta el cabo della treinta y cinco leguas, las cuales yo navegué con gran peligro y trabajo, porque fuí preso en el camino de Indios salteadores en la mar, de que Dios me libró milagrosamente. Y llegado al cabo de la isla, estando

esperando que la mar se amansase para acometer mi viage, juntáronse muchos Indios y determinaron de matarme y tomar la canoa y lo que en ella llevaba; y así juntos jugaron mi vida á la pelota para ver á cual dellos cabria la ejecucion del negocio. Lo cual sentido por mí víneme ascondidamente á mi canoa, que tenia tres leguas de allí, y hícime á la vela y víneme donde estaba el Almirante, habiendo quince dias que de allí habia partido: y contéle todo lo sucedido, y cómo Dios milagrosamente me habia librado de las manos de aquellos salvages. Su Señoría fue muy alegre de mi venida, y preguntóme si volveria al viage. Yo dije que sí, llevando gente que estuviese conmigo en el cabo de la isla hasta que yo entrase en la mar á proseguir mi viage. Su Señoría me dió setenta hombres y con ellos á su hermano el Adelantado, que fuesen y estuviesen conmigo hasta embarcarme, y tres dias despues. Y desta manera volví al cabo de la isla donde estuve cuatro dias. Viendo que la mar se amansaba me despedí dellos y ellos de mí, con hartas lágrimas; y encomendéme á Dios y á nuestra Señora del Antigua, y navegué cinco dias y cuatro noches que jamas perdí el remo de la mano gobernando la canoa y los compañeros remando. Plugo á Dios nuestro Señor que en cabo de cinco dias yo arribé á la Isla Española, al *Cabo de S. Miguel*, habiendo dos dias que no comiamos ni bebiamos por no tenello; y entre con mi canoa en una ribera muy hermosa, donde luego vino mucha gente de la tierra y trajeron muchas cosas de comer, y estuve allí dos dias descansando. Y tomé seis Indios de allí, dejados los que llevaba, y comencé á navegar por la costa de la Isla Española, que hay dende allí hasta la cibdad de Santo Domingo ciento y treinta leguas que yo habia de andar, porque estaba allí el Gobernador, que era el Comendador de Lares; y habiendo andado por la costa de la isla ochenta leguas, no sin grandes peligros y trabajos, porque la isla no estaba conquistada ni allanada, llegué á la Provincia de *Azoa*, que es veinte y cuatro leguas antes de Santo Domingo, y allí supe del Comendador Gallego como el Gobernador era partido á la Provincia de *Xuragoa* á allanarla; la cual estaba cincuenta leguas de allí. Y esto sabido dejé mi canoa y tomé el camino por tierra de *Xuragoa*, donde hallé el Gobernador, el cual me detuvo allí siete meses hasta que hizo quemar y ahorcar ochenta y cuatro Caciques, Señores de vasallos, y con ellos á *Nacaona* la mayor Señora de la isla, á quien todos ellos obedecian y servian. Y esto acabado vine de pie á tierra de Santo Domingo, que era setenta leguas de allí, y estuve esperando que viniesen naos de Castilla, que habia mas de un año que no habian venido. Y en este comedio plugo á Dios que vinieron tres naos, de las cuales yo compré la una y la cargué de vituallas, de pan y vino y carne y puercos y carneros y frutas, y la envié adonde estaba el Almirante para en que viniesen él y toda la gente como vinieron allí á Santo Domingo y de allí á Castilla. E yo me vine delante en las otras dos naos á hacer relacion al Rey y á la Reina de todo lo sucedido en aquel viage.

“Pareceme que será bien que se diga algo de lo acæcido al Almirante y á su familia en un año que estuvieron perdidos en aquesta isla: y es que dende á pocos dias que yo me partí los Indios se amotinaron y no le querian

trær de comer como antes; y él los hizo llamar á todos los Caciques y les dijo que se maravillaba dellos en no trærle la comida como solian, sabiendo, como él les habia dicho, que habia venido allípor mandado de Dios, y que Dios estaba enojado dellos, y que él ge lo mostraria aquella noche por señales que haria en el cielo; y como aquella noche era el eclipse de la luna que casi toda se escureció, díjoles que Dios hacia aquello por enojo que tenia dellos porque no le traian de comer, y ellos lo creyeron y fueron muy espantados, y prometieron que le traerian siempre de comer, como de hecho lo hicieron, hasta que llegó la nao con los mantenimientos que yo envié, de que no pequeño gozo fue en el Almirante y en todos los que con él estaban: que despues en Castilla me dijo su Señoría que en toda su vida habia visto tan alegre dia, y que nunca pensó salir de allí vivo: y en esta nao se embarcó y vino á Santo Domingo y de allí á Castilla.

“He querido poner aquí esta breve suma de mis trabajos y grandes y señalados servicios, cuales nunca hizo hombre á Señor, ni los hará de aquí adelante del mundo; y esto á fin que mis hijos lo sepan y se animen á servir, é su Señoría sepa que es obligado á hacerles muchas mercedes.

“Venido su Señoría á la Corte, y estando en Salamanca en la cama enfermo de gota, andando yo solo entendiendo en sus negocios y en la restitution de su estado y de la gobernacion para su hijo D. Diego, yo le dije ansi:

“Senor: Ya vuestra Señoría sabe lo mucho que os he servido y lo mas que trabajo de noche y de dia en vuestros negocios: suplico á vuestra Señoría me señale algun galardon para en pago dello: y el me respondió alegremente que yo lo señalase y él lo cumpliria, porque era mucha razon. Y entonces yo le señalé y supliqué á su Señoría me hiciese merced del oficio del Alguacilazgo mayor de la Isla Española para en toda mi vida: y su Señoría dijo que de muy buena voluntad, y que era poco para lo mucho que yo habia servido: y mandóme que lo dijese ansi al Sr. D. Diego, su hijo, el cual fue muy alegre de la merced á mí hecha de dicho oficio, y dijo que si su padre me lo daba con una mano, él con dos. Y esto es ansi la verdad para el siglo que á ellos tiene y á mi espera.

“Habiendo yo acabado, no sin grandes trabajos mios, de negociar la restitution de la gobernacion de las Indias al Almirante D. Diego, mi Señor, siendo su padre fallecido, le pedí la provision del dicho oficio. Su Señoría me respondió que lo tenía dado el Adelantado su tío; pero que él me daria átra cosa equivalente o aquella. Yo dije que aquella diese él á su tío, y á mi me diese lo que su padre y él me habian prometido, lo cual no se hizo; y yo quedé cargado de servicios sin ningun galardon, y el Sr. Adelantado, sin haberlo servido, quedó con mi oficio y con el galardon de todos mis afanes.

“Llegado su Señoría á la cibdad de Santo Domingo por Gobernador tomó las varas y dió este oficio á Francisco de Garay, criado del Sr. Adelantado, que lo sirviese por él. Esto fue en diez dias del mes de Julio de mil quinientos diez años. Valia entonces el oficio á lo menos un cuento de renta, del cual la Vireina, mi Señora, como tutriz y curadora del Virey, mi

Señor, y él me son en cargo realmente y me lo deben de justicia y de *foro conscientiae*, porque me fue hecha la merced de él, y no se cumplió conmigo dende el día que se dió al Adelantado hasta el postrero de mis días, porque si se me diera yo fuera el mas rico hombre de la isla y mas honrado; y por no se me dar soy el mas pobre della, tanto que no tengo una casa en que more sin alquiler.

“Y porque haberseme de pagar lo que el oficio ha rentado seria muy dificultoso, yo quiero dar un medio y será este: que su Señoría haga merced del Alguacilazgo mayor de la Cibdad de Santo Domingo, á uno de mis hijos para en toda su vida, y al otro le haga merced de su Teniente de Almirante en la dicha Cibdad: y con hacer merced destos dos oficios á mis hijos de la manera que he aquí dicho, y poniéndolos en cabeza de quien los sirva por ellos hasta que sean de edad, su Señoría descargara la conciencia del Almirante su padre, y yo me satisfaré de la paga que se me debe de mis servicios; y en esto no diré mas de dejallo en sus conciencias de sus Señoriás, y hagan en ello lo que mejor les pareciere.

“Item: Dejo por mis albaceas y ejecutores deste mi testamento, aquí en la corte, al Bachiller Estrada y á Diego de Arana, juntamente con la Vireina, mi Señora, y suplico yo á su Señoría lo acepte y les mande á ellos lo mismo.

“*Otra Cláusula.* Item: Mando que mis albaceas compren una piedra grande, la mejor que hallaren, y se ponga sobre mi sepultura, y se escriba en derredor della estas letras:

“*Aquí yace el honrado caballero Diego Mendez que sirvió mucho á la Corona Real de España en el descubrimiento y conquista de las Indias con el Almirante D. Cristobal Colon, de gloriosa memoria, que las descubrió, y despues por sí con naos suyas á su costa: fallecio, &c. Pido de limosna un PATER NOSTER y una AVE MARIA.*

“Item: En medio de la dicha piedra se haga una canoa, que es un mádero cavado en que los Indios navegan, porque en otra tal navegó trescientas leguas, y encima pongan unas letras que digan: *Canoa.*

“Caros y amados hijos mios, y de mi muy cara y amada muger Doña Francisca de Ribera, la bendicion de Dios Todopoderoso, Padre y Hijo y Espiritu Santo y la mia descienda sobre vos y vos cubra y os haga católicos cristianos, y os dé gracia que siempre le ameis y temais. Hijos: encomiendoos mucho la paz y concordia, y que seais muy conformes y no soberbios, sino muy humildos y muy amigables á todos los que contratáredes, porque todos os tengan amor: servid lealmente al Almirante mi Señor, y su Señoría os hará muchas mercedes por quien él es, y porque mis grandes servicios lo merecen; y sobre todo os mando, hijos mios, seais muy devotos y oyais muy devotamente los Oficios Divinos, y haciéndolo ansi Dios nuestro Señor os dará largos dias de vida. A él plega por su infinita bondad haceros tan buenos como yo deseo que seais, y os tenga siempre de su mano. Amen.

“Los libros que de acá os envio son los siguientes:

“Arte de bien morir de Erasmo. Un sermon de Erasmo en romance.

Josefo *De Bello Judaico*. La Filosofía moral de Aristóteles. Los libros que se dicen *Lingua Erasmi*. El libro de la Tierra santa. Los coloquios de Erasmo. Un tratado de las querellas de la Paz. Un libro de Contemplaciones de la Pasión de nuestro Redentor. Un tratado de la Venganza de la muerte de Agamenon, y otros tratadillos.

"Ya dije, hijos míos, que estos libros os dejo por mayorazgo, con las condiciones que estan dichas de suso en el testamento, y quiero que vayan todos con algunas Escrituras mías, que se hallarán en el arca que está en Sevilla, que es de cedro, como ya está dicho: pongan tambien en esta el mortero de mármol que está en poder del Sr. D. Hernando, ó de su mayordomo.

"Digo yo Diego Mendez que esta Escritura contenida en trece hojas es mi testamento y postrimera voluntad, porque yo lo ordené é hice escribir, y lo firmé de mi nombre, y por él revoco y doy por ningunos otros cualesquier testamentos hechos en cualesquier otros tiempos ó lugar; y solo este quiero que valga, que es hecho en la villa de Valladolid en diez y nueve dias del mes de Junio, año de nuestro Redentor de mil quinientos treinta y seis años.—Diego Mendez.—E yo el dicho García de Vera, Escribano Notario público, presente fuí á todo lo que dicho es, que de mi se hace mencion, por mandado del dicho Sr. Teniente é pedimento del dicho Bachiller Estrada, este testamento en estas veinte é seis hojas de papel, pliego entero, como aquí parece, fice escrebir como ante mí se presentó é abrió, é ansi queda originalmente en mi poder. E por ende fice aqui este mi signo tal en [*está signado*] testimonio de verdad.—Garcia de Vera.—[*Está firmado.*]

"Concuerda literalmente con las cláusulas copiadas de un testimonio signado y firmado por el expresado Escribano García de Vera, que obra originalmente en el Archivo del Excmo. Sr. Almirante Duque de Veraguas, de donde lo copié en Madrid á veinte y cinco dias del mes de Marzo de mil ochocientos veinte y cinco años. Tomas Gonzalez.

"NOTA.—Las demas cláusulas de este testamento de Diego Mendez son relativas á sus disposiciones funerales, declaracion de deudas, tanto en su favor como contra sí en España y en la Isla Española, y otros negocios meramente personales y de su familia, que ninguna relacion ni alusion dicen al Almirante Colon ni á sus viages, navegaciones y descubrimientos, por lo cual no se han copiado."

"Relation

*Made by Diego Mendez of some Events of the Last Voyage of the Admiral
Don Christopher Columbus*

"Diego Mendez, citizen of the city of San Domingo of the island of Española, being in the city of Valladolid, where the royal Court of their Majesties was at that time, executed a Will June 6, 1536, in the presence of Fernan Perez, Clerk of the Court of their Majesties, and their Notary Public in their Court and in all their realms and dominions; the witnesses of

the execution of the Will being Diego de Arana, Juan Diez Miranda de la Cuadra, Martin de Orduña, Lucas Fernandez, Alonso de Angulo, Francisco de Hinojosa and Diego de Aguilar, all servants of the Lady Vice-Queen¹ of the Indies. And among other chapters of the mentioned Will, there is one which says literally as follows:

“Clause of the Will. Item. The very Illustrious Lords, the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, of glorious memory, and his son the Admiral Don Diego Columbus and his grandson the Admiral Don Luis, to whom may God give long life, and for them the Vice-Queen, my Lady, as their tutor and guardian, are in my debt for many great services which I rendered them, in which I consumed and spent all the best of my life, as far as to finish it in their service; especially I served the great Admiral Don Christopher, going with his Lordship discovering islands and mainland, in which I placed my person in danger of death many times, in order to save his life and those who went and were with him; principally when we were shut up in the port of the river of *Belem* or *Yebra*, where the force of the tempests from the sea and of the winds heaped up the sand so as to close the entrance of the port. And his Lordship being there very much disturbed, a great multitude of Indians of the country gathered in order to come and burn our ships and kill us all, pretending that they were going to make war on other Indians of the provinces of *Cobrava Aurira*, with whom they were at war; and as many of them passed by that port where we had our ships, no one of the people understood the matter except myself, and I went to the Admiral and said: ‘Señor,—these people who have passed here in readiness for war say that they are to unite with those of Veragua to proceed against the people of *Cobrava Aurira*; I do not believe it, but the contrary, which is that they are uniting in order to burn our ships and kill us all,’—as in fact was true. And the Admiral asking me how it could be prevented, I said to his Lordship that I would go out with a boat and go along the coast towards Veragua, in order to discover where they had their camp. And I had not travelled half a league when I found myself in the midst of a thousand warriors with many provisions and *‘brevages,’* and I landed alone among them, leaving my boat in the water; and I talked with them, as well as I could understand, and offered myself as wishing to go with them to war with that boat manned, and they excused themselves emphatically, saying that it was not necessary; and as I returned to the boat and remained there in their sight all the night, they saw that they could not go to the ships to burn them and destroy them, as they had determined, without my seeing them, and they changed their minds; and that night they all returned to Veragua and I returned to the ships and related everything to his Lordship, and he did not esteem it a small matter. And as he talked with me in regard to how we could know clearly the intentions of that people, I offered to go with one companion, and considered it a work more certain of death than of life; and having gone along the beach as far as the river of Veragua, I found two canoes of strange Indians,

¹ Maria of Toledo, widow of Diego Columbus, the second Admiral of the Indies.

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who told me very clearly that the other Indians were going to burn the ships and kill us all and that they had given it up on account of the boat which had appeared there, and that they remained with the purpose of returning to do it at the end of two days, and I begged them that they would take me up the river in their canoes, and offered to pay them for it; but they excused themselves, counselling me in no manner to do it, because they would certainly kill me and the companion I had with me, on our arrival. And notwithstanding their counsels I induced them to take me up the river as far as the villages of the Indians, whom I found all prepared for war, and who did not wish to allow me to go to the principal dwelling of the Cacique; but because I pretended that I was going as a surgeon to cure him of a wound he had in his leg, and because of presents which I gave them, they allowed me to go to the royal dwelling place, which was at the top of a smooth hill with a great square, surrounded by the heads of three hundred of the dead they had killed in battle; and as I had passed through the square and arrived at the royal house there was a great outcry of women and children who were at the door and who entered the palace crying out. And a son of the Chief, greatly irritated, came out saying rude words in his language, and he laid his hands on me and with one impulse repulsed me far from him; upon my saying to him in order to pacify him that I was going to cure his father's leg and showing him a certain ointment which I carried for the purpose, he told me that in no manner should I enter where his father was. And seeing that I could not pacify him in that manner, I drew out a comb and some scissors and a looking-glass, and had Escobar, my companion, comb and cut my hair. When the son of the Chief and the other Indians who were there saw this, they were frightened; and I then had Escobar comb his [the son's] hair and cut it with the scissors, and I gave them to him with the comb and looking-glass, and this pacified him; and I begged him to bring something to eat, and then they brought it, and we ate and drank in love and companionship and were friends; and I took leave of him and came to the ships, and related all this to the Admiral, my Lord, who was pleased in no small degree to know all these circumstances and the things which had happened to me; and he ordered that great caution should be taken on the ships and in certain straw houses, which we had constructed there on the shore, because of the intention I had of remaining there with certain of the people, to discover and know the secrets of the land.

"The next day, in the morning, his Lordship called me in order to take counsel with me as to what should be done, and it was my opinion that we ought to take that Chief and all his Captains, because they being captured, the common people would be subjugated; and his Lordship was of the same opinion; and I explained the stratagem and the manner in which it should be done, and his Lordship ordered that the Lord Adelantado, his brother, and I, with eighty men, should go and put in effect the aforesaid stratagem. And we went, and our Lord gave us such good fortune that we took the Cacique and most of his Captains, and his wives and sons and grandsons,

with all the principal members of his family; and having thus sent them to the ships as prisoners, the Cacique escaped from the ship which carried him, by reason of being carelessly guarded, and afterwards did us much injury. At this time it pleased God that it rained greatly, and with the great flood the port was opened for us, and the Admiral took the ships out into the sea to come to Castile, leaving me to remain on land as Accountant of your Highness with seventy men, and leaving with me there the greater part of the rations of biscuit and wine and oil and vinegar.

"The Admiral had just gotten out to sea, and I was on land with about twenty men because the others had gone out with the Admiral to take leave, when suddenly there appeared before me from the land many people; there might have been more than 400 men armed with their rods, darts and arrows, and spreading themselves out upon the face of the mountain they gave a cry and another, and then another, by which it pleased God that they warned me of the battle and gave me an opportunity to defend myself against them. And I being on the shore between the huts which we had made, and they on the mountain at a distance of the cast of a dart, they commenced to throw darts and to goad us as when one goads bulls, and the darts and arrows were as many and as continuous as hail; and some of them came near in order to reach us with the machadasnas [a sort of club]; but none of these returned because they remained there killed with the sword, and with their arms and legs cut off; and they were inspired with so much fear by this that they retired backwards, having killed in the battle seven men out of our twenty, and there being dead ten or nine out of those who had advanced upon us most audaciously. This fight lasted full three hours, and our Lord gave us the victory miraculously, we being so few in numbers and they being so many.

"The fight being finished, the Captain Diego Tristan came from the ships with the boats in order to ascend the river and take water for his voyage; and notwithstanding that I advised him and admonished him not to ascend the river, he would not believe me and against my will he went up with the two boats and twelve men, where he encountered the Indians and they fought with him and killed him and all those who were with him, except one who escaped by swimming and brought us the news; and they took the boats and broke them in pieces, by which we were left in great trouble, both the Admiral on the sea with his ships without boats and we upon land without power to reach him. And with all this, the Indians did not cease from attacking us at every moment, sounding trumpets and kettle-drums and howling, thinking we were vanquished. For defence against these people we had two very good falconets of *fruslera*¹ and a large quantity of powder and bullets with which we frightened them so that they dared not come up to us. And this lasted four days, during which I had many sacks sewn from the sails of a ship, which remained to us, and in them I put all the biscuit that we had, and I took two canoes and fastened them together with some timbers laid athwart over them, and in them I

¹ *Falconets of fruslera*, these were small pieces of ordnance cast from brass filings.

Christopher Columbus

loaded the biscuit, all in loads, and the casks of wine and oil and vinegar, and having fastened them by a hawser and towing the canoes with it, the sea having become favourable, in seven journeys which they made they took everything to the ships, and little by little they took the people who were with me, and I remained until the last with five men, it being then night; and in the last load I embarked; which the Admiral held in high estimation and could not enough embrace me and kiss me upon the cheeks, for such a great service as I rendered him there, and he begged me to take command of the ship *Capitana* and of all the crew and of the voyage, which I accepted in order to serve him in so doing, as it was a service of great hardship.

“The last of April, 1503, we started from Veragua with three ships, thinking to return to Castile; and as the ships were all bored and eaten by worms we could not keep them upon the water; and having gone thirty leagues we left one, the other two remaining to us in worse condition than this one, so that all the people with pumps, cauldrons and small vessels were not sufficient to throw out the water which entered by the worm-holes; and in this manner, not without great labour and danger, we sailed thirty-five days expecting to arrive at Castile, and at the end of that time we arrived at the lowest part of the island of Cuba, at the province of *Homo*, where the city of *Trinidad* is now; so that we were three hundred leagues farther from Castile than when we left Veragua to go there; and as I said, with ships in bad condition, unnavigable and not enough provisions. It pleased God, our Lord, that we should arrive at the island of Jamaica, where we stranded the two vessels on land, and made two houses thatched with straw from them, in which we were not without great danger from the people of that island, who were neither subdued nor conquered, and who might set us on fire during the night, which they could have easily done, no matter how much we watched.

“Here, when I had given out the last ration of biscuit and wine, I took a sword in my hand and three men with me, and went away inland in this island, because no one dared to go and search for food for the Admiral and those who were with him; and it pleased God that I found the people so mild that they did me no harm, but rather sported with me and gave me something to eat willingly. And in a place which is called *Aguacadiba*, I made an agreement with the Indians and Cacique that they should make cassava bread, and that they should hunt and fish, and that of all the provisions they should give a certain quantity to the Admiral each day, and should carry them to the ships provided there should be a person there who would pay them in beads of lapis lazuli and combs and knives and hawks’ bells and fish hooks and other articles of barter which we carried for that purpose; and with this agreement I sent one of the two Christians I had with me to the Admiral, so that he might send some one who should have charge of paying for these provisions and would send them.

“And from there I went to another village which is there leagues from this one and made the same agreement with the Cacique and Indians there,

and sent another Christian to the Admiral that he might send another person for the same purpose.

"And from there I went onward and reached a great Cacique who is called *Huarco*, where they now call it *Mcililla*, which is thirteen leagues from the ships, by whom I was very well received and who gave me very good things to eat and ordered that all his vassals at the end of three days should bring me many provisions which they presented to me, and I paid them in a manner that satisfied them; and I made an agreement that they should bring them regularly, there being some one there who should pay them, and with this agreement I sent the other Christian with the provisions they gave me there, to the Admiral, and begged the Cacique to give me two Indians to go with me to the end of the island, one to carry the hammock in which I slept and the other the food. And in this manner I journeyed as far as the end of the island in the Eastern part, and arrived at the home of a Cacique who was called *Ameyro*, and made brotherhood with him, and gave him my name and assumed his own, which among them is considered very great brotherhood. And I bought of him a very good canoe which he had, and gave him for it a very good little brass *bacineta* [small poor box or small basin] which I had in my arm and a sack coat and one of the two shirts which I carried; and I embarked in that canoe and came by the sea seeking the places I had left, with six Indians which the Cacique gave me to aid me in sailing; and having come to the places where I had made provision, I found there the Christians the Admiral had sent, and I loaded all the provisions I found with them and returned to the Admiral, by whom I was very well received, and who could not see me and embrace me enough, and ask me what had happened in the journey, giving thanks to God who had led me and brought me safely out from among such a savage people. And as at the time I reached the vessels there was no bread to eat in them, everybody was very happy at my coming, because hunger killed them at a time of such need, and from that time forward the Indians came each day loaded with provisions to the ships, from these places which I had agreed upon, which were enough for the 230 persons who were with the Admiral.

"At the end of ten days the Admiral called me aside and told me the great danger he was in, saying to me thus:

"*Diego Mendez, son: None of those I have here feel the great danger we are in except myself and you, because we are very few and these savage Indians are many and very changeable and capricious, and in the hour when they shall earnestly desire to come and burn us here where we are in these two ships made into houses thatched with straw, they can easily throw fire from the land and burn us all here; and as to the agreement which you have made with them to bring provisions which they are bringing so willingly, to-morrow they will desire something else and will bring us nothing, and we are not in position to take them from them by force, but must accept whatever they may desire. I have thought of a remedy if you approve of it; that in this canoe which you bought, some one should venture to pass to the island of Española to buy a*

ship in which we may all escape from such great danger as this which we are in. Tell me your opinion.'

"And I replied:

"Lord: I well see the danger which we are in, which is greater than can be thought. Not only do I hold the passage from this island to the island of Española in such a small vessel as the canoe, as difficult, but as impossible; because of having to cross a gulf of forty leagues of sea and among islands where the sea is more impetuous and the least quiet, I do not know who may dare to risk so evident a danger.

"His Lordship did not reply to me, persuading me strongly that I was the one who must do it, to which I replied:

"Lord: Many times have I put myself in danger of death to save your life and the lives of all those who are here, and our Lord has miraculously preserved me and my life; and with all, murmurers have not been lacking who say that your Lordship offers me everything of honour, there being others in the company who would do as well as I; and therefore it appears to me that your Lordship should have all summoned and should propose this matter to them, to see if among them there is any one who wishes to undertake it, which I doubt; and when all stand back, I will place my life in danger of death for your service, as I have done many times.

"Therefore the following day his Lordship had every one gathered before him, and proposed the matter to them in the same manner as to me; and having heard it, all were silent, and some said that it was vain to talk of such a thing, because it was impossible in such a small vessel to cross a gulf of 40 leagues, as impetuous and dangerous as this, between these two islands where very strong ships had been lost while making voyages of discovery, without being able to break, or withstand, the impetus and fury of the currents. Then I arose and said: "

"Lord: I have one life and no more, I wish to venture it in the service of your Lordship and for the good of all those who are here, because I have hope in God our Lord that having seen the intention with which I do it, He will bring me out safe, as He has done many times.

"The Admiral having heard my determination, arose and embraced me and kissed me on the cheek, saying:

"I well knew that there was no one here who would dare to undertake this matter but you; I have hope in God, our Lord, that you will come out of it with victory as from the other ventures which you have undertaken.'

"The following day I stranded my canoe on the beach and put a false keel in it, caulked it with pitch and tallow, and in the poop and prow I nailed some boards for defence against the sea that it might not enter as it would do if left bare; and I put up a mast and sail and placed in it what provisions I could for myself and for a Christian and for six Indians, as we were eight persons and more could not be contained in the canoe. And I took leave of his Lordship and of everybody, and I went up the coast of the island of Jamaica, where we were, which extends thirty-five leagues from the place where the ships were to the end, which I navigated

with great danger and labour, because I was taken on the way by some Indian pirates in the sea, from whom God liberated me miraculously. And having arrived at the end of the island, and being in waiting for the sea to become calm that I might undertake my voyage, many Indians gathered together and determined to kill me and to take the canoe and what was therein; and being thus gathered together they cast lots for my life at ball to see which one should carry the project into execution. Which being seen by me, I came secretly to my canoe, which I had three leagues from there, and made sail and returned to the Admiral, having been gone fifteen days; and I told him what had happened, and how God had liberated me miraculously from the hands of those savages. His Lordship was very joyful at my coming and asked me if I would again undertake the voyage. I said yes, taking some people with me to the end of the island, until I could put to sea and attempt my voyage. His Lordship gave me seventy men and with them his brother the Adelantado, that they might go and might remain with me until I embarked, which was three days after. And in this manner I returned to the end of the island, where I remained four days. Seeing that the sea had become calm, I took leave of these people and they of me, with many tears; and recommending myself to God and to our Lady of the Antigua, I navigated five days and four nights during which time the oar never left my hands, but I continued directing the canoe while my companions rowed. And it pleased God our Lord that at the end of five days I arrived at the island of Española at *Cabo de S. Miguel*, having passed two days that we did not eat nor drink because of having nothing; and I entered with my canoe into a very beautiful river where I then saw many natives of the country and they brought many things to eat, and I rested there two days. And I took six Indians from there, leaving those I had with me, and commenced to sail along the coast of the island of Española. I had to travel one hundred and thirty leagues from there to the city of San Domingo because the Governor was there, who was the Comendador de Lares; and having travelled along the coast of the island eighty leagues, not without great dangers and labours because the island is not conquered or pacified, I arrived at the Province of *Azoa*, which is twenty-four leagues nearer than San Domingo, and there I heard from the Comendador Gallego that the Governor had gone to the Province of *Xuragoa*¹ to pacify it; which was situated fifty leagues from there. And having learned this I left my canoe and took the road to *Xuragoa* by land where I found the Governor, who detained me there seven months until he had caused eighty-four caciques to be burned and hung, Lords of vassals, and with them *Nacaona* the greatest lady of the island, whom they all obeyed and served. And having finished this I came immediately to the land of San Domingo, which was seventy leagues from there, and I was hoping that ships would come from Castile, as it was more than a year since any had arrived. And in the meantime it pleased God that three ships should come, among which I bought one and loaded it with provisions, of bread and wine and meat and pork and sheep and fruit, and sent it to the

¹ It should be Xaraguá.

Admiral that he and all the people might come in it to San Domingo and from there to Castile. And I came on before in the other two ships to relate to the King and Queen all that had happened on that voyage.

"It appears to me that it will be well that something should be said of what happened to the Admiral and his family during the year that they were lost on that island; and it is this, that a few days after I set out, the Indians rebelled and would not bring the provisions as before; and he called together all the Caciques and told them that he marvelled at them because they did not bring the food as they were accustomed, saying, as he had told them, he had come there by command of God, and that God was angry with them, and that He would show it to them that night by signs made by the Heavens; and as there was an eclipse of the moon that night, which was almost entirely obscured, he told them that God did that through anger which He felt towards them because they did not bring food, and they believed it and were very much frightened, and promised that they would bring something to eat all the time, as in fact they did until the arrival of the ships with the provisions I sent, which pleased the Admiral and all those who were with him in no small degree; so that afterwards in Castile, his Lordship told me that never in all his life had he seen so happy a day, and that he thought never to get out from there alive; and he embarked in this ship and came to San Domingo and from there to Castile.

"I have wished to place here this brief summary of my labours and signal services, such as never were rendered by a man to his Lord, or will be henceforth in the world; and this to the end that my sons may know it and may be animated in service, and that his Lordship may know that he is obligated to grant them many favours.

"His Lordship having come to the Court and being sick in bed with the gout at Salamanca and I being employed alone in his business and in the restitution of his estate and of the governorship for his son Don Diego, I said to him thus:

"Lord: Your Lordship already knows how much I have served you and how I have worked more than night and day in your business; I entreat your Lordship to designate to me some reward in payment for this.

"And he replied to me gladly, that I might designate it and he would comply with it, because I was greatly in the right. And then I designated to him and supplicated his Lordship that he should grant me the favour of the office of Alguacilazgo mayor of the island of Española during all my life; and his Lordship granted it very willingly and said that it was very little for the great services I had rendered him; and ordered me to say this to his son Don Diego, who was very content that his father had granted me the said office, and said that if his father gave it to me with one hand, he gave it with both hands. And this is equally true for their time and for the time which awaits me.

"After I had finished (not without great labour on my part), negotiating the restitution of the governorship of the Indies to the Admiral Don Diego,

my Lord, his father being dead, I begged to have the said office conferred upon me. His Lordship replied to me that he had given it to the Adelantado, his uncle; but that he would give me something else equivalent to it. I said that he might give this other office to his uncle and to me the office that his father and he had promised me, which he did not do; and thus I remained without any recompense for my services and the Adelantado without having rendered any service, remained with my office and with the reward of all my efforts.

"When his Lordship arrived at the City of San Domingo, he assumed the position of Governor and gave my office to Francisco de Garay, servant of the Adelantado, that he might serve in his place. This was the 10th day of the month of July in the year 1510. The office was worth then at least a million of revenue, for which the Vice-Queen, my Lady, as tutor and guardian of the viceroy, my Lord, and the viceroy, are really in charge to me, and owe it to me in justice and *foro conscientie*; because the favour of this office was granted to me, and it was not complied with from the day that it was given to the Adelantado to the end of my days; because if it had been given to me I would be the richest man of the island and the most honored; and because of not being given to me I am the poorest man there, so that I have nothing but a hired house in which to die.

"And because to pay me the revenues which have been derived from the office would be very difficult, I wish to indicate an expedient and it is this: that your Lordship grant the office of Alguacilazgo mayor of the City of San Domingo to one of my sons for his lifetime, and make the other his Teniente de Almirante in the said city. And by granting these two offices to my sons in the manner here indicated, and appointing some one to act for them until they become of age, his Lordship will discharge the conscience of the Admiral, his father, and I will be satisfied with the recompense which is owing me for my services; and in this matter I will not say more than to leave it to the consciences of their Lordships, that they may do in the matter what seems best to them.

"Item: I appoint as executors of this, my will, here in the court, the Bachelor Estrada and Diego de Arana, together with the Vice-Queen, my Lady, and I entreat her Ladyship to accept the charge and cause the others to do the same.

"*Another clause.* Item: I order my executors to buy a large stone, the best they can find, and place it over my sepulchre and write round about it these letters:

"*Here lies the honourable gentleman Diego Mendez, who greatly served the royal crown of Spain in the discovery and conquest of the Indies, with the Admiral Don Christopher Columbus, of glorious memory, who discovered them, and afterwards by himself with his ships, at his own expense. He begs from charity a PATER NOSTER and an AVE MARIA.*

"Item: In the centre of the said stone let a canoe be carved, which is a piece of wood hollowed out in which the Indians navigate, because in such

Christopher Columbus

a boat I navigated three hundred leagues, and let some letters be placed above it saying: *Canoa*.

"And may the benediction of the All Powerful God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and my own, descend upon you, my dear and beloved sons, and upon you my dear and beloved wife, Doña Francisca de Ribera, and protect you and make you Catholic Christians, and give you grace that you may love and fear Him; I greatly recommend to you peace and concord and that you may be very conformable and not haughty, but very humble and kind to those who may oppose you, that they may love you; serve the Admiral, my Lord, faithfully, and his Lordship will grant you great favours, because of who he is and because my great services merit it; and above all, I order you, my sons, to be very devout and to hear very devoutly the Divine Offices, and by so doing, God, our Lord, will give you long days of life. May it please Him, in His infinite goodness to make you as good as I desire that you should be, and to hold you always in His hand. Amen.

"The books that I send you from here are the following:

"*The Art of Dying Well*, by Erasmus.

"A sermon of Erasmus in Spanish.

"Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*.

"The Moral Philosophy of Aristotle.

"The volumes which are called *Lingua Erasmi*.

"The Book of the Holy Land.

"The Colloquies of Erasmus.

"A treaty on the Quarrels of Peace.

"A book of Contemplations of the Passion of our Redeemer.

"A treaty on the Vengeance of the Death of Agamemnon, and other little Treatises.

"I have already said, my sons, that I leave you these books in entail, with the conditions in the will aforesaid, and I desire that they may all go with some of my writings which will be found in the cedar chest which is in Seville, as has been already said; and there shall be also placed in this the marble mortero which is in the possession of Don Ferdinand, or of his major domo.

"I, Diego Mendez, say that this writing contained on thirteen leaves is my last will and testament, because I ordered and caused it to be written, and signed it with my name, and by it I revoke and cancel all other wills whatever made in whatever other times and places; and I desire that this alone be valid, which is done in the city of Valladolid, June 19, 1536. Diego Mendez.

"And I the said Garcia de Vera, Notary Public, witnessed all that which has been said, and of which mention is made by me, and by order of the said Lieutenant and request of the said Bachelor Estrada, this testament in these twenty-six pages of paper [entire sheets], as here appears, I caused to be written as it was presented and opened before me, and thus the original remains in my possession. And to this effect I here place my seal [sealed here] in testimony of the truth. Garcia de Vera. [Is signed.]

"(This agrees literally with the clauses copied from a testament signed and sealed by the aforesaid Garcia de Vera, the original of which is in the archives of the Duke of Veragua, from which I copied it in Madrid, March 25, 1825. Thomas Gonzalez.)

"NOTE.—The other clauses of this will of Diego Mendez are relative to his funeral dispositions, declaration of debts, both those in his favour and against him, in Spain and in the island of Española, and other merely personal matters of his family, which have no relation or allusion to the Admiral Columbus, or to his voyages, navigations, and discoveries, for which reason they have not been copied."

This brave service rendered by Diego Mendez was recognised by the Admiral and by the Sovereigns.¹ But no statue, no bronze tablet, tells the world of his daring deed. We have not hesitated to criticise the Spaniard, and now when we meet with a character exhibiting such conspicuous courage and such loyal devotion, we would place his name among the immortals. Partly through ignorance, partly through indifference, America has been niggardly with her honours. It is not necessary to raise costly monuments. Every city possesses, perhaps, ideal means for paying the individual perpetual remembrance,—in the nomenclature of its streets. Yet in the designation of our public thoroughfares we have displayed neither sense nor imagination. We turn to the sun and call an avenue the East. We find the way wide, and we call it Broad. A tree borders our

¹ Oviedo (lib. iii., cap. ix.) thus speaks of the brave Mendez:

"E desde allí dió noticia de su venida al comendador mayor, que estaba en esta cibdad de Sancto Domingo, con una canoa que envió de indios, y en ella á Diego Mendez, su criado, que es un hidalgo, hombre de honra, vecino desta cibdad, que hoy dia vive. El qual se atrevió á mucho, por ser la canoa muy pequena, é porque fácilmente se trastornan en la mar tales canoas, é no son para engolfarse ninguno que ame su vida, sino para la costa é cerca de tierra. Pero él, como buen criado é hombre animoso, viendo á su señor en tanta necesidad, se aventuró é determinó é pasó toda la mar que hay desde aquella isla á esta con las cartas del almirante, para quel comendador mayor le socorriesse y enviase por él. Por el qual servicio [que en la verdad fué muy señalado, quanto se puede encarescer] el almirante siempre le tuvo mucho amor, é le favoreció: é sabido por el Rey Cathólico le hizo mercedes, é le dió por armas la misma canoa, por exemplo de su lealtad."

"And from there he gave notice of his arrival to the Commander-in-Chief, who was in this city of San Domingo, by means of a canoe which he sent with Indians; and in the canoe he sent Diego Mendez his servant, who is a nobleman and an honourable man, a citizen of this city and who is living to-day. Mendez ventured a great deal because of the canoe being very small and as such canoes are easily overturned in the sea and are not to be employed in difficult undertakings by any one who loves his life, but are for use along the coast and near land. But he, as a good servant and a brave man, seeing his master in such need, determined to risk himself and passed over all the sea which lies between that island and this, with the Admiral's letters in order that the Commander-in-Chief might succour him [the Admiral] and send for him. For which service [which in truth was very remarkable, however much it may be exaggerated] the Admiral always bore him much love and favoured him; and the Catholic King, having learned of his deed, granted him favours and gave him for arms the same canoe as an example of his loyalty."

shady road and the street becomes Elm. A bird flies high overhead and henceforth the way is Eagle. Perhaps some day and in some thoughtful city, a statue may be erected to Diego Mendez, or perhaps his name may be given to some honest thoroughfare, to commemorate for ever his bold and successful exploit.

Juan Sebastian del Cano was permitted by the Emperor to place on his coat-of-arms a globe with the motto, *Primus circumdisti me*. John Hawkins was granted the privilege to bear upon his black shield a golden lion walking on the waves of the sea. Both these men were bold and brave and Emperor and Queen owed them much, yet the outward show of their honours seems something over their deserts. When we see the picture of the globe and its motto, we think of the unfortunate Portuguese adventurer whose bones rest in the Philippines. When we see the black shield and the golden lion, we think of the slaves the sailor carried away from Africa. To the few who have seen his forgotten arms, the simple canoe engraved thereon is an expressive reminder of the honesty, simplicity, loyalty, and courage of the Spanish hero, Diego Mendez.

CHAPTER CXIV

THE "LETTERA RARISSIMA"

**Copia de la lettera per Colombo
mandata ali Serenissimi Re et Regi
na di Spagna: de le insule et
luoghi per lui trouate.**



Constantio Bayuera Bressano al Magnifico et Clarissimo Francesco Bagadeno podesta di Bressa. S.

Alli anni proximi passati mentre io era in Spagna: tra le altre cose admirade che alli tempi nostri sono trouate: intesi anchora de la nauigatione de Colũbo Vice Re di Spagna et gouernatore de le isule Indie per lui nouamẽte trouate p vna lettera p lui mada ta alla Sacra Maesta del Re et dela Regina de Spagna. La quale lettera per le cose mirabile che in essa se contengono hauẽdo io traducta de hispana in nostra Italica lingua: et uolendola publicare si per seruirne alcuni mei amici: che cum grande instantia me la domandauano: como anchora per fare cosa grata a tutti quelli che sono desiderosi de cose noue: et degne da essere lecte et sapute: Lho dedicata a tua Magnificentia la quale scio se delecta de historie degne: et presertim noue: quale questa marauigliosa et inaudita. Poi anchora per monstrarli lamore mio et seruitu in ep̃sa si per li beneficij soi in me como per le grande virtute: de quale e ornatissima. Quale historia se piu longa fosse: piu uolentieri lbarei a tua Magnificentia dedicata. Ma siami licito excusarmi con quello dicto. Verum et dijs lacte rustici: multę gentes supplicant: et mola tantũ salsa litant: qui non habent cibura. Vale.

Copia della lettera che scrisse ~on Christoforo Colũbo Vice Re di Spagna z almirate de le insule Indie: ali christianissimi z poteti: Re z Regina di Spagna nostri signori: In laqual gli manifesta quẽto gli sia accaduto in suo viaggio: z le terre: prouincie: cita: fiumi: z altre cose degne di admiratione: Et anchora le terre doue si trouano le minere de oro in grande quantita: z altre cose di grande ualore z ricchezza.

SERenissimi Et Molto Potenti Principi Re Et Regina Nostri Signori.

DE CALÈSE Passai nele insule ditte Canarie in quatro zorni: z de li passai a le insule chiamate (Indie) in zorni sedese: doue scrisse ad uostre Maesta: che mia intentione era de darmi pressa nel mio camino: per rispetto che io haneua li nauiglij noui ben forniti di victualie z di gẽte: z che mia uolunta era tendere nela insula chiamata Janahica. ¶ Nela insula chiamata Dominica scrisse questo: fin donde sempre haue el tempo a domandare a bocca: questa medema notte che quini intrai fui con grande fortuna z tormento che sempre doppoi mi perse guito. Quando arriuai sopra la insula Spagnola cosi nominata: mandai vn mazzo de lettere ad. **U. M.** nele quale gli domadai di gratia vn nauiglio cũ mei denari: perche vnaltra che io ne haneua era za facto in nauicabile: z za nõ soffria le uele: le q̃le lettere. **U. M.** saperãno se li hãno receuute: la risposta che **U. M.** me mandoron fu questa: che io non uolesti andare ne stare in terra: per laqual cosa cascho lo animo ale gente che con mi erano: per paura che io li uoleua menar de longi: dicẽdo che se alchuno caso uel periculo gli accadeffe che nõ seriano remedati: anzi seria di loro facto poca stima: z a cui parue disseno che le terre che io guadagnassi. **U. M.** li farian pvedere da altra psona che de mi. ¶ La fortuna era grãde z in quella notte mi smembro li nauiglij: z ognuno me no in sua parte senza alchuna speranza altro che di morte: ogniuno tencua per certo che li altri fusseno persi. Chẽ nascere senza quiccare Job che nõ fusse morto disperato: che in tal tempo per mia saluatione: z de vn mio piccolo figliolo: z fratello: z amici mi fusse dissesa la terra: z gli porti quali per diuina uolũta guadagnati haneua a Spagna sudando sangue. ¶ Torno a gli nauiglij che la fortuna grande leuati mi haueua: quali quãdo a dio piacque me li restituirte: el nauiglio in nauicabile haueualo posto in mare p scampare fin ala insula Galliega chiamata: elqual perse la barcha z anchora: he grã parte de gli victualie. Quello nel quale io andaua era trauagliato a gran marauiglia: idio per sua pietã che non haue alchun dãno lo fece saluo: in quello suspectoso era mio fratello elq̃le doppo de dio fu suo rimedio. ¶ Cum questa fortuna cosi in gattone me andai apressò Janahica: z quini si mudo de alto mare in Calma z gran correntẽ: z mi meno fino al zardin de la Regina senza mai uedere terra: z de qui quãdo puote nauicai a la terra ferma doue mi se incontro corrente terribile z uetò al oppo sito: con quali combatitte con loro zorni. 60. in fine nõ puorte guadagnarli altro che legue. 70. che sonno miglia. 350. perche vna legua p acqua he miglia cinq̃

per terra he quatro: **D**unq ogni fiata lectore che trouerai legue canarai p de-
 scritione quanti miglia seranno: in tutto questo tempo nō puote intrare in por-
 to: ne mai milasso fortuna del mare ne acqua dal cielo: z troni: z folgori: p̄tinua
 mente che pareua essere el fine del mondo. ¶ Andai al fine: z ringratiai idio: el
 quale de qui mi dette prospero uento: z corrente. questo fu a. 12. di de Septem-
 bro. erano passati ottantaotto di: che non mi hanea la terribile fortuna mai ba-
 bandonato: tal mente che ne sole ne stelle ne altro pianeta in tutto quello tēpo
 conobbero gli ochij miei: li nauiglij mi haueua aperti: le uele rotte: z perse an-
 chore: z farte: z barche: z ogni fornimento: la gente molto inferma: z tutta cōtri-
 sta: z molti con uoti di sancta religione: z non nissuno senza altro uoto aut pere-
 grinaggio: molte fiata luno z laltro si erano confessati dubitando: z de hora in
 hora expectando la morte: molte altre fortune si hanno viste: ma nō durare tan-
 to: ne cum tanto tomento: molti di nostri quali haueuamo per piu forti marina-
 ri si perdeuano di animo. Et quello che piu mi dāua passione: era il dolore del
 figlio che io haueua cū meco: z tanto piu quāto era per essere di eta de anni. 13.
 z uederlo durare tanta fatica: z passare tanta passione: z durare anchora piu
 che nissuno de noi altri: io non altri gli dette tal fortezza di animo: lui ali altri
 facua core z animo nele opere sue: era tale como si hauesse nauicado ottanta
 anni: mirabile cosa da credere: vnde io mi relegnaua alquāto: io era stato infer-
 mo: z molte fiata al segno di morte era azonto: de vna camera piccola che feci
 fare in cimma coperta dila naue comādaua el viaggio: z como he ditto mio fra-
 tello era in el piu tristo nauiglio: z piu pericoloso: grāde dolore era el mio: z mol-
 to maggiore per hauerlo menato contra sua uolunta: perche per mia disuentu-
 ra poco mi ha sonato vinti anni de seruitio quali io ho seruito cū tanta fatica
 z periculo: z che hozi di non habbia in Castillia vna teza: z se uoglio disnare o
 cenare: o dormire nō ho saluo la hostaria ultimo refugio: z el piu dele uolte mi
 manca per pagar el scotto: altra cosa anchora mi dāua grande dolore: che era
 don Diego mio figlio che io lassai in Spagna tanto ho sano: z priuo di honore
 z faculta: ben che teneua per certo che. **U. M.** como iusti z non ingrati p̄nci-
 pi gli restituisse cū accrescimēto. ¶ Arriuai ad vna terra Lariai nominata: do-
 ue qua mi restai a remediare le naue: z ogni preparamento necessario: z dare ri-
 posso ala affanata gente: qual per la longa fatica era già uenuta mancho: z io
 insieme cū loro si ripossiamo quiui in questa terra itesi noue dele minere de oro
 de la prouincia di Liamba cussi ditte: laqual io andaua cercando: qui t̄ lse doi
 homini di la loro natione: quali mi menarono ad vna altra terra chiamata La
 rambari: doue le gente uanno nude z portano al collo vn specchio di oro: elq̄le
 per nissun modo uoleno uedere ne barattare: z in questo loco mi nominaron in
 loro lengua molti altri lochi ala costa del mare: doue mi diceano essere grande
 oro: z minere. lo ultimo loco era Beragna ditto: lonzi de li. 25. legue: per laql co-
 sa mi partite de qui cū animo de cercarli tutti: z quasi che era azonto al mezzo
 intesi como a doi 30: nate di camino vi era minere de oro z deliberai mandarle
 a uedere. El uespero de. **S. Simon** iuda che haueuamo de ptire in questa not-
 te se leuo tanto mare: z uento che fu necessario de correre doue lui uolle: z quelli
 doi homini sempre ueneno cum mi per mostrarme le minere. ¶ In tutti questi
 luogbi doue io era stato trouai essere uerita tutto quello haueua iteso: z questo

mi certifico che fusse la uerita di la prouincia *Liguare* ditta: quale secondo lo-
 ro e districta: et he noue zornate de camino per terra uerso ponete: li affirmano
 che sia infinito oro: et mi diccono che portano corone de oro in testa: anelli ali
 brazzi: et ali piedi be grossi de oro: et che de oro le careggi: casse: tanole somiscono
 et fodrano como noi altri facciamo di ferro. Anchora mi disseno: che le semene
 deli portauano colari apiccati dala testa fino ale spalle pendenti de oro. In que-
 sto luogo che io dico tutta la gente de questi luoghi concordano essere cussi la
 uerita et dicono esserui tanta ricchezza: che io ne seria contento di la decima par-
 te. quiui portauamo cu noi peuro tutta questa gente lo conobbero. In *Ligua-
 re* fanno mercantie: et fere como noi: tutti costoro cussi mi lo hanno affirmato: et mi
 insegnano el modo: la forma che teneno nel loro uedere: et barattare. Ancho-
 ra dicono che nauicano como noi: et che le naue loro portano bõbarde: archi:
 fresse: spade: curazze: et uanno uestiti como noi: et hanno caualli. et usano guereg-
 giare: portano ricchi uestidure: et hanno bone case. Dicono anchora che el mare
 boglie nela ditta prouincia di *Liguare*: et che de li a zorni diece vi he el fiume *San-
 ges* appellato: pare che queste terre stiano cu *Beragna* como sta *Touosa* cu
fonterabia: aut *Pisa* cum *Uenetia*. ¶ Quando io mi parti da *Larambari*: et
 azonsi a questi luoghi che ho ditto: trouai le gente a quello medemo uso: saluo
 che gli spechij de oro che hauciano gli dauano p. 3. sonali di sparauero p. vno.
 Etia: che pelassino dese nel quindese ducatti luno: in tutti sui uisi sono como
 quelli de la spagnola insula. Lo oro ricoglieno cu altra arte: beneche et la vna et
 laltra nõ habia affare cu la arte nostra. ¶ Questo che io ho ditto e quello che
 ho alduto da queste gente dire. Quello che io ho visto et so: adesso vi conto.
 ¶ Lo anno de nonantquattro nauicai in. 24. gradi uerso ponente in termino
 de noue hore: che non gli fu fallo: perche in quella hora fu ecclipsi: el sole era in
Libia: et la luna in *Ariete*. Tutto questo che io per parole intese da questi genti
 za lo haueua io saputo longamente per scripto. ¶ *Ptholomeo* credetti lui hane-
 re ben satisfatto a *Marino*: et adesso si troua sua scriptura ben ppinqua dal ue-
 ro. *Ptholomeo* mette *Catigara* a. 12. linee lonzi del suo occidente: qual affirmo
 essere sopra capo saneto *Vincenzo* in *Portogallo* doi gradi et vn tertio. *Mari-
 no* in. 15. linee constituite la terra. Questo medemo *Marino* in *ethiopia* scrine
 sopra la linea ecquinotiale piu de. 24. gradi: et adesso che li portogalesi li nauic-
 cano: lo trouano eere uero. *Ptholomeo* disse che la terra piu australe: he el pri-
 mo termino: et che non abbassa piu de. 15. gradi et vn tertio. ¶ El mundo e po-
 co quello che he tutto: cioe la terra he sei parte: la septima solamen: e he coperta
 de acqua: la experientia za he stata vista: et a. *I. M.* la scrisse per altre mie cum-
 ado: namento dela sacra scriptura. etia: cum el sito del *Paradiso* terrestre qual
 la chiesa sancta proua. Dico che el mudo non he tanto grade como il vulgo di-
 ce: et che vn grado dela linea ecquinotiale he miglia. 56. et doi tertij presto si toc-
 cara con mano. De questo non he mio proposito in tal materia parlarne: saluo
 de darui cuncto del mio duro et affatichoso viaggio: etia: chel sia il piu nobile: et
 utilissimo. ¶ Dico che el uespero de. *S. Simon* iuda scorse doue el ueto mi le-
 uaua senza poterli far resistencia in vn porto: nel quale schina: diece zorni di grã
 fortuna de mare: et dal cielo: qui deliberai di non ritornare a oricio a le minere:
 et lassalle stare como cosa guadagnata: parti per sequir mio viaggio pionedo co

mo dio uolse arriuai ad vn porto dimādato **Bastimentos**: doue intrai: nō di bona uolunta. **¶** La fortuna z gran corrente mi ferro in ditto porto per spatio di zorni q̄to dēse: doppo anchora che nō con bon tēpo de qui mi partitte. **¶** Quādo mi trouai hauer facto circa .15. legne sforzatamente mi ritorno in diu el nēto z corrente furioso: ritornādo io al porto de doue era sallito: trouai in camino vn altro porto noiato **Retrete**: doue mi ritrasse cū assai periculo: z disturbo: z ben fatichato io la zēte: z li nauiglij: in questo porto me stette molti di: che cussi uolse il crudel tēpo: z quādo mi cretti hauere finito: alhora mi trouai cominciare: mi mutai pposito di uoler ritornare ale minere: z far alchuna cosa fin che uenestetēpo p ritornare al mio viaggio: doue che appresso il porto a quatro legue ritorno grandissima fortuna z mi faticho tanto etāto che io medesimo nō sapēua de mi: quini se me rinfresco del male la piaga: noue zorni andai p̄lo senza alchuna sperāza di uita: ochij mai uisteno mare tanto alto: ne cussi brutto como alhora era: buttaua spūma assai. el uento nō era per andar inanti: ne etiā mi daua loco per andare uerso alchuna parte: salvo che me deteneua in questo mare fatto como sangue: boglieua como caldera per gran fuoco. **¶** El cielo zamai fu uisto cussi spauentoso: vn di z vna notte ardette como fomo: z buttaua ne piu ne mancho la fūma cū li fulgori: che ogni fiata staua guatādo se mi hauesse arso li mastelli cū le uelle: ueniano questi fulgori cū tanta furia z spauentevoli che tutti si existimāmo douessino affondare li nauiglij: in tutto questo mai cesso acq̄ dal celo: nō p dire che piousse: senō che rasomigliaua vnaltro diluuij. La gente za era tāto fatichata z pēnosa che ognuno per se desioso era di morte p uiscire di tāto martiro: gli nauiglij due fiare za haueuano p̄lo le barche: le anchorē: le chorde: senza uele. erano etiā apti. **¶** Quādo piacque a dio ritornai ad vn porto dimādato porto **Sioffo** doue meglio che puotte me pparai di ogni cosa mi era necessario: z tornai vnaltra fiata uerso di **Beragna** p el mio camio: anchora che io era in ordine per nauicare: tutta uolta mi erano el uento: z corrente contrarij. **¶** Azonfi quasi doue prima era azonto: z vnaltra fiata mi uēne uento z corrente a lincōtro z tornai vnaltra fiata al porto: che nō haue ardimēto aspectare la opposition di **Saturno** cū **Marte** tāto disbarattato i costa braua: pche lo piu de le uolte mena tēpesta: nel forte tēpo. **¶** Questo fu di denatiuita a hora di messa tornai vnaltra uolta doue che era uscito cū molta faticha: z passato lāno nouo tornai a tentare z pfidiare per andar a mio camio: che anchora mi fusse facto bon tēpo za haueua li nauiglij innauicabili z la gente isferma: z morta. **¶** El di de la **Eppiphania** senza alchuna forza azonfi a **Beragna**: qui idio mi preparo vn fiume sicuro porto: benche nela itrata nō hauessi piu che diece palmi di fōndg cū faticha intrai nel ditto fiume. **¶** El di sequēte vnaltra uolta ricordo la fortuna qual se mi hauessi trouato fuora non baria possuto intrarui: pionette senza cessare fino a .14. di febraro che mai haue loco de intrare in la terra: ne pigliare rimedio in alchuna cosa. **¶** Essendo za sicuro a .24. de Zenaro uenne el fiume al improuiso molto grāde z forte: ruppemi le gomene z prese: z poco manco che non lenasse li nauiglij: z certo io li uisse in piu piculo che mai: idio mi remedio como sempre fece: nō so sel sia stato alchuno cum piu martiro: ne piu pena di la mia. **¶** A sei di febraro sempre pionēdo mādai settanta homini adentro de la terra cinque legue: z trouarono molte minere de oro. **¶** Li indij cioe quelli doi homi

ni che andauan cū loro: gli menarono ad vn mōte molto alto: z de quini gli mo-
 straron in tutte le parte quāto gli ochij poteuano uedere: dicēdo che in ogni pre-
 vi era oro assai: z che fino al ponēte azonzeuano le minere vinti zornate: z nomi-
 nauano le terre: velle: z luoghi doue più z mancho si trouaua oro. Despoi intese
 io che el Quibian(che cussi diuādano el signore dela terra) el q̄l me haueua
 dati questi doi idij: che gli haueua comādato che mi mostrasseno le minere che
 erano più lontane: z de vn altro signore suo contrario: z che de dentro de suo
 popolo ricoglieuano ogni di quādo lui uolena oro: z che vn homo solo in zorni
 dese ricoglieua vna mazata de oro: gli idij suoi famiglij testimonij di questo me-
 nai cū mi dētro di questo popolo doue le barche azonzeno. ¶ Toio mio fra-
 tello cū questa gente: z tutti cūz oro che haueuano raccolto in spatio de ore ātro
 che nō tardarono più: la quātita he grāde hauuto respecto che niissuno di costo-
 ro mai haueua viste minere: z el più di loro per auentura mai viste oro: perche
 la piu parte di loro era zente di mare z q̄li tutti grimetti. Io haueua grāde appa-
 rechio: z ordine per edificare: z molti victualie feci mio assento z cū mia gente z
 edificai certe case de legnāmi: z p̄sentai de molte cose el Quibian: cioe el segno-
 re. Io ben uedeua z iudicaua che nō era nostra cōcordia per durar molto. loro
 erano molto rustici: nostra gēte molto importuna: z anchora mi me appossessio-
 naua in suo termino. Doppoi che viste le case fatte: z el traffego cussi habundā-
 te z generale delibero de abusiuarle tutte z amazarne noi altri quāti fussimo:
 molto incōtrario li uēne suo pposito: pche como piacque a dio restò preso lui:
 moglie: figlioli: z famiglia: benche la disgratia uolse che restassi poco tēpo preso.
 El Quibian si fugitte ad vno certo huomo degno: al q̄l lui se gli haueua offer-
 to cū guarda de huomini. Gli figlioli si fugirono ad vno maestro di nauiglio: el
 q̄le li menò a loco sicuro. ¶ In el mese di zera ro si era ferrata la bocca di que-
 sto fiume. Nel mese di Ap̄ile li nauiglij eran orutti ināzati da pruina z brūma/
 z nō potena sostenerli sopra lacqua. In questo tēpo el dicto fiume fece vn cana-
 le: per el quale cauai trei di loro cum grāde pena suoti/le barche tornarono den-
 tro per la sale: z acqua: z altre cose. El mare uēne molto grāde z brutto: z non le
 lasso cauarle fora. Li indij erano Solti: z Gonti insieme cōbattirono le dicte bar-
 che: In fine furono tutti morti/ mio fratello: z l'altra gente tutta era in vna naue
 che era restata nel fiume: z io solo di fora in tāto brana costa cū forte febre: z tan-
 ta fatica/ che la sperāza di scāpare era za morta. Pur como meglio puotti mō-
 tai suso lo piu alto di la naue chiamādo cū uoce timorosa/ z piāgēdo molto ap-
 pressa gli maistri di la guerra di. U. M. z anchora chiamando tutti quatro gli
 uēti per soccorso/ ma mai mi risposeno. Straccho mi adormētai/ gemendo vna
 uoce molto piarosa senti che diceua queste parole. O stulto z tardo a credere/ z
 a seruire el tuo idio z idio de tutti/ che fece ello piu per Moyle: z p David suo
 seruo: Doppoi che nasciste lui haue de ti sempre gran cura/ quādo ti viste in eta
 di laqual fu cōtēto/ marauegliosamente fece sonare tuo nōme nella terra. Le In-
 die che sonno parte del inōdo cossi riccha/ te li ha datte per tue. Tu li hai repar-
 tite doue ti he piaciuto: z ti dette potētia per farlo. Di ligamēti del mare occa-
 no che erano ferrati cū cathene cossi forte/ ti dono le chiane/ z fusti obedito in tā-
 te terre/ z dali chustiani ricuperasti cussi bona fama z honore uole. Qual cosa fe-
 ce piu al popolo de Israele quādo lo cauo de egypto: ne anchora p David che

di pastore lo fece Re di Judea? Toma a lui e cognosce lo error tuo che sua mise ricordia he infinita tua uechiezza nō ipedira a tutte cose grāde. Molte heredita grandissime sonno a suo potere. Abraam passaua anni cento quando ingenero Isaac/ne etiam Sarra era giouene/tu chiammi per foccoso incerto. Responde mi chi ti ha afflicto tanto: tante uoite? Dio lo el mondo? Li priuilegij e promissioni che Dio da non gli rumpe mai ad alcuno: ne mai dice che doppoi de hauer riceuuto el seruizio che sua intentione non era questa e che se intendi da di altra forma / ne da martyrio per dare colore ala forza. Lui ua in cauo del texto tutto cio promette: attende cūz acrescimento questa he sua usanza. Io ti ho detto quāto el creatore habia facto per ti e fa con tutti. Adesso mi mostro el galardone: e paginēto de toi affanni: e piculi che hai passati ad altri seruēdo: e io cussi mezo morto sentina ogni cosa/ma mai nō puotte ribauere risposta per rispōdere a parole cussi certe/saluo piāgere per gli mei errori. Costui forte nitte de parlare chi uoglia chi se fusse dicēdo. Cōfidati e nō timere che tue tribulatione stāno scritte in petra di marmore nō senza caggione. C. Leuaimi quādo puotti e al fine de noue zorni feci bonazza ma nō per canare li nauigli del fiume/feci riccolta dela gēte che era in terra: e di tutto el resto che mi fu possibile/perche nō erano bastati per restare ne per nauigare li nauigli/io mi seria restato a sostenere il popolo con tutta mia gēte/se. U. M. haueuamo questo saputo. La paura che mai quini ueniriano nauigli alchunumi determino adonermi de qui partire e anchora el cunto e questo: che quādo se habbia ad puerdere di foccoso: si prouede di tutto quāto fa bisogno. C. Partire in nōme dila Santa trinita la notte di pasqua con li nauigli-marzi: e mussolēti tutti fatti pieni di busi/lasai vno el piu tristo li in Belecem cūz assai cose. In bel pouo fece il simile nō mi rimaseno saluo che doi in stato deli altri: e senza barche ne puisione alchuna per hauere de passare sette millia miglia de mare e acqua: nel morire i camino io cū el pouero figlio: e fratello: e tāta gēte. Respōdano adesso questi tali chi soleno opponere: e repēdere dicēdo: perche nō saueru cussi? pche nō colla: perche non ti gouernau costui? Io li haueua uoluti hauere la in questa giornata. Io ben creddo che vna altra: di altro sapere li aspecti/lo uero nostra se he nulla.

CA tredese de Maggio azonsi nela puincia di mago laqual parte cū quella del Catayo e de quini mi parti per la spagnola/nauicai doi di cū tēpo bono/elqual di subito mi si uolto cōtrario/el camino che io faceua era per desimbria: armi de tāto numero de insule e non imbarazarimi in li loro bassi. El mar biano mi scelse forza/doue mi fu forza ritornare adrieto senza nele. Sozitte in vna insula doue ire anchora in vna fiata persi e ala meza notte che pareua che el mondo facesse fine se ruppero le goinene al altro nauiglio e fu marauiglia como nō si scelsino in pezzi tutte doue pche luno nēne adosso laltro cū grāde ipetto/dio ne aiuto. Una anchora sola fu quella mi sostēne doppoi del diuino auxilio/in capo di zorni. 6. che era za facto bonazza in el mare tornāmo al nostro viaggio cussi cūz li nauigli tali quali erano da uermi māgiati: e tutti forachian pho piu che vno pauaro de aue che fanno il miele: e la gente facta di cussi pocho animo che quasi erano psi. Passai nō inolto manti di quello hauea facto prima: doue la fortuna mi ritorno adrieto/ritornai nela medesima insula in pouo piu sicuro/in capo di otto zorni tornai ala via medesima. In fine di Junio azonsi a Janabaica sempre

ed ueti trauerfenoli: z li nauiglij in pezo: stato/cum tre bombe: tiner: z caldere: ed tutta la gēte nō potena reuincere lacqua che nela nane intrava/ne vi era altra cura o rimedio di questo/messermi nel camīno per uenire tutta fiata appproximādo ala spagnola che sono. 28. legue: z non uoria hauere comenzato. Laltro nauiglio scorse a trouar porto quasi anegato. Io uolsi cōtrastare la uolta del mare/el nauiglio si me anego che miraculosamēte idio mi mādō a terra. ¶ Chi credera quello che io scriuo: Dico che de le cēto parte nō ho la vna scritta in questa p̄sente lettera di laqual cosa quelli chi furono in mia cōpagnia lo testificarino. ¶ Se a. U. M. piase de farmi gratia di soccorso vn nauiglio che passe de. lxiij. tonelle che sonno botte cū. 200. gntali de biscocto: z alchuna altra puisione/bastara p portarime mi: z questa pouera gēte a spagna. Dela spagnola in Janahaica za disse che nō vi sono. 28. legue. ¶ Io nō seria pho andato ala spagnola bēche li nauigli fusseno stati boni/pche za dissi como mi fu comādato da. U. M. che non andasse in terra/se questo tale comādamento habia sonato dio il fa. ¶ Questa lettera mādō per via z mano de indij grāde marauiglia sera si la azonze. ¶ Del mio viaggie dicco che cū mi z in mia cōpagnia ueniu cēto z cinquāta huomini/ fra quali vi erano psone assai sufficiēte per pilotti z grādi marinari/non pho alchuno puo dare ragione certa per doue summo: ne per donde ritorniamo. La ragione e presta. Io mi parti disopra el porto del Brasil nomina o in la spagnola/ non mi lasso la fortuna andare al camīno che io uoleua/ anzi mi fu forza correre doue el uento uolse/ in questo di cascai io molto infermo. Nissuno haueua nauicado uerso quella parte: cello el uento z il mare deli a certi 30ni/ z mutossi la fortuna in calma z grande correnti/ fui abattere in vna insula qual si pisse Delas pozzas/ z deli ala terra ferma. Nissuno puo dare cunto uero di questo: pche nō vi he ragione che basti/ perche sempre andiamo cum correnti senza mai uedere terra tanto numero de 30ni. Seguirai la costa dela terra ferma/ questa si assento z misuro cūz compasso z arte/ nissuno vi he che dica dibasso qual parte del cielo sia. Quando io mi parti de quiui per uenire ala spagnola: gli pilotti pensauano uenire amettere capo nela insula di. S. Johānc: z si trouiamo in terra di magho che vi sonno. 400. legue di piu di quello loro iudicauano uerso il ponente/ respondano si fanno doue sia el sito di beragna: dico che non ponno dare altra ragione ne cunto/ saluo che furono a certe terre doue vi era molto oro: z certifica ronlo/ ma per ritornarui seria bisogno tornar a discoprirle como de prima: che el camīno he ignoto. Uno cincto z raggione di astrologia vi he quale he certissima z nō si puo errare. Chi la intende questo gli basti/ a uisione prophetica si rassomiglia questo. ¶ Le naue dele indie se non nauicano saluo che apoppa: non he per la loro mal fatezza como alchuni uolono/ ne etiam dio per essere molto grande/ li correnti terribili simul cum el uento che iui occorre/ fanno che nissuno nauicheno di altra sorte/ perche in vn giorno perderiano quello che haueffino guadagnato in sette/ ne etiam cauo carauelle: anchora che siano latine uel porto gallese/ che per mali tempi si detengano alchuna uolta sei: z octo mesi in porto. Ne he marauiglia poi che in spagna molte uolte altro tanto accade. ¶ La gente de che scriue papa Pio secondo el sito/ z segnali/ di esse si he parlato/ ma non de li caualli: pettorali: freni de oro/ ne he marauiglia alchuna/ perche iui le terre di la costa del mare non vi richiede caualli/ ma piu presto piscatori/ ne io uolsi

restarmi a cercare tal cose: peche andaua molto in fretta. ¶ In Cariai 7 in quelle terre di sua iurisdictione sonno grandi incantatori/7 molto spauosi/hauerian mi dato quanto hauesse saputo adimandare: perche non vi fusse restato vn hora. Quando agiunse incontinente mi mandorono due fanciulle ornate di ricchi uestimenti. La piu di tempo non saria di eta de anni vndesci/altra di sette/tutte due cum tanta practica cum tanti atti/7 tanto uedere/che seria bastato si fusse/no sta: e putane publice vinti anni: portauano cum esse loro poluere de incantamenti/7 altre cose di la loro arte. Cemo furono azonte comandai che fusseno ad ornate de noste cose/7 li mandai subito a la terra. Jui visti vna sepultura dentro nel monte grande como vna casa: 7 lauorata sutilmente cum grande artificio/7 vn corpo vi staua sopra scoperto quale guardando dentro pareua che stess:/di altre arte mi disseno quini essere di piu excellentia. Animali gradi 7 piccoli vi sonno assai: 7 molto diuersi da li nostri: fra liquali io vi viste poici di forma spauenteuole/che vn cane de quelli de yrlanda non ardeua aspettarli. Cum vna balestra haueua ferito vn animale che proprio si rasomiglia ad gatto mai more: saluo che he molto piu grande/7 ha la fazza como uolto di homo/haueualo passato da parte ultra cum vna sagitta comenzado dal pecto/fino la coda/7 perche era ferocissimo gli tagliai vn pie de nanzi/che piu presto pareuano manel/7 vno de dietro. Gli poici uedendo questo si cominciarono ad incresparsi/7 fugirono tutti cum gran paura uededo il sangue di quellaltro animale. Jo quando visti questo feci buttare le Uegare certi animali che cossi le chiamono/ouue el staua: 7 approssimadosi a lui cossi stado ala morte: 7 la sagitta semp nel corpo gli butto la coda per li labri di la bocca: 7 gli amarro molto forte/7 cum laltre mano vi era restata lo piglio dietro la coppa como a nemico. Lo acto cussi grande 7 nouo/7 bella campagna: 7 monteria mi fece scriuere questo ad. U. M. De molte forme di animali anchora vi erano/ma tutti morono di diuerse malathie. Visti animali di piu forte assai: leoni: cerui 7 altri animali: scozzi quasi rasomiglianti: 7 cussi augelli uolatili: viste galline molto grade che le plumme loro erano como lana ni piu ni mancho. ¶ Quando io andaua per quello mare in pena 7 affanno: in alchuni intro certa fantasia nela testa che fuslimo da costoro stati incantati: 7 ozi di stanno in tal proposito. Trouai anchora altra gente che mangiauano homini como noi altri mangiamo altri animali: 7 questo e certo: la deformita de li loro visi 7 fategge lo conferma. Jui dicono che vi sonno grande minere de rame/7 torze di rame: 7 altre cose lauorate/saldate/7 zitate haue da loro 7 hebbe anchora tutto suo appareggio como de oreuchi. Jui uanno uestiti: 7 in quella prouincia visti lenzuoli grandi di bombaso lauorati di subtilissimi lauori: 7 altri ne viste depinti molto sutilmente cum colori: 7 penelli. Diccono che nela terra a dentro uerso el Cataio che li lenzuoli loro sonno texuti de oro. De tutte queste terre: 7 de le cose diuerse che in elle vi sonno per mancamento di lingua non si puo sapere cussi presto. Li popoli ben che siano spessi tutti hanno differentiata lingua: 7 tanto dico differentiat: che lo vno laltro non intede: piu che noi se intendeno cum quelli di arabia: 7 a mio iudicio credo che questo sia nela gente che sta dietro ala costa dil mare: che he quasi como siluestre: ma non nela terra adentro. ¶ Quando discoperii le indie dissi a. U. M. che erano di la piu ricca signoria che nel mondo fusse: io disse del oro: perle prede preciose: spiciarie:

& di tratti: fere: mercantie: & altre cose: & perche tutte queste cose cussi in' En trau-
 to non uennero a luce fui scandalizato. Unde per questo castigo & admonitio-
 ne adesso mi fa che non dica ne scrina saluo quello che io aldetti dali naturali
 de la terra. De vna ardisco douere scriuere pche molti mi sōno testimonio. Che
 io visti in queste terre di Beragna mazor segnal de oro in doi zoni pmi/che nō
 habia visto nela spagnola in quattro anni. Et anchora le terre di sua iurisdicio-
 ne non poriano essere piu belle: ne piu lauorate di quello che sonno: nela gente
 piu coarde & puocho animo di quello che sonno: ne el porto poria essere meglio
 re di quello che he: & il fiume bellissimo: & piu dil mūdo dissensibile. Tutto que-
 sto e sicurtà & certezza di signoreggiare a chustiani: cū grāde sperāza di honore:
 & accrescimēto di la sācra religiōe chustiana: & sapiano. **U. M.** che el camino p
 andarui fera cussi breue: como andar ala spagnola: pche questo ha di essere na-
 uicato cū uēto di altra forma: rāto. **U. M.** sōno certi di essere seguori & patroni
 de queste tre como di spagna: & granata. Sue naue che vi andarano porāno di
 reche uadino a casa sua: & de li cauarāno oro assai: nele altre tre p hauere oro he
 forza fidarsi de vno de quelli saluaticchi: aut p hauere de quelle cose che vīsōno
 conuiene hauerle per forza: & nō senza grādissimo piculo di la vita loro. **E** le
 altre cose che io lasso di dire za disse la causa. Non dicco cussi ne mi affirmo cū
 el ridoppio di tutto quello che mai habbia diuto ne scritto: & dicco questa e la
 fonte done io sonno. **E** Venetiani Senonesi: & tutte gente che habbiano perle
 petre pēciose & altre cose di ualore: tutti li portano fino in capo del mūdo per ha-
 rattarle & uenderle: & finalmente cōuertirle in oro. Lo oro e metallo sopra gli al-
 tri eccellentissimo: & del oro si fanno li thesori: & chi lo tiene fa: & opera, quanto
 vuole in el mundo: & fin almēte azonze a mādare le anime al paradiso. **E** gli si-
 gnori de quelle terre del territorio di Beragna quādo muoiono sotteran gli cor-
 pi loro cū quanto oro che habbiano: & cussi e sua usanza. **E** A Salomone por-
 tarono in vna uolta seicento & cinquanta sei quintali de oro senza quello porta-
 rono gli marinari & mercatanti: & senza quello anchora che pagarono in Arra-
 bia. vn quintale pesa 150 lire, di questo oro Salomone feci fare. 200. lāce & tre-
 cento scutiz: & feci fare vni tauolato de oro che gli hanena di stare in cima loro:
 tutto de oro adornato di molte pietre pēciose: & anchora feci fare di questo oro
 molte altre cose: & si grandi molto: adornati sinelmēte di petre pēciose: richissi-
 ma cosa. Iosepho de antiquaribus rerū lo scriue: & anchora nel Paralipomenō
 nel libro di Re si scriue questo. **E** Iosepho uole che questo oro si hauesse nela
 insula aurea appellata: laqual cosa se cussi fuisse: dico che quelle minere dela au-
 rea sono le medesime che si contencno cū questi di Beragna: pche como vi dissi
 si allonga al ponente. xx. zornate & sōno in vna distantia longe dal polo: & etiam
 dela linea. Salomone cōpio tutto quello oro: petre pēciose. & argento da mer-
 catanti. **U. M.** lo pōno ad ogni sua requisitione far ricogliere se gli piace senza al-
 chuno piculo. **E** David in suo testamēto lasso tre millia quintali de oro de le in-
 die insule a Salomone per aiutar ad edificare el tēplo: & secōdo scrine Iosepho
 David era di queste medesime terre: & cussi si legge. **E** Hierusalem: & el mon-
 te Sion como si scriue/ha de essere. reedificato p mano di chustiano: chi ha de
 essere questo: Dio per bocca del propheta nel decimo quarto psalmo cussi lo di-
 ce. Lo abbate Joachin disse che questa persona haueua de essere di Spagna.

Sancto Hieronymo a' quella sancta dōna gli mostro el camino per douerlo fare. **E** lo imperatore del Cataio: za molti zōni domādo: z fece gran cosa p' hauere homini intelligenti gli insegnassino in la fede di christo. Chi sera colui se li offerisca ad farceli hauere? Se idio mi porta cū bene a Spagna io prometto a. **U. M.** z mi obligo cōdurceli io cū lo aiuto di dio sani z salui: z cussi lo metterò in opera como lo dico. **E** questa zēre quale he uenuta cū mi: quella che he ritornata ha passato grandissimi stenti: z piculi di la loro vita. Dominando di grā ad. **U. M.** che li facciano pagare incontinente a causa che sonno poneri: z che secondo la loro cōditiene. **U. M.** gli faccian qualche gratia: acio vn'altra volta habbiano a seruire. **U. M.** di bon core: che a mio iudicio a quanto credo: gli portano le migliore nouelle che mai portasse huomo i Spagna. **E** lo oro che haueua el signore di Beragna: benche secondo informatione f. f. se molto: z anchora deli soi subditi: z terre circūuicine non mi parue douerglielo torre per via di latrocinio: ne anchora nō era seruitio di. **U. M.** di pigliarlo per via di robamento. El bon ordine ciuitara scandalo: z mala fama di. **U. M.** z cū bon modo omnino il cauarēmo: z lo faremo ritornare al Thesoro di. **U. M.** che nō vi manchara grano per quanto chel sia grande quātita. **E** cum vn mese di bon tempo io haria finito tutto el mio viaggio: z per mancamento de nauiglij non uolse star ad aspeccare per tornarui: ma per ogni cosa che in seruitio sia de. **U. M.** mi offero: z spero in quello omnipotente idio che mi fece dandomi sanita trouare cose: z vie abscondite: de le quale. **U. M.** cum tutta la chastianita si ne alegrarano: z faran festa meritamente. Io credo che. **U. M.** si debbano aricordare: che io uoleua far fare certi nauiglij di noua forma: ma la breuita del tēpo non mi lasso: perche io za haueua visto quello gli era bisogno per vi douere nauicare per rispetto che iui sonno altre forte di mare: z uenti: se a dio piacerà lo metteremo in opera como sia azonto piacendo a. **U. M.** **E** io ho in piu estimatione questa faccenda di queste terre: z minere cum questa scala z segnorìa: che tutto laltro che ho fatto nele indie insule: nō he figlio questo per dar ad nutrire a matrigna: de la spagnola: de la paria: z de le altre terre non me ne aricordo mai che le lachryme nō mi caddano da gli occhij: credeuami io che lo. exemplo di queste doncellino essere per queste altre: al contrario loro stanno cum la bocca in giuso benche non muouono. La infirmita he incurabile aut molto longa. Chi fu causa di questo nēgha adesso si po: aut si fa: ad curarle. Adiscoprire ogniuno he maestro: ma ad comporre pochi maestri vi si troua. Le gratie z ac: crescimēti sempre si sogliono dare a chi ha posto el corpo: la vita al periculo: ne he ragione che chi he stato tanto cōtrario in questa negociatione le galdano ne soi heredi. Quelli che si fuggirono dele indie per fugir sanche: dicendo male di loro z de iuto: narono cum cōmissioni: z cussi adesso si ordinaua di Beragna: malo exemplo z senza uile di questa impresa: z p' rispetto dela iustitia del mundo questa paura cum altri casi assai: mi feci z costrinsi domandare di gratia ad. **U. M.** che anzi che io uenisse a discoprire queste insule: z terre ferme me gli uollesino a mi lassare gouernare in suo nome reale: piacquel: z mi fu cōcesso cum priuilegio z assento: z cum sigello: z zramento: z mi intitularono de Vice Re: ammirante: z gouernatore generale del tutto: z mi assignarono el termino sopra la insula deli astori cēto legue: z quelle del cayu uerde che passano di polo a po

lo per linea: et di questo: et di tutto quello che ogni di si discoprisse: et mi diedeno anchora potere amplo como la scriptura parla. ¶ Altro negocio famosissimo sta cum li brazzi aperti chiamando: forestiero e stato sin adesso. Sette anni steti io in corte di. **U. M.** che a quanti di questa impresa si parlaua tutti ad vna uoce diceano che eran cianze: et pataraggie: al presente sino li sartori et calzolari domandano di gratia a. **U. M.** per discoprire terre. E da credere che uanno assaltando: et se. **U. M.** gli concedeno che cū molto p iudicio di la impresa: et de mio honore: recuperino cosa alchuna: bona cosa he dare a Dio il suo: et a **Ch.**aro quello gli apertiene: et questa e iusta sententia: et di iusto principe. Le terre che obediscono et cognoscono. **U. M.** per sui superiori di queste insule sono piu che tutti gli altri de christiani et richissime: dopoi che io per diuina uolunta piu presto che per sapere le ho poste sotto sua Reale et alta Segnoria: et poste dico i termino per hauere. **U. M.** di esse grandissime intrate. Ala improuisa aspectado io la naue per mi domandata a. **U. M.** per uenire al suo alto conspecto: cui3 victorie et grande noue di oro: et de diuerse ricchezze: molto alegro: et sicuro tenedo mi essere: fui preso et messo in vn nauiglio cui3 doi fratelli caricato di ferri: nudo in corpo cum molto male tractamento: senza essere chiamato ne anchora victo per iustitia. Chi uora credere che vn pouero forestieri si haueffi uoluto alzarfi in tal luoco cotro. **U. M.** senza causa: et senza brazzo alchuno di altro principe? Maximamente essendo io solo in mezzo tutti questi che cū mi erano sui uasalli et naturali di regni di. **U. M.** et anchora hauuto respecto: che io teneua tutti gli figlioli mei in sua Real corte. Io uene a seruire. **U. M.** de tempo de anni. 28. et adesso non ho cauello che non sia canuto: el corpo debile et infermo: et tutto dannato: quanto io haueua portato cum mi: da costoro mi fu tolto ogni cosa ami: et mei fratelli sino el saio senza essere ne aldito ne visto cū grande mio dishonore. E da credere che questo non si facessi per suo Real mandamento: et se cossi he como dico: la restituidoe del mio honore et de miei dāni: et castigamēto a chi lo ha facto faran. **U. M.** sonare per tutto el mundo: et altro tāto di coloro chi me hanno robato le ricchezze: et mi han fatto danno nel mio almirantado: grandissima fama e uirtu cum exemplo sera a. **U. M.** si questo fanno: et restara in spagna et ogni altro loco gloriosa memoria di loro: como agradeuoli et iusti principi. ¶ La intentione bona et sana quale sempre hebbe al seruir de. **U. M.** et il dishonore: et remerito tanto disequale: non da luochio ala anima che taccia: benche inuogliā: di laqual cosa domando a. **U. M.** p dono. ¶ Io sonno restato cussi per so et diffacto: Io ho pianto sin qui per altri che. **U. M.** gli habian misericordia pianga adesso el cielo: et pianga per mi la terra inel temporale: che non ho sola vna quatrina per far offerta in spirituale: Io son restato qua nele indie isule de la forma che he sopraditta insulato in gran pena: et infirmo aspectando ogni di la morte: Et circundato de innumerabili siluagij pieni di crudelta: et nemici nostri: et cussi longi di sacramenti di la sancta madre ecclesia: che credo si finentica: ra questa anima: se dil corpo esce fuora. Pianga per mi chi ha charitate: uerita: uel iustitia. Io non uenne a questo viaggio ad nauicare per guadagnare honore ne robba: questo he certo: perche la speranza era dil tutto za persa: ma vi uene per seruire a. **U. M.** cū sana intentione et bon zelo di charita: et non inmento. ¶ Supplico a. **U. M.** che se dio vuole che possa di qua fallirmi: che mi uogliā

concedere: e habiano per bene che io uadde a Roma e altri pegrinationi: Ene
vite: e alto stato la sancta Trinita cōserui e accrescha. Data nele indie in la in-
sula di Janahica a. 7. di Julio del. 1503.

Stampata in Venetia (a nome
de Constantio Bayuera cita-
dino di Bressa) per Si-
mone de Louere. a di
7. di Marzo. 1505.



Cum Privilegio.

**Aduerte lettore a non legere Colūbo Vice Re di spagna: ma legerai solū Vice
Re de le insule Indie.**

"*Copy of the Letter Sent by Columbus to the Most Serene King and Queen of Spain; Concerning the Islands and Places Found by him.*

"Constanzo Bayuera of Brescia to the Magnificent and Most Famous Francesco Bragadino, Mayor of Brescia (greeting).

"In the last years, while I was in Spain, among the admirable things which have been found in our days, I heard also of the navigation of Columbus, Viceroy of Spain and Governor of the Indian Islands recently found by him, by means of a letter which he had sent to their Sacred Majesties, the King and Queen of Spain. This letter I have translated for the sake of the wonderful things it contains, from the Spanish into our Italian language, and desiring to publish it, first in order to serve some friend of mine, who urgently asked it from me, then to do a favour to all those who want to hear new things worthy to be read and known, I have dedicated it to your Magnificence, knowing that you are delighted with worthy histories, especially such as are new, like this marvellous and unheard of [history]. Furthermore, to prove you my love and thankfulness as well for your benefits as for the great virtues, which adorn you so much. If this history were longer, I would have dedicated it to your Magnificence with still more pleasure. But let it be allowed me to excuse myself with this sentence:— and indeed, rustics and many people implore the gods offering milk, and those who have no incense, bring them only spelt mixed with salt. Farewell.¹

"*Copy of the letter which Don Christopher Columbus, Viceroy of Spain and Admiral of the Indian Islands wrote to the most Christian and Powerful King and Queen of Spain, our Lords; in which he makes known to them what befell him on his voyage; and the lands, provinces, towns, rivers and other things worthy of admiration; and also the lands where gold mines are found in great quantity; and other things of great value and richness.*

"Most Serene and Mighty Princes, King and Queen, our Lords:—

"From Cadiz I passed to the islands called Canaries in four days and from there I went to the islands called the Indies in sixteen days; where I wrote to your Majesties that my intention was to make haste on my way; because I had new ships well furnished with victuals and crew; and that my purpose was to steer to the island called Janahica [Jamaica].

"In the island called Dominica I wrote this; up to this time the weather

¹ The original letter to the Sovereigns undoubtedly was written in Spanish. Ferdinand Columbus, in the *Historie*, affirms that this letter was sent to the Sovereigns by Diego Mendez and that it was printed. If Ferdinand meant that it had been printed in Spanish we have no knowledge of the existence of such a book. Nor do we know of the existence of the original letter. Don Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado, of the Council of the Indies, is said to have had a manuscript copy of the letter. Navarrete published the letter from a Spanish manuscript text of which the writing appeared to belong to the middle of the sixteenth century. This was once in the college of Cuenca at Salamanca, and, as Ramirez de Prado bequeathed his papers to this college, the inference is that this text is identical with that once possessed by him. We have called attention in notes to discrepancies between the Spanish text and that of the Italian *Lettera*.

was all that could be asked for; that same night when I entered that place there was a great storm and distress which has pursued me ever since. When I arrived at the island Spagnola, so called, I sent a package of letters to your Majesties in which I asked of you the favour of sending me a ship with my money; because another [ship] which I had, was already rendered unserviceable and it then could not sustain sails; which letters your Majesties will know if you have received them; the reply which your Majesties made me was that I should not wish to go or stay ashore; because of this the spirits of the men who were with me fell, for fear that I wished to lead them far away; they said that if any accident or danger should happen that they would not be rescued; and also that little care would be taken of them; and it seemed to some, as they said, that the land which I might acquire, your Majesties would cause to be governed by another person than myself.

“The tempest was great and that night the ships were separated from me; and each ship was driven on its own course without any hope other than of death; each held it for certain that the other had been lost. What man has been born—not excepting Job himself—who would not have died of despair that in such a storm for my own salvation and for that of my little son and brother and friends, I should be forbidden to land on that shore which by the will of Heaven I had gained for Spain sweating blood [with my efforts]?”

“I return to the ships which the great storm had taken from me, which when it pleased God He restored to me; the unserviceable ship in order to escape put out to sea as far as to the island called Galliega; which ship lost its boat and anchor and a great part of its victuals. The one in which I went was marvellously tossed about; and God in His mercy that I might not suffer danger kept it safe. In that suspected [to be unseaworthy] was my brother, who next to God was her help.

“With this tempest I went slowly and carefully¹ near to Jamaica, and there, there was a change of the heavy sea into a calm and there was a great current that brought me to the Huerta de la Regina without ever seeing land; and from there I sailed when I could to the mainland, where I met a fearful current and opposing wind against which I struggled 60 days; finally I could not gain more than 70 leagues, which are 350 miles; because one league by sea is five miles and by land is four miles. Therefore, reader, every time that you find leagues mentioned you will by your judgment understand how many miles it is.² In all this time we could not enter into the harbour nor did the tempest on the sea and the rain from heaven ever leave me and the thunders and the continuous lightnings seemed to be the end of the world.

“I went on finally and I thank God, who from that time gave me pros-

¹ *In gattone*,—on all fours, that is, carefully and prudently, as a cat might walk.

² All this explanation of the measurement of a league is omitted in the Spanish letter copied by Navarrete. The use of the word “reader” shows this to be an interpolation on the part of the editor of the printed *Lettera*.

perous wind and current.¹ This happened on the 12th of September. Eighty-eight days were passed in which the terrible storm had never left me, so that my eyes in all that time beheld neither sun nor stars nor other planets. The ships' seams were opened, the sails were torn, the anchors, stays, boats and all accoutrements were lost, the crew were for the most part sick and all disheartened, and many with the vows of their holy religion and there were none without some vow or pilgrimage. Many times one would confess to another in doubt, and from hour to hour in the expectation of death. Many other tempests have been seen but not of such duration nor with such violence. Many of our people who were considered hardened mariners lost their courage. That which gave me grief was the suffering of my son whom I had with me. The more so since he was coming to the age of thirteen years and was enduring so much fatigue and suffering so much pain and bearing more than any of the rest of us. God and no other gave him such fortitude of spirit. He by his conduct encouraged and heartened the others. He was as if he had been at sea eighty years, a marvellous thing to believe. From which conduct I found some relief. I had been sick and many times had reached the point of death. From a little cabin which I caused to be erected in the upper part of the ship, I directed the expedition. And as I have said, my brother was in the most wretched and most dangerous vessel. My grief was very great, and the more so since I had brought him against his will, because by my misfortune the twenty years of service which I had given with so much fatigue and danger have profited me so little that to-day I have in Castile no roof and if I wish to dine or sup or sleep I have only the tavern for my last refuge, and for that most of the time I would be unable to pay the score. Another thing also gave me great pain,—that was Don Diego, my son, whom I had left in Spain in such an orphaned condition and deprived of honours and fortune; although I held it for certain that your Majesties, as just and not ungrateful Princes would make restitution to him with increase. I arrived at the land called Cariai, where I remained to repair the ships and make all necessary preparations and to give repose to the jaded crew, who by long fatigue had become exhausted; and I myself was sick. And I together with them reposed there.² In this land I heard news about the gold mines of the province of Ciamba, so called, all which I went seeking. There I took two men of their nation, who brought me to another land called Carambaru, where the people go naked and wear around the neck a mirror of gold which they will not in any way sell or exchange; and in which places they named to me in their language many other places on the seacoast; where they told me there were great quantities of gold and mines; the last place, so called, Beragua, distant from there 25 leagues. For that reason I left there with the intention of seeking them all. Scarcely had I arrived half way when I learned that at about two days' journey

¹ In the Spanish letter copied by Navarrete it reads: "I arrived at the cape of Gracias á Dios and after that the Lord granted me fair wind and current."

² In the Spanish the Admiral repeats his being sick unto death.

there were mines of gold and I determined to send to see them. On the evening of Sts. Simon-Jude,¹ when having to depart, there arose such a sea and wind that it was necessary to run where they could. And those two men always came with me to show me the mines.² In all these places where I had been I found to be true all that I had heard, and this made me certain that the truth had been spoken concerning the province of Ciguare, which according to them is destroyed³ and is nine days' journey by land toward the west. There they say that there is an infinite quantity of gold, and they tell me that they wear crowns of gold on their heads⁴ and they wear very large rings on their arms and feet and that seats, chests and tables are furnished and sheathed with gold, as we make them with iron. And also they tell me that the women there wear collars of gold fastened to the head and hanging as far as to the shoulders. In this place, as I say, all the people of these regions agree that this is the truth and say that there are so many riches that I should be content with the tenth part. There we brought with us pepper, which all the people recognised.⁵ In Ciguare there were markets and fairs as with us. All these things they affirmed to me and showed me the method or manner in which they hold their sales and barter. Moreover they say that they navigate as we do and their ships carry catapults, bows, arrows, swords and armour; and they go clothed as we do and they have horses⁶ and they make war. They wear rich clothing and they have good houses.⁷ They say moreover that the sea boils in the said province of Ciguare and that from there it is ten days' journey to the river called Ganges.⁸ It seems that these lands stand in relationship to Beragua [Veragua] as Tortosa stands in relationship with Fuenterrabia or as Pisa with Venice.⁹

"When I departed from Carambaru and went to those places as I have

¹ See our note on Sts. Simon-Jude in chapter lxxv.

² In the Spanish translation: "And the Indian chiefs from the mines were with me all the time."

³ In the Spanish this word is rendered "deserita,"—described,—a more reasonable rendering.

⁴ In the Spanish letter, instead of gold being the material worn upon the arms and feet and used for the ornamentation of tables and chests, coral is given as the material of ornamentation; a material which, however appropriate for body ornaments, certainly could not have been used as a substitute for metal in sheathing such furniture as tables and chests.

⁵ In the Spanish there is no reference to Columbus's gathering pepper, but the simple statement is made that the people were *acquainted* with the pepper plant.

⁶ In the Spanish the passage is "y in la terra hay eaballos." Major translates the next phrase as if it were horses which were used in war, a translation not warranted by even the Spanish text.

⁷ In the Spanish, Navarrete gives this passage, "y tienen buenas cosas": "and have good things."

⁸ The sea boils,—that is to say, the sea breaks in foam upon the shores of that province of Ciguare. In the Spanish of Navarrete this passage is "boxa a Ciguare": "surrounds Ciguare." The sense is not materially different.

⁹ As the reader already knows, this passage is most vital in proving the extent of the comprehension Columbus himself had of the value of his discoveries. He knew that he was on continental land, and that between that continental land and the far

said, I found the people with the same customs; except that the looking-glasses of gold which they had they gave for three hawk's bells each even if they weighed ten or fifteen ducats each. In all their customs they are like those of the island of Española. The gold is obtained by another method, although both have no similarity with our art.¹

"This which I have said is what I have heard these people say. That which I have seen and know I will tell you now. In the year '94 I sailed 24 degrees towards the west in a period of nine hours; there was no error therein because in that hour there was an eclipse; the sun was in Libra and the moon in Aries. All which I learned by speech from this people I had already known from books. Ptolemy believed himself to have corrected Marinus and now his writings are found to be very near the truth. Ptolemy put Catigara at a twelve line distance from his Occident, which I affirm to be at $2\frac{1}{3}$ degrees above Cape St. Vincent in Portugal. Marinus divides the earth into fifteen lines. This same Marinus in Ethiopia² draws above the Equinoctial line more than twenty-four degrees, and now that the Portuguese navigate there, they find it to be true. Ptolemy says that the most southern land is the first boundary and that it does not descend more than $15\frac{1}{3}$ degrees.

"The world is small; that which is dry, that is to say the land, is six parts; the seventh only is covered with water. Experience has now proved it and I wrote it to your Majesties with my letters, illustrating it from the Holy Scriptures; also with the site of the terrestrial Paradise, as the Holy Church approves. I say that the world is not as large as is commonly asserted and that a degree of the Equinoctial line is $56\frac{2}{3}$ miles, as will soon be demonstrated. It is not my purpose to speak of this matter, but rather to give you a full account of my difficult and troublesome voyage, although it [the scientific matter] is the most noble and useful. I say that the evening of Sts. Simon-Jude I ran where the wind carried me without being able to resist it, into a port, where I spent ten days from the violence of the sea and the sky. Here I determined not to go back to the mines and I let them stand as a thing acquired; I departed in the rain to pursue my voyage as God willed; I arrived at a port Bastimentos, where I did not enter willingly. The storm and great current held me in the said port for

East, the land of Marco Polo, the land of spices, the true Indies, was another and a different ocean, just as to one standing by Tortosa in the Mediterranean Sea there would be a stretch of continental land on the other side of which there would be found another sea, the Atlantic. We have already seen that in a document belonging to him, handled by him, inserted by him in the *Book of Privileges*, this discovery of his is described as lying not in the Indies of Marco Polo, but in the *Indias Occidentales*, the western Indies. Therefore we reiterate our belief that he knew as well, nay, better, than any other soul of his time, that he had discovered and given to the Sovereigns of Spain new lands and a New World.

¹ Navarrete gives this Spanish phrase: "el oro cogen con otras artes bien que todos son nada con los de los Cristianos."

² Navarrete has the following passage: "Marinus en Etiopia escribe al Indo la linea equinoctial mas de," etc., which certainly gives point to the passage, as it is utterly unintelligible in the Italian.

the space of fourteen days; then I again set out from there, but not with good weather. When I found myself to have made about fifteen leagues the wind and the violent current forcibly returned me. Returning into the harbour whence I had come, I found on the way another harbour called Retrete: where I retired with great danger and disturbance and much fatigue, both myself and the crew. In this harbour I remained many days,¹ for so the cruel weather determined it, and when I believed myself to have finished then I found that I was only beginning. Here I changed my purpose, wishing to return to the mines and to do some things until there came good weather for returning on my voyage; when near the harbour, at four leagues distance, a very great storm fatigued me so much that I knew nothing more about myself. There my wound re-opened itself.² Nine days I passed without any hope of life. Eyes never saw so high a sea or with so much noise as there now arose; throwing such foam; the wind was not for going down or affording me a place to go towards another port. Instead of that it held me in this sea which was become bloody and which was boiling like a cauldron on a great fire. The heaven never seemed so troubled. One day and one night it burned like a furnace; and threw not more or less than flame and lightning, so that every moment I expected that it would have burned the masts and the sails. These lightnings came with such fury and so dreadful that all expected that the ships would founder. In all this, the rain from heaven never ceased. I do not say that it rained, but that it resembled rather another deluge; the crew were already so exhausted and harassed that every one for himself wished for death to escape from such martyrdom. The ships had twice lost their barks, the anchors and the ropes and they were without sails, and besides they were leaky. When it pleased God I returned to a harbour called Porto Grosso, where I prepared all things which were necessary and returned a second time towards Beragua for my journey. Again although I was in readiness³ to sail, all the wind and the current were contrary and hindering me. I arrived almost there where I had first come, and once more the wind and the current were against me and I returned another time to the harbour, for I did not venture to await the opposition of Saturn⁴

¹ Navarrete makes this phrase in Spanish, "detuveme alli quince dias": "I remained there fifteen days."

² This passage is important as a possible allusion to a gun-shot wound, in view of the bullet which was found in the leaden box containing the alleged remains of Columbus in the Cathedral at San Domingo in 1877. This will be discussed at length in our chapter exxxiii.

³ The Spanish makes the meaning of this passage diametrically opposite to this Italian rendering: "Volví otra vez hacia Veragua para mi viage, aunque yo no estuviera para ello"; which Major translates as follows: "I then once more attempted the voyage towards Veragua, although I was by no means in a fit state to undertake it."

⁴ In the Spanish as given by Navarrete, there is no allusion to the opposition of Saturn with Mars. The passage reads: "que no osé esperar la oposicion de Saturno con Mares tan desbaratados en costa brava," which Major translates, "not daring to encounter the opposition of Saturn with such a boisterous sea," etc. Major reads this passage as if Columbus had intended to say, "the opposition of Saturn with the Sun."

and Mars, so much cast about on a stormy coast, because for the most part it brings with it storm and heavy weather. This was on the day of Nativity at the hour of mass. I returned once more to the place where I had departed with great fatigue and the New Year having passed, I once more determined to obstinately pursue my journey; although again I had good weather, the ships were unnavigable and the crew were sick and dead. On the day of the Epiphany I arrived without any strength at Beragua; there God prepared for me a river as a sure harbour, although it had at the mouth no more than ten palms in depth. I entered this river with fatigue. The following day again the tempest returned, which if it had found me outside, would not have permitted me to re-enter. It rained without ever ceasing until the 14th of February so that I had no place to stay on the land nor to find a remedy in anything. While I was yet in safety on the 24th of January the river unexpectedly grew very high and strong, breaking the cables and the anchorages, and it lacked [little] of carrying away the ships and certainly I saw them in more danger than ever. God helped me as He always did. I do not know if there has ever been any one with more martyrdom or with more suffering than I. On the 6th of February while it rained continuously I sent seventy men inland five leagues and they found many mines of gold. The Indians, that is to say those two men who went with them,¹ brought them to a very high mountain and from there they showed them all parts as far as the eyes could see, saying that in every part there was gold enough, and that towards the west the mines stretched for twenty days and they named the countries, cities and places where more or less gold was found. Afterwards I heard that the Quibian (for so they call the Lord of the land) who had given me these two Indians had ordered them to show the mines which were more distant and which belonged to another chief, his enemy; and that within his own land his people gathered daily much gold, and that one man alone might gather in ten days a mazata of gold.² The Indians, his servants, witnesses of this, I brought with me into the midst of that people, as far as boats could go.³ My brother returned with this people and all with gold which they had gathered within the space of four hours, for they did not tarry longer; the quantity is great having respect to the fact that no one had seen mines and most of them as it happened had never seen gold, because they were for the most part men of the sea and almost all ship's boys. I had many tools and materials for building and much victuals; I made a dwelling place for myself and for my people and built certain houses of wood and

¹ Here again in the Spanish the guides are called simply "the Indians," and are not distinguished as the particular two taken by Columbus for the purpose of leading him to the mines.

² Mazata was an indefinite measure of weight, corresponding to such a load as a child might carry with ease.

³ In the Spanish the passage is: "Los Indios, sus criados y testigos de esto traigo conmigo. Adonde el tiene el pueblo llegan las barcas": "The Indians, his servants and witnesses of this, I am bringing with me. The boats go as far as to the place where he has his town."

presented many things to the Quibian, that is to say, the chief. I well understood and judged that our concord would not last long. They were very simple and our people were very troublesome, and moreover I had taken possession of territory within his dominions. When he saw the houses built and the trade so flourishing and general, he determined to burn them all and to kill us all, as many as we were. Much to the contrary was the issue of this design, because as it pleased God, he was taken himself, his wife, his sons and servants, although misfortune determined that he should remain but a little time in captivity. The Quibian fled to a certain worthy man, to whom he had presented himself with a guard of men. The sons fled to the master of a ship who brought them to a safe place.¹ In the month of April the ships were all eaten by frost and winter weather and we could not keep them above water.² At this time the said river made a channel; through which I brought three of the ships with great pains, having emptied them.³ The boats returned within the river for salt and water and other things. The sea became very great and ugly and would not permit them to go out. The Indians were numerous and having assembled, they fought the said boats. Finally all were slain. My brother and all the other people were in one ship which had remained in the river. And I alone was without on such a stormy coast with great fever and so much fatigue that the hope of escape was already dead. Nevertheless, as best I could I mounted to the top of the ship crying out with weak voice, weeping bitterly, to the commanders of your Majesties' army,

¹ The Spanish passage entirely reverses the meaning as given in the Italian: "El Quibian se fuyó a un hombre honrado a quien se habua entregado con guarda de hombres; y los hijos se fueron á un mæstre de navio a quien se dieron en él a buen recaudo." Both the chieftain and his sons in the Italian edition are made to escape to different persons, the chieftain to a "worthy man" and the sons to a ship-master. The ship-master to whom the sons fled conducted them to a safe place. While the Spanish text places the Quibian and his sons in the custody of the worthy man and the ship-master, both agents of Columbus, the Italian plainly alludes to the "worthy man" and the ship-master as friends of the Indians and harbourers to the escaped chieftain and his sons. The Spanish text omits the passage which says that the ship-master "brought them to a safe place." The reader will see, by following the narrative in our text, that the Spanish version is in accordance with the account given by Ferdinand Columbus in the *Historie* and by Las Casas in his *Historia*.

² The Spanish text is "todos comidos de bróma": "all eaten by worms." The resemblance of the Spanish word "broma,"—"worm," and the Italian "bruma,"—"wintry weather," may account for this error. In Southern waters the worm *teredo* is most destructive to the bottoms of ships. It is possible that the ice and snow may have affected the ships of the Admiral and rendered them exceedingly leaky. It is true that Columbus has just told us that in the month of January the mouth of the river was blocked, but it is doubtful if ice was the cause of the blockade. It is much more likely, we think, that the currents and high water had brought down into the mouth of the stream an unusual quantity of sand and débris, thus blocking the channel. The very next sentence indicates that a channel was made by the natural flowing of the river itself, and not through the melting or departure of ice and snow.

³ "Suoti" is possibly a misprint for "vuoti,"—"emptied," an adjective agreeing with "naviglie."

and again calling to the four winds to help; but they did not answer me. Tired out, I fell asleep and sighing I heard a voice very full of pity which spoke these words: *Oh! fool and slow to believe and to serve Him, thy God and the God of all. What did He more for Moses? and for David His servant? Since thou wast born He had always so great care for thee. When He saw thee in an age with which He was content He made thy name sound marvellously through the world. The Indies, which are so rich a part of the world, He has given to thee as thine. Thou hast distributed them wherever it has pleased thee; He gave thee power so to do. Of the bonds of the ocean which were locked with so strong chains He gave thee the keys and thou wast obeyed in all the land and among the Christians thou hast acquired a good and honourable reputation. What did He more for the people of Israel when He brought them out of Egypt? or yet for David, whom from being a shepherd He made King of Judea? Turn to Him and recognise thine error, for His mercy is infinite. Thine old age will be no hindrance to all great things. Many very great inheritances are in His power. Abraham was more than one hundred years old when he begat Isaac and also Sarah was not young. Thou art calling for uncertain aid. Answer me, who has afflicted thee so much and so many times,—God or the world? The privileges and promises which God makes He never breaks to any one; nor does He say after having received the service that His intention was not so and that it is to be understood in another manner: nor imposes martyrdom to give proof of His power. He abides by the letter of His word. All that He promises He abundantly accomplishes. This is His way. I have told thee what the Creator hath done for thee and does for all. Now He shows me the reward and payment of thy suffering and which thou hast passed in the service of others. And thus half dead, I heard everything; but I could never find an answer to make to words so certain and only I wept for my errors. He, whoever he might be, finished speaking, saying: *Trust and fear not, for thy tribulations are written in marble and not without reason.**

"I came to myself when I was able and at the end of nine days it became good weather, but not so that the vessels could be brought out of the river. I gathered all the crew who were on shore and all the rest as far as was possible, for they were not sufficient to stay and to navigate the ships. I would have remained to hold out against the natives with all my people if your Majesties had known this. The fear that there never would come any ships determined me to depart from here, and moreover the point is this: that when succour has to be provided it should be furnished for all who are in need.

"I set out in the name of the Holy Trinity on Easter night with the ships caten and mouldy and full of holes. I left one, the worst one, in Belem, with many things. In Puerto Bello I left another; only two remained to me in the same state as the others and without boats or provisions having to pass seven thousand miles of sea and water or I must perish on the journey with my poor son and brother and so many people. They may now answer me, those who were wont to boast and to blame me, saying,—Why didst thou not so? Why didst thou not steer hither? Why

not thither? I would they had been there on that day. I verily believe that another [day] of knowing otherwise awaits them or our faith is nothing.

"On the 13th of May I arrived at the province of Mago, which borders upon that of Catayo, and from there I departed for Española. I sailed two days with good weather which suddenly changed to the contrary. The course that I took was to avoid those numerous islands and not to go ashore in the shallow waters. The high sea forced me wherefore I was compelled to turn back without sails. I reached an island where I lost three anchors at once, and at midnight when it seemed the world was coming to an end the cables of the other ships were broken and it was a wonder that they did not both go to pieces, because one rushed upon the other with great force. God helped us. One anchor alone held me up next to the Divine help. At the end of six days when the good weather came again upon the sea, we returned to our voyage with the ships such as they were, worm-eaten and more full of holes even than a comb of bees that make honey; and the crew had so little courage that they were almost lost. I had not advanced much farther than where we had been first when the storm had turned me back. I returned to the same island to a safer harbour. At the end of eight days I returned the same way. At the end of June I arrived at Janahica always with contrary winds; and the ships in the worst condition; with three pumps, tubs and cauldrons together with all the crew I was not able to overcome the water which entered the ship, nor was there any other remedy to help against this. I put myself on the way to go directly to Española, which was 28 leagues off, and I would I had not gone. The other ship, nearly sunken as it was, ran to find a harbour. I would have held out against the violence of the sea but my ship sank when God by a miracle put me on the shore.

"Who will believe what I write? I say that I have not written the one hundredth part in this present letter of these things, to which those who were in my company will testify.¹

"If your Majesties will be pleased to favour me for my succour with a ship of more than 64 tons together with 200 quintals of biscuits and other provisions, it will be sufficient to carry me and these poor people to Spain. From Española to Janahica there are not more than 28 leagues, as I have already said. I would not have gone to Española even if the ships had been in good condition, because as I have already said, I was commanded by your Majesties not to go on shore. It is known to God if a command of this kind has been expedient. This letter I send by the care and hand of Indians and it will be a great marvel if it reaches you. Of my voyage I say that with me and in my company were 150 men; many who were persons very capable as pilots and good sailors; but none of them can give a satisfactory account of where we were nor whither we returned. The reason is apparent. I departed from above the harbour called Brazil in

¹ The Spanish version of this passage is: "Los que fueron con el Almirante lo atestigüen." "Those who were [went] with the Admiral can attest it."

Española and the storm did not let me take the course I wished. I was even forced to run where the wind drove me. In this day I was very sick. None had ever sailed towards these parts. The wind and the sea quieted down after some days and the storm changed into a calm and a great current. I fell in with an island which is called *De las Pozzas*, and from there to the mainland. None are able to give a true account of this because there is no information sufficient, since we always went with the current without seeing land for so many days. I followed the coast of the mainland. This was at a distance and was measured by compass and mariners' skill. There is no one who can say under what part of the heavens it is. When I departed from here to come to Española the pilots thought they would arrive at the island of St. John and we found ourselves in the land of Magho,—that is four hundred leagues towards the west farther than they estimated. Let them answer if they know, where may be the site of Beragua? I say that they cannot give any other account except that they were in certain parts where there was much gold and this they acknowledge. But to return there it would be necessary to discover them again as was done first, for the route thither is unknown. One way and method there is belonging to astronomy which is very certain and which cannot be mistaken. To him who understands that, this method is sufficient. This resembles a prophetic vision. The ships of the Indies are navigated only from the stern and not because of their being badly built as some pretend, nor yet from their being very large. The terrible currents as well as the wind which is common there, makes it so that no one can navigate in any other way because in a day they would lose whatever they had gained in seven. Not even caravels nor yet again if they were Latin or Portuguese [in make]. They are sometimes detained in port by bad weather for six or eight months. There has been given an account of the people whose site and customs were written about by Pope Pius II., but not their horses, poytrels and bridles of gold, nor is it any marvel, because in the lands on the seacoast they have no need of horses but rather of fishermen. I would not remain to search after such things because I was pressing on in great haste.

"In Cariai and in those lands under its jurisdiction there are great enchanterers and very terrible. They might have given me whatever I had been able to ask for, but I did not remain there one hour.¹ When I reached there, they immediately sent me two young girls dressed in rich garments. The older one might not have been more than eleven years of age and the other seven; both with so much experience, so much manner and so much appearance as would have been sufficient if they had been public women for twenty years. They bore with them magic powder and other things belonging to their art. When they arrived I gave orders that they should be adorned with our things and sent them immediately ashore. There I

¹ In the Spanish this passage reads: "Dieran el mundo porque no me detuviera alli una hora": "They would have given the world that I might not stop there one hour." The Spanish rendering differs materially from the Italian.

saw a tomb within the mountain as large as a house and finely worked with great artifice and a corpse stood thereon uncovered and, looking within it, it seemed as if he stood upright. Of the other arts they told me that there was excellence. Great and little animals are there in quantities, and very different from ours; among which I saw boars of frightful form so that a dog of the Irish breed dared not face them. With a cross-bow I had wounded an animal which exactly resembles a baboon only that it was much larger and has a face like a human being. I had pierced it with an arrow from one side to the other, entering in the breast and going out near the tail, and because it was very ferocious I cut off one of the fore feet which rather seemed to be a hand, and one of the hind feet. The boars seeing this commenced to set up their bristles and fled with great fear, seeing the blood of the other animal. When I saw this I caused to be thrown them the 'uegare,' certain animals they called so, where it stood and approaching him, near as he was to death, and the arrow still sticking in his body, he wound his tail around his snout and held it fast and with the other hand which remained free, seized him by the neck as an enemy. This act so magnificent and novel, together with the fine country and hunting of wild beasts, made me write this to your Majesties. Animals of many kinds were there, but all die of various diseases.¹ I saw animals of various sorts, lions, deer and other animals. I discovered others resembling and similar to flying monsters. I saw many great hens whose feathers were like wool neither less nor more. As I was going by that sea in anguish and care, some took a fancy into their heads that we had been enchanted by these, and even to-day they are of that opinion. We found still other people who eat men as we eat other animals, and this is certain; the deformity of their faces and features confirms it. There they say are large mines of copper and torches of copper and other things worked, beaten and cast. I had some from them; and there are besides all the tools such as belong to a goldsmith. There they go clothed and in that province I saw great sheets of cotton cloth very nicely worked, and I saw others painted most delicately with colours and with hair pencils. They say that in that land in the interior towards Catayo, other cloths are woven of gold. Of all these lands and of the different things which are therein, it cannot be known readily because of the want of knowledge of their languages. The various peoples although they are near to each other have all different languages, and so different are they, I say, that one understands the other no better than we understand the people of Arabia; and according to my judgment of the people, this is so with those who live near the seacoast, who are as a savage people and they are not savage in the interior of the country. When I discovered the Indies I told your Majesties that they were of the richest possessions in the world, and I told of the gold, of the pearls, stones, spices, and of the traffic, fairs, merchandise, and other things;

¹ In the Spanish we read: "De muchas maneras de animalias se hubó, mas todas mueren de barra. Gallinas muy grandes y la pluma como lana vide hartas. Leones, ciervos, corzos otro tanto, y así aves."

The Spanish version calls the animal *begare*—the peccary.

and because all these things were not brought to light I was reproached. Wherefore this chastisement and admonition makes me say and write only that which I have heard from the Indians of the country. Of one thing I venture to write because I have many witnesses. That is this: that I saw in these lands of Beragua more signs of gold in the first two days than I had seen in Española in four years; and moreover the lands of this jurisdiction could not be more beautiful or more cultivated than they are, and the people more timid and of less courage; and the harbour could not be better than it is, and the river very beautiful and in all the world none more defensible. All this is true and certain of coming under the dominion of the Christians; with great hope of honour and increase of the holy Christian religion; and your Majesties may know that the route for reaching this will be as short as to go to Española because this [route] has to be navigated with winds of another sort; your Majesties are as certain to be lords and rulers of this land as of Spain and Granada.¹ Your ships that will go there will be able to say that they go to their own homes, and they will bring out gold; in other lands those who have to get gold have to put faith in one of those savages or they must take by force those things which are there and not without great danger of their lives.² I have already given the reason why I omit to speak of other things. I do not say thus and so nor do I affirm it with three-fold of all that I ever may have said or written and say, 'This is the source whence I have it.' The Venetians, Genoese and all other people who have pearls, precious stones and other things of value, all bring them to the end of the world to barter and sell, and finally to convert into gold. Gold is a metal most excellent above all others and of gold treasures are formed, and he who has it makes and accomplishes whatever he wishes in the world and finally uses it to send souls into Paradise. The chiefs of the land of the territory of Beragua when they die have buried with their bodies as much gold as they possess. Such is their custom. To Solomon they brought at once 656 quintals of gold beyond that which the mariners and merchants brought and in addition to that which they paid in Arabia. A quintal weighs 150 lbs. From this gold Solomon caused to be made 200 spears and 300 shields and he had made a table service of gold which stood over them,—all of gold and adorned with many precious stones. And moreover he caused to be made of this gold many other things, very large vases similarly adorned with precious stones and most rich things. Josephus writes of these things in *De Anti-quitatibus* and again this is written in the Chronicles in the books of the Kings. Josephus wishes [to say] that this gold was in the island called

¹ In the Spanish version the assurance of possessing the new lands is compared to the Sovereigns' possession of *Xeres* and *Toledo*.

² The Spanish version reads: "De allí sacaron oro: en otras tierras, para haber de lo que hay en ellas, conviene que se lo lleven, ó se volverán vacíos: y en la tierra es necesario que fien sus personas de un salvaje." It is evident that the Spanish version does not convey the meaning of Columbus. He has just described the timidity of the natives of this island, and is evidently comparing the ease with which gold is secured here with the difficulty of finding it in Española, where confidence in the Indians was so often repaid with extreme danger to the Spaniards.

Golden.¹ If this thing should be so we say that those mines called Golden are the same which are found in Beragua because as I said, they extend towards the west 20 days' journey and are a long distance from the Pole and also from the line [Equinoctial].² Solomon bought all that gold, precious stones and silver from merchants. Your Majesties may cause it to be gathered whenever you give order without any danger.

"David in his will bequeathed 3000 quintals of gold from the Indian islands to Solomon to help build the temple; according to what Josephus writes, David had [gold and other things] from these same lands, and so it may be read. Jerusalem and Mt. Zion, as it is written, must be rebuilt by Christian hands. Who shall this be? God by the mouth of the prophet says so in the 14th psalm. The Abbot Joachim said that this person was to be from Spain. St. Jerome showed to that holy woman the way to accomplish this. The Emperor of Cathay a long time since asked and did great things to secure intelligent men who might instruct him in the faith of Christ.³ Who shall be that one to offer himself to procure this for him? If God brings me safe to Spain I promise to your Majesties and obligate myself to conduct him thither with the aid of God in health and safety. And so will I put into ⁴ work that which I speak.

"The people who have come with me, those who have returned have suffered very great hardships and peril of their lives. I ask of the mercy of your Majesties that they be paid immediately, because they are poor people, and according to their station your Majesties will give them favour

¹ This is the famous Aurea Chersonesus which was sought so much throughout the Middle Ages.

² In the Spanish the phrase is, "y son en una distancia lejos del polo y de la linea," which, of course, could not have been the meaning of Columbus, for this would make him say that these lands were situated in forty-five degrees from the equator north, if it was an equal distance from the pole.

³ Here the voice of Columbus, after nearly four hundred years, speaks to us in refutation of those who would take from him his honour. There are those who say that the correspondence between Paolo Toscanelli and Columbus was fabricated by Columbus himself or by his family, for the purpose of associating him with one of the greatest of the scientists of his day in planning his great enterprise and for the purpose of overcoming the alleged popular belief of the day that some shipwrecked Pilot, driven by a storm to the shores of the New World, had, on his return, confided to the Genoese adventurer a plotted course from the Old to the New World. They ask us for a single reference by Columbus to that correspondence in whole or in part. We have shown that the prologue to the *Journal* of the first voyage makes a direct quotation from Toscanelli's letter. In the passage above given—which will be found repeated in his *Book of Prophecies*—the Admiral is referring to the application made by the Great Khan or the Emperor of China to some Pope for devout messengers to instruct him and his people in the faith of the Christians. Toscanelli, in his famous letter as copied by Columbus in his own hand in Latin, relates the coming of messengers from the Great Khan to the Pope two hundred years before, asking for missionaries to instruct the people of the East. From no other source was Columbus likely to have learned of that interesting fact reported by Toscanelli in his famous letter.

⁴ This last passage is omitted in the Spanish. In the latter version the gold came simply from the Indies and not from the Indian islands, as in the Italian.

to the end that another time¹ they may serve your Majesties with good will, for in my judgment and as I believe they will bring you the best news that a man ever brought into Spain.

"The gold which the chief of Beragua had although it was much according to information, as well as that of his subjects, and that of the neighbouring lands, I deem it not right to take it by way of theft, neither would I have served your Majesties by taking it in the way of robbery. Good order will avoid scandal and ill repute to your Majesties, and by fair means we will bring it out and cause it to return to the Treasury of your Majesties that no grain shall be wanting, however great the quantity may be.

"With a month of good weather I should have finished my entire voyage and for the want of ships I did not wish to remain in the expectation of returning there; but I offer myself to whatever may be serviceable to your Majesties, and I have hope in the Almighty God giving me health, and who causes me to find hidden things and ways, of which your Majesty with the whole of Christendom will rejoice, and will do so deservedly.² I believe that your Majesties will recall that I intended to have certain ships made in a new style, but the shortness of the time did not permit me, because I had always seen what was needed if they have to sail there, because there are other kinds of sea and winds there. If it shall please God we shall accomplish this as it will happen with the good will of your Majesties.³ I think more of what has been done in this land, of the port and principality than of all the rest of the things which I have accomplished in the Indian islands. This is not a little son which may be given to a step-mother to nurse. Of Española and Paria and all the other lands I never think without the tears falling from my eyes; I believed that the example of these ought to serve for the others. On the contrary they remain [as if they were in a state of] gasping for breath but they do not die. The malady is incurable but lingering. Who has caused these things let him now come and if he may, provide a cure. In confusion every one is a master, but for reorganisation few masters are to be found. Favour and increase of salaries used to be accorded those who exposed their body and lives to dangers, and there is no reason why those who have remained so opposed to this business should reap benefits, they nor their heirs. Those who fled from the Indies to escape fatigues, speaking evil of those and of me, returned with commissions and thus was it ordered concerning Beragua; an evil example and without utility for this undertaking and in respect to the justice of the world. This affair together with several other causes made me entreat your Majesties favour before I came to discover these islands and continents or mainlands, that you would permit me to govern them myself in your royal name; this seemed good to you and it was ceded to me with

¹ This passage as to future service is omitted in the Spanish.

² This passage is omitted in the Spanish.

³ The Admiral evidently intends to say that, because the winds and the currents are different from these which are common to other seas, it is necessary to construct vessels of a different form as to bulk and sails for service in the new waters, but that time failed him to build the new ships.

privilege and charter and with seal and oath and I was entitled a Vice-Admiral and Governor General of the whole, and you fixed for me the boundary 100 leagues beyond the islands of the Azores and those of Cape Verde, which crossed the Equinoctial line from pole to pole and of this, of all that which every day I might discover you gave me full power as the writing says.¹

"Another most famous business stands calling me with open arms; it has been a thing foreign to me until now. Seven years did I remain in the Court of your Majesties, when those to whom I spoke of this enterprise declared with one voice that it was chimerical and foolish. At the present time even tailors and shoe-makers ask favours of your Majesties to discover lands. It is to be believed that they go for plunder and if your Majesties concede it to them, whatever thing they gain is with much hindrance to the enterprise and to my honour; it is a good thing to render to God that which is His and to Cæsar² that which belongs to him, and this is a just sentiment and for a just Prince. The lands which obey your Majesties and which acknowledge you for their Lords in these islands are more than all the others of Christendom and most rich; since I by Divine will more than by my own wisdom have placed them under your royal and mighty dominion and I say that your Majesties will have from them very great revenues. Suddenly while awaiting the ship I had asked of your Majesties in order to come to your high presence, with victories and great news of gold and of various riches, being of good spirit and considering myself secure in person, I was taken and put into a ship with my two brothers, loaded with chains, naked of body, with very bad treatment without being cited [for a hearing] nor yet sentenced by justice. Who will be willing to believe that a poor foreigner would have wished to rebel against your Majesties without cause and without the aid of another Prince? Especially as I was alone in the midst of all those who were with me, your vassals and natives of the kingdom of your Majesties, and besides considering that I had all my sons at your royal Court. I came to serve your Majesties at the age of 28 years³ and I have not at this instant a hair which is not grey; my body is debilitated and physically ruined. Whatever I had brought with me, everything was taken from me, and from my brothers, even to my frock without my being heard or seen, to my great dishonour. It is to be believed that this has not been done by your royal order, and if this be so as I say, your royal restitution of my honour and my damages and the punishment of those who have done it, your Majesties will make known throughout all the world; and to those others who have robbed me of wealth and who have injured me in respect to my Almirantazgo; it will be a very great act of renown and of virtue with an example, if your Majesties will do this, and there will remain in Spain and in every other place, a glorious memory of your Majesties as grateful and just Sovereigns.

¹ This is the collection of grants as copied into the *Book of Privileges* previous to this fourth voyage.

² In the Spanish the reference to Cæsar is omitted.

³ Of course, the figures are not correctly given. He was at least thirty-eight years of age.

"The good and sound purpose which I always had to serve your Majesties and the dishonour and unmerited ingratitude, will not suffer the soul to be silent although I wished it, therefore I ask pardon of your Majesties. I have been so lost and undone; until now I have wept for others that your Majesties might have compassion on them; and now may the heavens weep for me and the earth weep for me in temporal¹ affairs; I have not a farthing to make as an offering in spiritual affairs. I have remained here in the Indian islands in the manner I have before said in great pain and infirmity, expecting every day death, surrounded by innumerable savages full of cruelty and by our enemies, and so far from the sacraments of the Holy Mother Church that I believe the soul will be forgotten when it leaves the body. Let them weep for me who have charity, truth and justice. I did not undertake this voyage of navigation to gain honour or material things; that is certain; because the hope already was entirely lost; but I did come to serve your Majesties with honest intention and with good charitable zeal; and I do not lie.

"I supplicate your Majesties that if God is willing that I should be able to come out from here; that it may be granted me and that I may go from here to Rome and on other pilgrimages. And may the lives of your Majesties and your lofty stations be preserved and prolonged by the Holy Trinity.

"Done in the Indies in the island of Jamaica, the 7th of July, 1503.

"Printed at Venice (in the name of Constanzo Bayuera citizen of Brescia) by Simone de Lovere on the 7th of May, 1505. With privilege.

"Be advised, reader, not to read 'Columbus, Viceroy of Spain', read only this 'Viceroy of the Indian islands.'"

¹ In the Spanish the expression "el temporal" is brought forward into the sentence with reference to the farthing offering, and the words "el spiritual" are placed in the sentence following that in which they appear in the Italian.

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